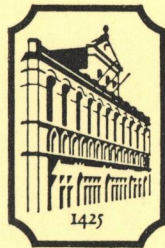


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J. IJSEWIJN

JOHN BARCLAY AND HIS *ARGENIS*.

A Scottish Neo-Latin Novelist.

The traveller in Rome who climbs the Monte Gianicolo by the short-cut of the Salita-S. Onofrio arrives in front of an attractive little church, where Romans like to celebrate their weddings. To the left of the entrance of this fifteenth-century sanctuary dedicated to saint Onofrius the visitor's attention is drawn by a monument on the Tomb of Torquato Tasso. At the same time he will look in vain for some record of another famous author buried under the same roof: the Scottish poet and novelist John Barclay, who died in Rome on August 12, 1621, not forty years old at the very moment his most famous work, the novel *Argenis*, was being printed in Paris¹. Indeed, it came from the press on the last day of the same month, and its author never saw it.

In 1679 a certain Horatius Quaranta² published in Rome a broadside

¹ A bust of J. Barclay by the French sculptor Fr. Duquesnoy is now kept in the neighbouring *Museo Tassiano*. Originally it was in the church of S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura. Cf. A. Blunt, *Guide to Baroque Rome* (London, 1982), pp. 127-128.

² Reliable information on him seems scarce. According to C. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, vol. VI (Brussels and Paris, 1895), cols. 1330-31, he was born at Salerno in 1604 and entered the Societas Jesu on 13 June 1620. For some time he was a teacher of humanities and in 1635 he became the studies prefect in the seminary of Naples. In 1638 he left the Jesuits. At Naples he published several Latin orations, i.a. a *Virtus militans. Oratio in funere Caroli Carafae* (1633). According to Chr. G. Jöcher, *Allgemeines Gelehrten-Lexikon*, vol. III (Leipzig, 1751), col. 1826, he was of noble descent and was an ambassador for ten years in Madrid. This seems to be confirmed by a Spanish work *Relacion de la muerte y entierro del Marques de Torrecusa* he published in the Spanish capital in 1647 (copy in the B.L., London). Afterwards he lived in Rome and wrote, inter alia, pious Italian verses such as *Rime sopra la vita di S. Teresa* (1670). In the sixth *Ergänzungsband* (Bremen, 1819) to Jöcher, col. 1098, a distinction is made between the Jesuit and the ambassador of the same name, probably wrongly. I do not know when Quaranta died, but it cannot have been very long after his *Elogium* of Tasso and Barclay (1679), at least if that was still published during his lifetime.



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with a *Torquato Tasso ac Ioanni Barclaio Ianiculo in Colle eodemque in templo sepultis elogium*, in which he calls both men "immortalitatis filios vel parentes" and compares them to Chiron, the wise teacher of Achilles:

Chiron biformis uterque,
qui suo in Rinaldo, ac Poliarcho Achillen,
Spartanam in Argenide Venerem,
In Clorinda Palladem efformavit³.

The different fortunes of both poets nowadays exemplify the modern evolution of literature. Tasso is celebrated by his Italian compatriots; Barclay, born in France of a Scottish father and a French mother, writing in Latin in England and in Rome, a truly European citizen, is almost completely forgotten, in spite of his enormous success for a century and a half in the whole of Europe. His *Argenis* was the last book the dying Leibniz looked at, and the young Goethe read it in 1780 at the age of 21⁴. Now his name is passed over in silence even in the description of S. Onofrio in the recent book on the churches of Rome by L. Zeppegno and R. Mattonelli⁵. Obviously, Latin nowadays guarantees oblivion, not celebrity, and again old Terentianus Maurus' remark has come true:

Pro captu lectoris habent sua fata libelli.

Yet Barclay is no mean artist and, moreover, he belongs to the splendid age of the Roman baroque, that great seventeenth century in which Rome witnessed an outburst of artistry in all fields rarely ever seen before except perhaps under its first emperor Augustus, a triumph of art which up to the present day determines the awe inspiring appearance of the eternal city. Barclay, it is true, died too early to see his good friend, the bilingual poet Maffeo Barberini (or *Ibburanes* as he calls him anagrammatically in the *Argenis*) ascend the throne of St. Peter under the telling name of Urban VIII: *Urbanus*, the man who symbolizes all the great qualities of Rome, the *Urbs*. Barclay, therefore, did not have the privilege of seeing the glory of the

³ Poliarchus and Argenis are the protagonists of Barclay's novel, the crusader Rinaldo and the pagan girl Clorinda important heroes of Tasso's epic *Gerusalemme Liberata*.

⁴ D. Sacré, "De Ioanne Wolfgango Goetheo Latinitatis cultore", *Vita Latina* (1982), N° 85, 19-25 (p. 24).

⁵ *Le Chiese di Roma* (Roma, 1975; 1981³), pp. 133-134.

unequalled Berninian age, but he did see the beginnings of it under Paul V Borghese, who himself continued the Roman impetus towards renewal and self-assertion, the foundations of which were laid in the time of Sixtus V (1585-1590) after the Council of Trent. We must keep this spiritual background in our mind when reading Barclay's *Argenis*.

The visual expression of the Roman baroque is famous among art historians and tourists alike, because everyone can visit St. Peter's and its colonnade, the Piazza Navona, the Jesuit headquarters of the Gesù, the Villa Borghese with its museum etc. But the literary side is largely ignored, not the least because so much of it was written in Latin⁶. Although the quality of this Latin, produced by playwrights such as Bernardus Stefanius, historians and rhetoricians such as Famianus Strada, poets such as the popes Urbanus VIII and Alexander VII themselves, is often very good and even excellent, philologists and literary historians continue to turn their backs on it. Among the rare exceptions who confirm this rule I am happy to cite two prominent French members of the International Association for Neo-Latin Studies, Marc Fumaroli, who wrote a splendid book on *L'Age de l'Eloquence*⁷, and Alain Michel, who on several occasions and again in his new book *La Parole et la Beauté*⁸ has rightly stressed the fundamental importance of the rhetorical writings of Strada.

Barclay shares the ill fortune of all those late Latin writers. Whole books are written on absolutely insignificant texts from Antiquity and the Middle Ages, simply because they are centuries older and preserved in manuscript, or perhaps because nobody can really understand them. Erasmus in his *Praise of Folly* laughed at this philological bias. But it remains true that what has been written in Latin after the manuscript and incunabular age seems to lose all importance in the eyes of many scholars, whatever its intrinsic qualities and historical or cultural

⁶ A good introduction to the written culture of baroque Rome is the catalogue *Scrittura e popolo nella Roma barocca 1585-1721*, a cura di Armando Petrucci (Roma, Edizioni Quasar, 1982). See further note 7.

⁷ M. Fumaroli, *L'Age de l'Eloquence. Rhétorique et 'res litteraria' de la Renaissance au seuil de l'époque moderne*. Hautes études médiévales et modernes, 43 (Geneva, 1980). See also his article on "Cicero Pontifex Romanus: la tradition rhétorique du Collège Romain et les principes inspireurs du mécénat des Barberini", *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome, Moyen Age – Temps modernes* 90 (1978), 797-835.

⁸ A. Michel, *La parole et la beauté. Rhétorique et esthétique dans la tradition occidentale* (Paris, 1982).

interest may be. I really do not see why this has to be so; Barclay's *Argenis* shows a high degree of accomplished artistry, worthy of that marvellous seventeenth century Rome and, further, it is without doubt the best novel written in Latin.

There may be another reason why Barclay has been forgotten since the late eighteenth century. Traditionally the novel is not a highly respected genre in classical literature. Something of this prejudice still lingers in the attitude of many present-day scholars vis-à-vis the ancient Greek novel. Yet Heliodorus, one of Barclay's favourites and much admired by seventeenth-century authors in general, is no mean story-teller. We still can enjoy his well-constructed and well told *Adventures of Theagenes and Charikleia*. But literary critics often held another view, and readers of Jane Austen's *Northanger Abbey* may remember what she says in chapter 5:

'Although (novels) have afforded more extensive and unaffected pleasure than those of any other literary corporation in the world, no species of composition has been so much decried. From pride, ignorance, or fashion, our foes are almost as many as our readers. And while the abilities of the nine-hundredth abridger of the History of England, or of the man who collects and publishes in a volume some dozen lines of Milton, Pope, and Prior, with a paper from the Spectator, and a chapter from Sterne, are eulogized by a thousand pens, there seems almost a general wish of decrying the capacity and undervaluing the labour of the novelist, and of slighting the performances which have only genius, wit, and taste to recommend them. "I am no novel reader — I seldom look into novels..." Such is the common cant'.

Today nobody would maintain that a good novel is devoid of literary interest, but critics now have forgotten their Latin and Barclay will probably never be a popular name again.

It is therefore not surprising that, compared to other important early novelists, Barclay has received little critical attention. His *Euphormionis Lusinini Satyricon*, the first of his two major works in prose, is in a much better way than the *Argenis*, because of the new edition and translation by the American scholar David Fleming, who has also published a series of articles on various aspects of this menippean satire⁹. Moreover, Juliette Desjardins has published a selection of passages from the *Satyricon* for use in schools, and

⁹ J. Barclay, *Euphormionis Lusinini Satyricon* (*Euphormio's Satyricon*) 1605-1607. Translated from the Latin with Introduction and Notes by David A. Fleming, S.M. Bibliotheca Humanistica & Reformatorica, VI (Nieuwkoop, Holland, 1973); Id., "John Barclay and the Rise of the Novel", in J. IJsewijn and E. Kessler (eds.),

studied Barclay's satire within the context of Neo-Latin menippean satire in the seventeenth century¹⁰.

As to *Argenis* we are not so fortunate. There is no modern edition, yet the old ones show many variant readings. These include not only mere misprints, which themselves often distort the sense, but probably also interventions of later editors, trying perhaps to remedy corruptions in their copy text. A new edition on the basis of the first and now rare Paris printing, or at least a facsimile reprint of that *editio princeps* with a good critical introduction is an urgent necessity¹¹. Such a new edition would offer an excellent occasion to bring up to date the otherwise excellent bibliographical study of K. Fr. Schmid, *John Barclays Argenis. Eine literarhistorische Untersuchung* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1904), who lists fifty-four editions of the Latin text. Yet, there have been more: the Vatican Library, e.g., possesses an edition of Venice, Pezzana, 1668, which he did not know.

Literary studies on Barclay's *Argenis* are to the best of my knowledge old and often superficial and written without much understanding. One wonders if some critics really ever read the complete *Argenis*! Nineteenth-century scholarship has been summarized by Albert Collignon in his still useful book with the modest title of *Notes historiques, littéraires et bibliographiques sur l'Argenis de Jean Barclay*, Paris-Nancy, 1902. Let us read it without, however, giving great weight to its statements. Otherwise we shall be led to wonder why we are wasting our time and our patience on such a literary failure as the *Argenis*.

"Tous ceux qui ont étudié l'*Argenis*, MM. Boucher, Dupond, Koerting, ont relevé les fautes de composition de ce roman. Il est en effet d'une longueur excessive, d'un enchevêtrement et d'une complication d'épisodes qui en rendent souvent la lecture fastidieuse. Les digressions et les hors-d'œuvres abondent. Les descriptions, surtout les descriptions de batailles, ne sont guère que des imitations des auteurs anciens et en particulier des poètes épiques. Les épisodes

Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Lovaniensis (Louvain – Munich, 1973), pp. 229-234. For his other studies see the notes to the introduction of his edition.

¹⁰ Joannis Barclai *Euphormionis Lusini Satyricon*, par Juliette Desjardins. Bibliothèque de "Vita Latina" (Avignon, 1969); "Le pittoresque, sa nature et ses limites, dans les 'romans satiriques' néo-latins de la première moitié du XVII^e siècle", in P. Tuynman, G. C. Kuiper and E. Kessler (eds.), *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Amstelodamensis* (Munich, 1979), pp. 306-320.

¹¹ Just a few examples: *Mavors* (ed. princeps, p. 8 v. 5) became *Mauros*, *an odia an* (p. 9) sometimes became *utrum odia an*, *in somnum* (p. 25) became *in summum*, *legebat* (p. 44) alternates with *lugebat*, etc. For two major textual variants see hereafter the article of C. Davis.

eux-mêmes sont peu variés et parfois se répètent. Quant aux caractères, ils manquent de relief et de vie; on s'aperçoit trop que les héros sont des personnifications de vertus ou de vices, des abstractions plutôt que des êtres en chair et en os. De plus ils se meuvent dans une lointaine antiquité tout en étant par leurs préoccupations, leurs idées, leurs sentiments, des gens du XVI^e ou du XVII^e siècle. Cette transposition qui n'avait rien de choquant pour les contemporains, habitués par la littérature et par l'art à ce travestissement gréco-romain, nous fatigue bien vite aujourd'hui et à la longue devient exaspérante. Il en est de même de cette pédantesque érudition que Barclay prodige à tout propos et surtout hors de propos. Toute cette science historique, mythologique, géographique, archéologique très solide au surplus, qu'il a puisée chez les écrivains anciens, vient alourdir fort inutilement l'action et faire languir l'intérêt. Enfin le style de l'*Argenis*, très admiré par les uns, a été aussi l'objet de censures fort sévères; on a reproché à ce latin, entre autres défauts, le gallicisme et l'incorrection ..." (pp. 32-33).

Little or nothing is left untouched by these harsh critics. But their superficiality and lack of any sense for the work and its spiritual and cultural context is easy enough to point out. I will limit myself to two examples. First, they always tell us that Barclay's Latin is Petronian. Now, anybody who ever has read both Petronius and the *Argenis* will be extremely astonished at such statement. So Collignon was easily able to demonstrate by philological analysis that this is completely unfounded. The second example is the rather startling fact that nobody, as far as I know, has ever tried to give a satisfactory explanation of such an essential element of the book as its title *Argenis*. Most are satisfied with what they can read in the key, which was added to the novel some time after Barclay's death. There *Argenis* is explained as 'Deficiens in Henrico III Valesiorum stirpe', i.e. a symbol of the dying Valois dynasty. Now, this hardly makes sense at all, since the novel ends on the happy marriage of *Argenis* and *Poliarchus*. That may be the reason why Collignon prefers to interpret *Argenis* as a symbol of the throne of France. But why she, one will ask, and not her father *Meleander*, who is the actual king? The interpretation seems much easier if only one looks closer at the word '*Argenis*'. It appears to be a Greek name, but there never was such a name. In accordance with the well-known predilection of the seventeenth century for such name-play, it is simply an anagram of the Latin word '*regina*' with an additional S to make the typical Greek feminine ending -IS, which suggests both a name of a girl (cp. *Byblis*, *Phyllis*, *Lycoris* etc.) and a title of an epic romance (cp. *Aeneis*, *Thebais* etc.). So, the title of the book means

'(The story of) the Princess', which not only indicates exactly the quality of the protagonist, but at the same time also reveals Barclay's intention (stated explicitly in book II) of writing a political work on good statemanship and not just a love story. By this title *Argenis* takes its place among some other famous works of Italian Renaissance literature, which under different forms but similar titles, such as Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* or Macchiavelli's *Il Principe*, aim at the same goal. It will be clear that by confining the symbolism of *Argenis* to the throne of France one inevitably misses the gist of Barclay's intention. Moreover the author himself has warned his readers against too narrow a historical explanation of his heroes.

Coming back to modern works on *Argenis* I conclude this part of my *exposé* by mentioning a German thesis by A.P. Kettelhoit, *Formanalyse der Barclay-Opitzischen "Argenis"* (Münster, 1934), which is well worth reading¹², and a small Italian book by Lice Bardino, *L'Argenis di Jon (!) Barclay e il romanzo greco* (Palermo, 1939; reprint London, 1980), the title of which promises far more than the book in fact has to offer. The topic itself is, however, interesting enough and deserves a study in depth.

Let us now proceed to a closer scrutiny of the novel itself. For those not familiar with the work a short outline of the contents may be helpful. It tells the story of *Argenis*, only daughter of Meleander, king of Sicily, and her three lovers: Poliarchus, her beloved; Archombrotus, a fine hero who finally turns out to be her half-brother; and Radiobanes, the villain. Let me point out at once that the number of three lovers is not a haphazard one. Readers of classical literature know from the *Ad Herennium* and other rhetorical sources that a threefold construction brings about the most harmonious literary form. A look at the structure of *Argenis* will show us soon how effectively Barclay applied this rule in his novel. Intertwined with the love story are political conflicts between Meleander and various potentates. The whole story is written in prose, but in many places poems are intercalated. The author himself appears as the court poet Nicopompus with many of his Roman friends: such are Ibburanes/Barberini, Antenorius or 'the Paduan', i.e. the poet Antonio

¹² Although I do not share all the views expressed by Miss Kettelhoit, it is fair to say that she offers an intelligent reading and analysis of the novel. A discussion of her interpretation will certainly bring about a better understanding of the *Argenis*.

Querengi, the one who contributed a laudatory poem at the end of the first edition of *Argenis*¹³, and Hieroleander or Hieronymus Aleander jr., to whom another Latin novel of baroque Rome, the *Eudemia* (1637; 1645²) of Gianvittorio Rossi (Ianus Nicius Erythraeus) was dedicated.

The general setting of the story is at the same time deliberately ahistorical and humanistic-classical: the scene of the action is laid in Sicily, which is basically Greek in culture, but shows also many Etruscan and old Roman features: the king has, e.g., an *haruspex* at his service and knows the custom of 'figere clavum', to drive in a nail in order to ward off a plague¹⁴. The surrounding countries which play a part in the story are mainly Mauretania, Sardinia and Gaul and, to a minor extent, Italy, Mergania or Germany, Lydia and Assyria. It would be vain to try to locate the adventures of Barclay's heroes anywhere in ancient history. They are acting in a non-existent but classical world born of the author's imagination. Why this is so is easy enough to understand.

Novelists have often situated their creations in a fairy or ideal world. The ancient Greek novelists usually sent their heroes to the East or the South, to fabulous Babylonia and Persia, to mysterious Egypt or even as far as dark Ethiopia. The mediaeval Knights of the Grail live in a fictitious Britain somewhere between Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Barclay's immediate predecessor in France, Honoré d'Urfé put the shepherds of *L'Astrée* (1607-19/27) in a more or less fifth-century Forez. Romantic novelists wrote about mediaeval knights and damsels, Indians or whatever noble and unspoiled people their fancy may prefer, just as nowadays writers of science fiction project their heroes into a faraway technically perfect future. So what could be more natural and more obvious for a belated humanist such as Barclay than evoke a fanciful classical world with Greeks, Gauls, Romans and the like? Not only did this world appeal to his mind and, to be sure, to that of his learned Latinate audience¹⁵, but it provided

¹³ Since this poem was omitted in most later editions I print the text below in an appendix. It illustrated the great expectations raised in Rome by Barclay's novel, something as the *Aeneis* did in Augustus' time.

¹⁴ These Roman customs are put to use by Meleander at the moment of the open rebellion of Lycogenes and shortly before the arrival of Radirobanes, in the middle of book II.

¹⁵ Cf. in this respect a poem *Ad seipsum* (*Lyrice* III 16) of Barclay's younger contemporary Matthias Casimirus Sarbievius (1595-1640) and E. Schäfer's comment: "Aus einem Zustand der Unzufriedenheit mit sich selbst befreit sich der Dichter, indem

the author with two more advantages. First of all a linguistic one: he would not have to care about his vocabulary (although this would not have been a real problem to a writer such as Barclay). The classical idiom was largely sufficient and in all respects appropriate to the world described. In seventeenth-century Rome, where classical perfection was highly appreciated in contemporary Latin authors, this was an important issue. And I would like to add, as a Latin reader myself, that precisely the consistently classical style of *Argenis* is one of its qualities which make it readable. I find it much more difficult to read the seventeenth-century Dutch translation, although it is in my own language. But many words in it are old or unknown today and the style so strange for a modern reader that a perusal of that text has the character more of a philological exercise than of a pleasant entertainment, whereas a good knowledge of classical Latin allows the reader of the original text to enjoy the novel as a literary work of art and not to toil on it as on a 'Seminarübung'.

The second advantage of the classical but ahistorical setting is even greater for Barclay's purpose: he never had to shun the danger of anachronistic writing, not even when — as he often did — he introduced contemporary reflections on philosophical, cultural, political, religious or other matters. Since *Argenis* does not live in a determinable century, it never can be said that her friends or adversaries could not possibly have said what they are made to say. The situation can best be compared to that of Utopia: Utopia is possible and acceptable to the reader because it nowhere really exists. Therefore, Barclay's fictitious Sicily is extremely well adapted to his purpose. The weakness of Rossi's *Eudemia*, another seventeenth-century novel written in Rome, is the fact that it is too precisely dated: the story, which intends to be a satire on contemporary Rome, is set under Tiberius at the time of Seianus (although not in Rome itself, but on an island in the Atlantic). A German imitator of Barclay at the end of

er sich vom Flug seiner Phantasie zu einem Locus amoenus tragen lässt, der die schönsten Orte der griechischen und italienischen Landschaft in sich vereinigt und zeitlich sowohl in der Antike wie in der Gegenwart liegt". (*Deutscher Horaz*, Wiesbaden, 1976, p. 125). See also A. N. Mancini, *Romanzi e romanziere del Seicento* (Naples, 1981), pp. 28-29 and L. Forster, "Die *Emblemata Horatiana* des Otho Vaenius", *Wolfenbütteler Forschungen*, 12 (1981), 117-128 (p. 119): "... was in den Kupfern gezeigt wird, ist eine vermeintliche antike Welt, wie man sie sich am Anfang des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts vorstellte".

the century, Johannes Ludovicus Prasch, understood his model much better. His *Amor and Psyche* story is located in Crete and Attica in a quite undeterminable age with pagan as well as Byzantine features¹⁶.

The names given to the protagonists, which present a wide variety of linguistic origins, are an important part of the setting. The greater part of them are, of course, Greek or apparently Greek, like the name *Argenis* itself. Many of the names were chosen, or perhaps coined by Barclay for their general meaning: they typify a character exactly as masks in ancient theatre did. The good king is called Meleander, 'he who cares for men'; his main counsellor is Cleobulus or 'famous in counsel', whereas a traitor is called Oloodemus or 'ruin of the people'. *Argenis'* first lady in waiting is Selenissa, as if she was the moon compared to the princess, who is the sun. In this way Barclay suggests the sun image of the highest authority, which was to become popular in the Rome of Urban VIII and, from there, spread to France, where it became most famous under Louis XIV, 'le roi-soleil'¹⁷. In another passage Barclay explicitly compared the king to the sun¹⁸.

It is only in a few cases that the choice of a Greek name is the result of a deliberate appeal to the reader's classical learning, or is interpretable as such. Cleobulus in Plato's *Protagoras* is also the name of one of the seven Wise Men of Greece. The first female character to appear in the novel is Timoclea, a noble lady who, against the king's orders, will help Poliarchus to escape imminent danger. In Plutarch's widely read *Life of Alexander* Timoclea is the name of a wise and courageous Theban lady who dared to reprove Alexander. Barclay may have found the name in this popular text, although I would not wish to press this point too far.

Apart from the Greek names 'couleur locale' is added by some

¹⁶ J. IJsewijn, "Vergilio quomodo usus sit Iohannes Ludovicus Praschius in fabula poetica, quae *Psyche Cretica* (1685) inscribitur", *Quaestiones Vergilianae*. Academiae Latinitati fovendae Commentarii, V (Rome, 1982), pp. 21-29, and "Amour et Psyche dans un roman de 1685: la *Psyche Cretica*", in H. Zehnacker et G. Hentz (eds), *Hommages à Robert Schilling* (Paris, 1983), pp. 337-345.

¹⁷ See the article of M. Fumaroli quoted in note 7. However, the image of the pope as the sun seems to have much older roots in Rome. See now Laura Onofri, "Sicut fremitus leonis ita et regis ira". Temi neoplatonici e culto solare nell'orazione funebre per Niccolò V di Jean Jouffroy", *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 31 (1982), 1-28.

¹⁸ In Cleobulus' counsels to the king, early in book III.

others : Numidian, such as Syphax ; Gallic, such as Comindorix ; Latin, such as Aquilius or 'the Northerner' for the German emperor, etc. Here again Barclay displays some imagination. The Mauretanian queen is called Hyanisbe (she has a sister Anna, like the more famous queen Dido of Carthage). The name Hyanisbe immediately recalls that other Carthaginian princess Sophonisbe, well known from Livy, Petrarch and several humanist tragedies¹⁹. The first part of the name is again apparently Greek (as in names such as Hyacinthus), but there may even be a vague reminiscence of Iärbas, the Virgilian king of the Gaetulians.

Quite a different class of names, even more meaningful than the previous one, are the anagrams or otherwise distorted names such as Usinulca for Calvinus, Ibburanes for Barberinus, Hieroleander for Hieronymus Aleander, etc. Whereas the classical names (except Nicompompus, who is Barclay himself) may or may not be subtle veils for seventeenth-century personalities, the members of this group are clearly identifiable contemporaries of the author, most but not all of them his Roman friends. This is shown not only by their transparent names, but also by the very precise description in ancient disguise of their dignity, their functions and relations. When a friend of Nicompompus/Barclay is called *Dunalbius* it is easy enough to recognise cardinal Robertus *Ubalдинus*, especially when it is said of him that "erat ille in deorum ministerio praecipuus, ex sacerdotibus qui purpura vestiuntur", and that "avunculus olim regem sacrorum habuerat, quem suos pro merito subvecturum, tam subito mimo febris eripuit ut triumphales lucernae rogi flammās spectaverint"²⁰.

Ubalдини was in fact a second cousin of Pope Leo XI Medici, who reigned for barely one month in 1605.

A few names, however, defy a definite interpretation, the main one being Radirobanes, king of Sardinia and the Balearics, the villain lover of Argenis. It does not seem a real anagram, although it more or less contains the name of the kingdom (SARDINA). Probably Barclay simply wanted a barbarous name which in its sounds and its ending (b)anes recalls many Persian names from Herodotus,

¹⁹ E.g. G. G. Trissino, *Sofonisba* (1515). See in general Elisabeth Frenzel, *Stoffe der Weltliteratur* (Stuttgart, 1967³), s.v. Sophonisbe.

²⁰ In the latter part of book I, when Meleander and Lycogenes make peace with each another and Dunalbius participates in the celebration dinner.

Heliodorus or Plutarch, such as Ariobarzanes, and thus suggests among Greeks the type of a barbarian or an untrustworthy ally.

Very soon a key was added to the editions of the *Argenis* in which most of the characters were identified with prominent political or ecclesiastical figures of Barclay's time. Even though many of those identifications do point to some likeness between the character of the novel and the historical person, especially if one avoids precise details, I believe that such an elaborate list of identifications was outside the author's intention. Therefore we should not look for more than just general and vague similarities to facts or persons of early seventeenth-century European history. The character of queen Hyanisbe, who stands for Queen Elisabeth of England, is a good example to the point: she has as much of the Virgilian Dido (e.g. a sister Anna) as of the English sovereign, or even more. In fact, Barclay did not want to write a history of contemporary Europe, but to convey a certain number of ideas through the attractive deception of a fictional story. At the same time he took the opportunity to honour his Roman friends and patrons not by a dedication of the book (which was intended for the king of France) but by the more subtle device of introducing them as clearly recognisable heroes in his story. In a time which was extremely fond of anagrams and other learned games, this must have been exceptionally pleasing to Vatican dignitaries such as Maffeo Barberini.

I now come to the general structure of the novel, an aspect of the work in which Barclay achieved a very high degree of artistry. In fact the *Argenis* presents an extremely well balanced and perfectly equilibrated structure, quite in harmony, I would think, with contemporary Roman conceptions of art which favoured a wealth of ornament displayed within strictly classical and regular patterns. The novel is divided into five books, the classical division of drama. The action develops towards an acute crisis situation in the third book, which in all respects is the core of the whole complex structure, and then goes on towards the final happy ending. The essential outline of the plot is as follows:

Book I.

We are introduced to the main good characters: Poliarchus and Archombrotus, who make friends with each another, king Meleander and his daughter Argenis. At the outset of the story Archombrotus

lands on the shore of Sicily and, in dramatic circumstances, makes the acquaintance of the valiant youth Poliarchus, who is in love with and secretly loved by Argenis. Because of some misapprehension (this is a rather weak point in Barclay's 'inventio') Poliarchus suddenly loses the favour of the king and, at the end of the book, has to leave Sicily. Archombrotus on the other hand is introduced at the court and kindly accepted by Meleander. Entwined with this first instalment of the love story is a political strand dealing with the king and his rebellious vassal Lycogenes. The latter's machinations are the real origin of Poliarchus' misfortune, but Meleander is not yet aware of the true facts. At the end of book I the king and his vassal make peace officially, but everybody understands that it will not last very long.

Book II.

The plot thickens. Love for Argenis awakens in the heart of Archombrotus, who is now possessed by conflicting feelings: his friendship for Poliarchus and his growing love for the princess. Meanwhile Poliarchus is wandering from Italy to Mauretania, where he is able to render the queen an extraordinary service, the importance of which will not be revealed until the fifth book. In Sicily Lycogenes is behaving treacherously and starts an open revolt against Meleander. But then Radiobanes, king of Sardinia, comes to his aid, seemingly a friend. So, at the end of book II all the main characters have stepped into the story which is now moving quickly towards a crisis in the political as well as in the amorous field.

Book III.

This book is not only the arithmetical but also the narrative and dramatic core of the whole work. It depicts the three suitors in a tense and thrilling involvement. Radiobanes first helps Meleander to rout Lycogenes; then, with the help of the perfidious Selenissa, he courts Argenis and, on failing to win her love, plans to abduct her 'by violence during the night. Archombrotus on the other hand tries to win Argenis by courageous and gallant conduct. He saves the life of Meleander by taking his place in royal disguise during the battle against Lycogenes in the early part of the book, and at the end of it he saves Argenis by exposing Radiobanes' scheme. As for Poliarchus, he really is the central figure in the central part of the book. Not

only is the fanciful story of his past years told there by Selenissa to Radiobanes in two instalments, but between these two parts of his life-story and exactly in the middle of the novel Poliarchus himself has an opportunity to pay a short visit to his love with the help of Nicopompus. Nowhere does the carefully studied structure of the work become more manifest, and one is reminded of the meticulously regular plans of Renaissance gardens and villas such as one still can visit in Rome.

It must be clear that the paramount dramatic importance of the central book of the story implies a particular importance for its discursive passages. It follows, in fact, that Barclay will have placed his most important reflections in the crucial part of his work. That is indeed what happens. In book III Cleobulus speaks at length about the ideal kingdom and its problems, Ibburanus about justice in court, whereas Nicopompus and Dunalbius discuss court poetry. It leaves no doubt that we have to look here for Barclay's main ideas as a political thinker and as a poet working for kings and popes. Since Barclay passed all his life in direct contact with the monarchs of England, France and the Vatican, these cannot be idle speculations, but the result of a lifelong personal experience.

Book IV.

From now onwards we are moving towards a solution of the complicated situation. The villain Radiobanes, after his failure in Sicily, crosses the sea to Mauretania for the raid he interrupted in order to help Meleander against Lycogenes. In Africa, however, he is killed in a battle by Poliarchus: so, exit the first of *Argenis*' suitors. At the same time in Sicily Archombrotus has won the esteem and sympathy of Meleander, who wants him to marry his daughter. *Argenis* begs two months for reflection, which is in fact the time needed by Poliarchus for returning to Sicily with the full proofs of both his innocence and his own royal dignity.

In the whole of the novel book IV is the counterpart of book II: in II Radiobanes enters, in IV he disappears again. Similarly II marks the beginnings of Archombrotus' love, which culminates in IV and leaves little hope for Poliarchus. In the same way books I and V are counterparts, each of them bringing together in friendship the two good lovers Poliarchus and Archombrotus. Two bracketing pairs

of books are ingeniously built round the nucleus of book III, where the three suitors are acting simultaneously.

Book V.

As I have said, the last book brings together again the two valiant and noble princes Poliarchus and Archombrotus. It now appears that the latter is in fact a half-brother of Argenis, being a son of Anna, the sister of queen Hyanisbe, and Meleander, who (one will remember) had been in Africa in his younger years. So all ends for the best in the best of worlds: Poliarchus marries his Argenis and Archombrotus is happy because he has found a sister. Moreover, Poliarchus promises him that he will give him his own sister as a bride. In this way the circle of the story is perfectly closed.

One may argue that the final solution is rather childish. In a modern novel this would perhaps be so, but not necessarily in a fanciful tale such as *Argenis*. Did not Henry Fielding resort to an exactly similar solution in *Tom Jones*? And who would blame him for that? But even present-day writers do not always despise such a solution as is shown by *La Provinciale* (1937), a short novel by Alberto Moravia. In this story the poor Gemma Foresi appears to be the half-sister of her rich lover Paolo and in this way her golden dreams come to an abrupt end.

Not only the overall composition of *Argenis* is well planned, as I hope to have demonstrated, but with the help of many hints, suggestions and anticipations the author skilfully links together a great many passages in different places of the novel and, in so doing, gives it an even stronger internal cohesion. At the same time he knows as well as a modern writer of detective stories that in order to create suspense, one must withhold as long as possible some information vital for a complete comprehension of what is really going on. So, for quite a long time we are kept wondering who Poliarchus and Archombrotus really are. Of the first we know that he was in Sicily for about a year, but we do not know where he came from and why. On the other hand we are informed that Archombrotus came from Africa, but we are in the dark about the reason for his journey for the greater part of the story. By telling Meleander that he came from Africa, he gives the king a quite natural opportunity to recall his own youthful years when he had spent some time in that part of the world. The importance of this piece of information given in book I becomes apparent at

the end of book V with the disclosure of Archombrotus' real identity. In this way we find it to be another link between book I and V. Similarly the raid against Mauretania is mentioned by Radiobanes in book II and executed in IV. The great number of such structural connections are proof of an extremely careful planning of the work and may well reveal a close study of the narrative techniques of Virgil's *Aeneid*. After all, the early novel was conceived as an epic in prose and therefore Virgil was the most obvious model.

A full understanding of Barclay's *Argenis* and its art requires a discussion of many other aspects and problems. Here I will touch upon just two more topics which cannot very well be passed over in silence even on first acquaintance with the novel: I mean his Latin style and his classical learning.

When I read *Argenis* I get the impression of reading plain classical prose, which is, certainly, in some places influenced or embellished by poetical language²¹, but which is completely unaffected by both pedantic archaism and the Lipsian chopped-straw style, the so-called "vellicantes sententiae" which are so common in late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century Latin writers²². It is without doubt also much smoother and simpler than in Barclay's own *Satiricon*. It seems to me highly probable that we can trace in this difference not only a ripper talent, but even more a direct influence of the great master of the new Roman style, the Jesuit Famianus Strada, whose fundamental *Prolusiones Academicæ* were published in Rome, 1617, the year after Barclay's arrival and establishment in the eternal city. To be certain, Strada seems not to have been one of his best friends, otherwise Barclay would have given him some place in *Argenis*. But this is hardly surprising, as he was a Jesuit. On the other hand Strada was the highest authority on style in Rome in those years. It would be a rewarding investigation to study Barclay's *Argenis* in the light of Strada's ideas on language and literature, especially the *Prolusiones* I 1 ('An proprium sit oratoris præstare solum memoria, reliquis autem ornamentis animi, præsertim intelligentiæ acumine atque iudicio

²¹ On this point Prasch (see note 16) went a step further, since he wanted to write a poetical work in prose, i.e. a work which only lacks metre to be a poem.

²² On the fashion of archaism see J. IJsewijn, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies* (Amsterdam, 1977), pp. 241-242 and, with other examples, W. Kühlmann, *Gelehrtenrepublik und Fürstenstaat. Entwicklung und Kritik des deutschen Späthumanismus in der Literatur des Barockzeitalters* (Tübingen, 1982), pp. 198-200. For the 'vellicantes sententiae' see hereafter the *Prolusiones* of Strada.

carere tuto possit'), I 2 ('An congruenter honestatis et historiae legibus faciant ii, qui in rerum narrationibus ad callida et politica, ut ipsi vocant, praecepta divertunt') and II 1 ('de stylo oratorio, et an acumina dictorum vellicantesque sententiae oratoribus usurpanda sint'). Let me quote from the final reflections of this *Prolusio*²³ and compare it with what I have said about Barclay's style :

Erit ille quidem probabilis orator, qui incorrupte dicat et accurate, sed curam tamen dissimulet idque veluti non agens agat atque intelligat eam Latini castique sermonis virtutem non tam adesse cum laude quam deesse cum dedecore,

and further on :

qui suavi et conspersa quasi verborum sententiarumque floribus oratione ita delectetur ut suavitatem amet etiam austeram et solidam, non aequabiliter ubique dulcem atque decoctam.

Barclay's Latin has been blamed as incorrect or unclassical by several older philologists, whom one is inclined to call 'Barclai-omastiges' rather than good critics. One of their strictures is that Barclay commits gallicisms. I will not deny that the French language may have influenced some Latin turns of his prose, but I do not remember having been offended during my reading by many such cases, and I wonder if that presumed 'Gallicitas' amounts to much more than Livy's famous 'Patavinitas'. As a matter of fact, scholars such as Dupond in the nineteenth century have taken exception to Barclaian expressions which can be shown to occur in several so-called silver-age writers, i.e. in the early Roman empire. They would have been better advised, I think, if they had read more and more thoroughly that ancient literature itself (as their humanist predecessors did all their life) instead of merely consulting modern grammar-books. This custom of consulting reference works rather than reading the classics and writing Latin yourself can be highly misleading in the case of the study of Neo-Latin authors. We cannot require a writer such as Barclay to apply certain grammatical rules and distinctions which were only established by nineteenth and twentieth-century grammarians after many years of scholarly labour (and not always unani-

²³ Edition Lyons 1627, p. 179. It is worth noticing that Strada is not an isolated theoretician but the culminating point of a teaching tradition which through such masters as Guinaggi, Galuzzi, Benci e.a. goes back to the Roman period of the famous French humanist Marcus Antonius Muretus.

mously, for that matter!). Moreover the text of the classical authors in fifteenth to eighteenth-century editions not infrequently shows significant differences from what we read now in critical editions. And last but not least, Barclay wrote in an unbroken living tradition of writing Latin, a tradition which does not care for the subtlest *distinguo*'s of Kühner or Ernout, but which had an almost infallible sense of what the Latin language can bear. Therefore, one should listen first to what Barclay himself has to say about the use of Latin, e.g. in chapter XX of the *Satiricon*. People who find "nihil purum aut syncerum quod ex Cicerone non hauserint" are as dangerous for Latin as the worst barbarians²⁴. To write Latin one learns as follows:

Adolescens, ut primum ingrata Romanae linguae initia evasit, statim ad amoenitatem Ciceronis traducendus est... et scribendi assiduitate rem omnium difficillimam in mitiorem cogat naturam... Mox in omnes passim autores evagetur licentius liberum studium, nec Petronium, Livium, Sallustium, Caesarem, Terentium, Curtium pudeat miscuisse Ciceronianae dictioni. Tum etiam Plautus, Varro, Lucretius et eiusmodi doctrina notabiles assumantur, et e novis hominibus ii tantum qui hos antiquitatis principes Pallade magis propitia coluerunt.

This is clearly a liberal eclecticism founded on a Ciceronian base, and that is exactly the picture we get of Barclay's Latin in *Argenis*. It is basically classical in both its vocabulary and syntax. I checked two hundred and fifty pages of text for vocabulary and I found hardly a score of terms which are not attested in the Ciceronian age. But several of these words turn up only in later literature by the sheerest chance of the loss or survival of certain classical works and certainly not because they are in any way unclassical formations. An adjective such as 'subflavus' happens not to be found before Suetonius, but nobody can believe in earnest that it is a late Latin coinage. Compound adjectives with the prefix 'sub', also in matters of colours, abound in Latin from Plautus onwards and it is sheer accident if we find 'subalbus' in Varro and 'subflavus' in Suetonius. It could have been exactly the reverse and only a maniacal Ciceronian Nosoponus can believe that 'subflavus' is not pure and excellent Latin. Other words such as 'invaletudo' are used by Barclay because they were quite common in Renaissance Latin. In any case, the number of

²⁴ Ed. Fleming, p. 98 and pp. 100-102. In the complete text of the second quotation correct Fleming's reading 'reddatur' in line 3 of the paragraph to 'reddat;'. The reader should be warned that the number of misprints in the Latin text of Fleming's edition is rather high.

unusual terms which can be assigned to the influence (direct or even indirect) of archaic and late authors is insignificant, just enough to prove that Barclay possessed the whole 'Thesaurus Linguae Latinae'. Let me quote the most noticeable ones from those two hundred and fifty pages I scanned. They are 'obstinare aliquid' and 'pauperare' from Plautus (but the second verb is also in Horace); the adverb 'assulatim' from the same playwright in a new 'callida iunctura' with an expression from Curtius: "Fores in terram assulatim arietant", a really graphic description showing the expressive power of Latin. The expressions 'intepescente metu' and 'intepescente tumultu' clearly recall the Petronian 'intepescente saevitia'; 'indonatus' which is taken from the *Historia Augusta*, and perhaps the most striking item 'alumna' in the exceptional sense of 'nutrix' borrowed from Martianus Capella. Let us close this list with two technical terms, 'scimpodium' (a couch) and 'siticen' (a musician at funerals), both from Aulus Gellius.

We must admit that the use of rare words is far from exaggerated, and that we cannot speak of a strange or mannerist style. At the same time one will have noticed that also in this point Petronius is by no means Barclay's exclusive or even favourite linguistic model. His reading was much wider, his own style far more personal than if it were cast in the mould of one single text or author, be it Cicero or even Petronius.

Moreover, the insertion of some of these exceptional words has more to do with the second point I still want to discuss, viz. classical learning. A typical case is the word 'siticen', which most Latinists will never have heard of before. It indicates according to an antiquarian quoted by Gellius a kind of musician playing at funerals. Barclay did not lose the occasion of the description of the burial of the soldiers after the defeat of Lycogenes²⁵ to demonstrate his knowledge of that term in an appropriate situation. Modern critics will easily frown upon such a display of learning and tax it as futile and useless. Such was certainly not the opinion of the humanist reader. Besides, Barclay in his *Argenis* really did not exaggerate in adorning his text with cryptic or otherwise learned allusion, but added just enough

²⁵ At the beginning of book III. There are so many editions, all of them with different pagination, that it is of no use to refer the reader to one of them chosen because it happens to be in my library. That is why I also give no references for the other words quoted. Only a new easily available edition will solve this problem.

of that type of literary *ornatus* to charm his understanding audience. It is after all an essential feature of Renaissance and baroque literature, and gives it its particular lustre. Those who do not like it or are not able to understand it would be well advised to stay away from it, not to condemn it.

In Barclay as in many other humanist writers there are two types of literary allusions. The first can remain unnoticed by the reader who still can enjoy the text on a lower level. These can be short textual reminiscences which a qualified reader likes to recognise. When I come across a verse of Barclay ending on :

... canis aestifer ignes²⁶,

it gives me the pleasure of calling to mind the Virgilian

... canis aestifer arva,

from *Georgics* II 353.

Whole passages may be imitated from a classical source. A good example is the description of the royal fortress²⁷. It depends in many details on Polybius, but it can be read perfectly well without any knowledge of the underlying Greek model. For the intelligent reader, however, Barclay has given an unmistakable clue: the fortress is called 'Epeircte', a strange enough name in Latin, but which brings you right to the ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς Εἰρκτῆς λεγόμενος τόπος in chapter 56.3 of the first book of Polybius.

The second class of allusions demands understanding, otherwise something in the text will remain in the dark. These are, of course, the more subtle appeals to the reader's learning. Quite a few such allusions are still understandable to any man with an average classical background. When at the very beginning of *Argenis* the lady Timoclea comes galloping up panic-stricken and crying "nec mitius quam in Phrygio aut Thebano furore" the comparison with Cassandra or the Bacchantes is obvious enough. Or when Archombrotus goes into battle disguised as king Meleander and, on being victorious, discloses his real identity under the king's armour saying "Patroclo felicior sub maioribus armis fefelli", most readers know enough of the *Iliad* to remember Patroclus story²⁸. Likewise, when *Argenis*, longing for her

²⁶ Verse 6 of the second versified passage of book III.

²⁷ At the outset of book II just before the first metrical passage.

²⁸ At the beginning of book III.

Poliarchus absent in Africa, sighs: "Quae te in Africa lotos a reditu arcet?" it is not difficult to see that she is thinking of Ulysses' adventure in the land of the Lotus-eaters²⁹. But sometimes — though rarely in this novel — a very learned allusion obliges you to search around in your classics to get the point. Just one example:

Caedem enim vel lui vel purgari iudicio adeo mos est ut ipsum Martem ferant, caeso Halirrhotio, in Areopago causam dixisse³⁰.

Who nowadays remembers that Halirrhotius was a son of Poseidon killed by Mars? The story is in a passage of Euripides' *Electra* (vv. 1258-1263).

It may be that many readers in our time will be irritated by this challenge to their knowledge (or ignorance). I confess it does not irritate me at all; trying to locate the source of the allusion is a kind of, admittedly, philological pleasure. And if one does not like such kind of literature, one can better stop reading the classics too, because it is part and parcel of their art not less than of Barclay's.

It is time now to conclude. Fictional prose is in general very rare in Latin literature, in ancient times as well as in the medieval and humanist ages. Really good and successful works in this genre can be counted on the fingers of one hand. When Barclay set out to write his *Argenis* there was not, as far as I can see, in Latin a single long romance of that type. Petronius exists only in scattered fragments, not all of them known in Barclay's time. Apuleius is a rather loose series of short stories, the longest being the famous *Amor et Psyche*. From the Latin Middle Ages and the Renaissance we have only shorter works such as Piccolomini's *Historia de duobus amantibus* in the style of Boccaccio. If any longer tale of this kind was written, such as a late fifteenth century *Historia heroica* may be, it was never published and up to the present day it is lying hidden in a Florentine manuscript³¹. In short, Barclay had no real model to follow, except to some extent the Greek Heliodorus. If then, in this early stage of the development of the modern European novel, Barclay succeeded in writing a long novel, which is well built, well written and, with its many reflective

²⁹ Shortly after the first poem in book III.

³⁰ In the middle of book I during the preparations of Poliarchus' escape from Sicily, a couple of pages before the sixth poem ('Iam prope congesti...').

³¹ See S. Cavazza, "Girolamo Rorario e il dialogo Julius Exclusus", *Memorie storiche forogiuliesi*, 60 (1980), 129-164 (pp. 157 sqq.).

passages on various matters, something more than a mere entertainment story, I think we can safely say that this Scot born in the French duchy of Lorraine was an artist who deserved a short remembrance of the fourth centennial of his birth-day, if not in the world at large, at least in the fifth international congress of Neo-Latin studies celebrated in the oldest of Scotland's Universities³².

K. Universiteit Leuven
Semin. Philol. Humanist.

TORQVATO TASSO
AC
IOANNI BARCLAIO
Ianiculo in colle, eodemque in templo sepultis
ELOGIVM

Hercule licet velocior, Viator, enaviges,
Quidni hoc in Freto haeras, et in Bivio,
In quo Magnetica, vel Cynosura, vel Helice
Virtus te allicit, ac Voluptas:
5 Numquam ad Veritatem ac Vitam tutius Via,
Quam cum ab Vtraque longius ire se fingunt.
Ne ambiguo erres in labyrintho,
Praesto tibi cum filo duplex est Theseus;
Et quia non unius Victor Monstri,
10 Non unam Ariadnae Coronam emeritus inter Astra:
Innoxium hinc, quia Italus, offendis in TASSUM,
Inde, quia Scotus, Clavigerum in BARCLAIUM;
Ni Coaevos ac Pares malis
Suos inter cineres Phoenices, inter funera Cynos,
15 Immortalitatis tamen vel Filios, vel Parentes.
Nisi quod inter Sirenes alter portum,
Alter inter Gallos nidum sortitus,
Suis cantibus, vocibusque ad melos compositis

³² This paper was read during a plenary session of the Congress held at St. Andrews, 24th August – 1 September 1982.

Nec Vlysem obsurdescere ad Sebetum,
 20 Nec Lupam obmutescere ad Tiberim docuit.
 Nactus ille in Iordanis, hic Arethusae in fontibus Hippocrenen,
 Ab Idumaea ille Palmas, hic Lauros e Trinacria messuit/
 f. A 1^v Ligatis licet ille, solutis hic pedibus,
 Suis militaverint sub Heroibus;
 25 Neuter Pedes, Vterque equitavit in Pegaso.
 Chiron Biformis Vterque,
 Qui suo in Rinaldo, ac Poliarcho Achilles,
 Spartanam in Argenide Venerem,
 In Clorinda Palladem efformavit:
 30 Lumina alter Estensi ab Aquila,
 Favos alter Barberinis ab Apibus mutuatus.
 Et quia alter arduas inter Gofredi Ardeas
 Columbae cum Epistola perfugium dederat;
 In Corvos alter Gallos docuit
 35 Gruis instar Literato Agmine dimicare
 Hoc tandem tumulati in Colle,
 Suum sibi vel mortui excitavere Parnassum,
 Sed cui Ambo ut Gemina assurgerent Culmina;
 Et quidem Laureata,
 40 Quae Mortis, & Invidiae Fulmina vel Vmbra percellerent.
 Atlantis, an Coeli aemulum hunc etiam dices,
 Ubi Geminorum in Signo Phoebus fulcitur, ac fulget;
 Nisi quod ille è Cycno geniti, hi fuere;
 Nec Mutua Immortalitate, nec Muta,
 45 Sed Famae sibimet ipso è funere Praecentores.
 Eundem porro Collem, ut Olympum credas, facit
 Vtriusque eruditus Cinis nullo turbine obliterandus.
 Et quia in hoc Vno, licèt humili, superbiente
 Octavum attollitur Miraculum;
 50 Septem, suos quasi Fasces, ad pedes Roma submittit.
 Solem deiecto supercilio Capitolium erubescit,
 Quod nunquam has Laureas suis in Triumphis suspexerit.
 Ianiculus olim à Iano dictus;
 Nunquam magis ac veriùs
 55 Quam cum Gemino hoc non solum Vultu, sed Ore
 Omnia intuetur, ac sequitur;
 Nisi quod factus ab his Bifrons, ac Biceps /

Unum Aeternitatis reflexus in Orbem
 Praeterita Venturaque Secula posthabuit, ac praeivit.
 60 Quod si suo in Templo Bella claudebat Ianus;
 Quis posthac pugnam, nedum victoriam, speret,
 Vbi tantum Par suo in Templo condit, ac promit?
 Et quidem Hieronymi sub Leone;
 Sed ut hic Caelesti maior vel unum in Geminis,
 65 Vel Geminos exciperet Soles,
 Nec ad unam tantum Virginem,
 Sed omnes excubaret ad Musas.
 Portento etiam unico,
 Ut eodem in Leone, qui hanc praeponderat Libram,
 70 Nulla Ingenia Aequinoctium habeant,
 Solus Apollo Solstitium.
 An verò stupore defixus hic stare non poterit,
 Vbi gemino in Tumulo, unoque in Scopulo
 Suum praescripsit, alienum sustulit Non Plus Ultra?
 75 At cum Tiberis fletibus intumescens
 Nili aemulus exundabit uberior,
 Postremum hoc erit Monstrum
 Quod Leonis in Signo suos etiam habeant Fontes
 Et Gemini, & Aquarius,
 80 Ni maius, et ultra fidem sit,
 Vnam Vtrisque deesse Lacrymarum, ac Cinerum.
 Hoc tantum interiecto discrimine;
 Quod Alter vix Decimum,
 Alter nondum Octavum emensus Lustrum,
 85 Quotidie vel renascens, vel reviviscens,
 Nec Fletu, indigeat, nec Sepulcro.
 Suam TASSUS Imaginem
 Sua non minus Fama, quam suorum Fumo praeclaram
 In Templo praefert, utpote Oraculum;
 90 Sed in qua, non tam Apelles, quam Apollo
 Omnes exhausit Lineas, non nisi sibi Parallellas,
 Quippe qui Dulci Vtile admiscens omne tulit Punctum. /
 Suam BARCLAIUS effigiem
 In Bibliotheca, et in Marmore occulit;
 95 Illam vel extinctus editurus in lucem,
 Ab hoc nonnisi Gratias, ac Veneres posthumas.

Instauratae Humanitatis
 Prometheus ille ad Solem, Deucalion ad Lapidem iste,
 Sed Parnassi Vterque in cacumine ambidexter.
 100 Nisi Sol, ac Memnon sit in Saxo elinguis, & eloquens.
 Vnius cum Picturam videris, hoc tibi pro Taumantide sit,
 Quod suas Phoebus inter luces & umbras
 Sua Daqphnide redimitur :
 Cum Alterius Simulacrum,
 105 Vel Palladem ipsam in Medusam abijisse,
 Vel Phoebum in Niobem,
 Vtrumque Apellis, ac Phidae Miraculis digniorem.
 Hoc tandem tu Prodigium suspice;
 Quod ille ad Silarum natus
 110 Ipso è lapide Lauream gignere didicit:
 Hic prope Orcades genitus
 Deucaledonijs ab Vndis nonnisi Lapidem parturire.
 Et Vtrique totum Pomum Astraea Iudice datum.
 Maius tamen, Viator, futurus ipse,
 115 Si Gemino hoc Palladis in Clypeo defixus abieris.
 Nunquam tamen oculatior, ac prudentior
 Quam cum Tassum in Talpas Argum Humi pervigilem,
 Barclaium in Cyclopes Vlysem insomnem videris;
 Cum Vtriusque è Saxis, Vmbrisque posthabitis
 120 Parcas, ac Musas renasci respexeris Immortales:
 Nec sequi Statium dedignatus tibimet dixeris,
 Tu longè sequere, ac vestigia semper adora.

Horatius Quaranta.

ROMAE, Typis Nicolai Angeli Tinassij. M. DC. LXXIX
 SUPERIORUM PERMISSU

AntonI QuaerengI

Carmen

(J. Barclaii *Argenis*, Ed. princeps, pp. 1207-1208)

Audiit ut magni primum Ciceronis ab ore
 Eloquii praestante Molon celeberrimus arte
 Illita Cecropio manantia nectare dicta,
 Obstupuisse diu tacitus, dein fertur acerbis

- 5 Aspera Graiugenûm fata incusasse querelis :
 Quos decus oblitos priscae virtutis in armis,
 Oblitos doctae studium immortale Minervae,
 Ipsa etiam patriae insignis facundia linguae
 Desereret, dominamque orbis migraret in Urbem.
 10 Quam mutat Fortuna vices! nunc maxima rerum
 Roma dole! Quibus en populis trans ardua claustra
 Italiae, non laude magis fera bella gerendi,
 Quam veteris pure cultum sermonis ob usum
 Gaudebas merito quondam admiranda videri,
 15 Hos inter nunc moesta vides, te verba sonante
 Barbara, et infecto Geticas ab sanguine voces,
 Antiqui dulces Latii florere lepores.
 Aspice ad Oceani extremos quem Gallica fluctus
 Ora Caledonii genuit de stirpe parentis,
 20 Ut simul ingenio et linguae vernantis honore
 Augusti referat felix BARCLAIÛS aevum!
 Aspice quot famae iam commendata perenni
 Ediderit doctis pridem monumenta libellis. /
 Et nunc ille animi certissima signa latentis,
 25 Et docet ingenitos populis deprendere mores,
 Subiiciens oculis longe distantibus orbem.
 Nunc regum innumeris exercita pectora curis
 Scissa inter procerum studia, insidiasque clientum,
 Semper et infidas sperantibus exprimit aulas.
 30 Ille etiam aeratas in praelia saeva cohortes
 Ducit, et humano perfundit sanguine campos;
 Aut fessae iucunda ciens certamina menti
 Dissidiis placidos pugnacibus armat amores.
 Flexanimae ô Charites fandi, ô late inclyta tanto
 35 Dedecus in nostrum miseri, terra ultima, cive!
 Parce tamen, mea Roma, queri; sese ille tuorum
 In numerum iam sponte refert, nomenque Latinum
 Principis Ausonii donis ingentibus auctus
 Provehit, et segnes post tempora longa Quirites
 40 Ad veteres scriptis insignibus excitat artes.

Charles J. DAVIS

JOHN BARCLAY AND HIS *ARGENIS* IN SPAIN

Four hundred years after his birth, John Barclay's masterpiece, *Argenis*, is generally treated as little more than an historical curiosity, very little discussed and probably even less read. This, of course, is more or less to be expected of a lengthy Neo-Latin prose romance, although the extended critical study which this work and its author richly deserve would surely demonstrate that in this case such neglect is particularly unjust. But in the meantime, it is well worth recalling how enormous Barclay's reputation once was, in all the European countries. For *Argenis*, the statistics alone are impressive: forty-four editions of the Latin text from 1621 to 1700 (of which twenty-four appeared in the first ten years), translations in thirteen languages, three continuations and at least two adaptations for the stage¹. Enthusiastic and admiring references to the work abound in the seventeenth century, with scarcely a dissenting voice: Bayle even tells us that Richelieu constantly read it and derived his political policy from it, and Ben Jonson was among the many who rushed to translate it². Intriguing though such popularity is in itself, its real interest lies in the light it throws on contemporary taste. I propose to concentrate here on Barclay's reputation in one country, namely Spain, and particularly on the earliest manifestation there of the reception of *Argenis*: the appearance in 1626 of two independent Spanish translations, one

¹ These details are taken from Karl Friedrich Schmid, "John Barclays *Argenis*", *Literarhistorische Forschungen*, 31 (Berlin/Leipzig, 1904), 1-183.

² 'On a debité que le Cardinal de Richelieu ne cessoit de lire l'*Argenis*, et que c'estoit de ce livre qu'il tiroit les conseils et tous les expediens politiques avec quoi il mit la France dans une si avantageuse situation', Pierre Bayle, *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, second edition, 3 vols (Rotterdam, 1702), volume I, p. 477. Jonson's translation, commissioned by James I in 1622, was completed by October 1623, but lost in the fire which destroyed his library; see *Ben Jonson*, edited by C.H. Herford and Percy Simpson, vol. I (Oxford, 1925), p. 75.

by José Pellicer de Ossau, Salas y Tovar, and the other by Gabriel del Corral³.

Pellicer is much the better known of these two. Born in Zaragoza in 1602, he had a brilliant university career at Alcalá and Salamanca, especially in law, and moved to Madrid in 1624. In September 1629 he was appointed *Coronista*, or Royal Chronicler, of Castille, and of Aragon in 1636. He died in 1679 after a long and highly distinguished career, and was certainly one of the leading Spanish literary figures of his day⁴. His translation of *Argenis* is one of his earliest works, published when he was only twenty-four; his enthusiasm for the work was such that he also published a condensed version in Spanish of de Mouchembourg's continuation, as *Argenis continuada*, under his own name, also in Madrid in 1626⁵.

Corral is rather less celebrated, but was a notable literary figure in his day. Born in Valladolid in 1588, he became chaplain to the Constable of Castille, and was a member of the famous *Academia poética* in Madrid in 1622; this group also included Lope de Vega, and Anastasio Pantaleón de Ribera, who wrote a prologue for Corral's translation⁶. After his *Argenis* he went to Rome in about 1628 in the service of Monterrey, the Spanish ambassador, returning to Spain in the 1630s to become Canon of Zamora, and finally Superior of the Collegial Church at Toro, where he died in 1646. He is best known today for his *Cintia de Aranjuez* (Cynthia of Aranjuez) of 1629, one of a number of pastoral romances still being produced in Spain well into the seventeenth century. Corral's *Cintia* may possibly owe something to *Argenis*, especially in its representation of real historical figures, although it lacks overt political significance⁷.

Both the translations are substantially complete and accurate versions of the second Paris edition, a point to which I shall return. They must have been completed, therefore, between early 1622 and late

³ *Argenis*, por Don Ioseph Pellicer de Salas y Tobar (Madrid, Luis Sanchez, 1626) and *La prodigiosa historia de los dos amantes Argénis y Poliarco, en prosa y verso...* del Licenciado Don Gabriel de Corral natural de Valladolid (Madrid, Iuan González, 1626).

⁴ Information on Pellicer's life and career is taken from Juan Antonio Pellicer y Saforcada, *Ensayo de una biblioteca de traductores españoles* (Madrid, 1778), pp. 101-12.

⁵ See Schmid, op. cit., pp. 131-34 and 144-46.

⁶ On Pantaleón, see now the new study by K. Brown, *Anastasio Pantaleón de Ribera, 1600-1629. Ingenioso miembro de la república literaria española* (Madrid, 1981).

⁷ On Corral's life and work, see Hugo A. Rennert, *The Spanish Pastoral Romances*

1625, when the censors were at work; indeed, they were in press almost simultaneously. Fray Francisco Boil signed his *aprobación* to Corral's translation on 5 November 1625 and to Pellicer's on 16 November (he nowhere refers in either of these to the other version). One is tempted to speculate as to whether Corral heard that a rival version was in preparation and hastened into print—he says in his prologue that 'it has been necessary to hurry this first edition', and he makes a point of having been 'the first to interpret such a difficult enigma'⁸. But what does need to be emphasised is that two estimable *littérateurs* found *Argenis* sufficiently interesting (or marketable) to make them embark so swiftly on the lengthy and arduous task of translating it. There seems, incidentally, to have been quite a demand for the Latin text in Spain too—enough to justify an edition, published in Segovia in 1632⁹.

Some of our best clues to the appeal of this work for Spaniards are to be found, as so often, in the preliminaries, which are full of remarkably warm praise for the original, and imply that Barclay and his *Argenis* were already well known in Spain. The remarks of Juan de Jáuregui are of particular interest, coming from so influential a poet and literary polemicist¹⁰. Jáuregui begins his *aprobación* in the Corral version as follows:

This book, which Your Highness has ordered me to examine, cannot be dealt with briefly; it is the famous *Argenis* by John Barclay, rightly praised and celebrated: because in its genre, both by the decorum of the plot, and the variety of incidents—great, marvellous, urbane, military and political—it surpasses not only the moderns,

(Philadelphia, 1912), pp. 192-98, and Amadeu Solé-Leris, *The Spanish Pastoral Novel* (Boston, 1980), pp. 133-35. He is mentioned in *Leonis Allatii apes urbanae, sive de viris illustribus, Qui ab Anno MDCXXX per totum MDCXXXII Romae adfuerunt, ac Typis aliquid evulgarunt* (Romae, 1633). Cintia is explicitly identified in the text as Doña Guiomar de Guzmán.

⁸ Corral, 'Prólogo', [sig. 5^v]. English translations here and throughout this paper are my own.

⁹ By Jerónimo Morillo; see Schmid, pp. 30-31.

¹⁰ See José Jordán de Urries, *Biografía y estudio crítico de Jáuregui* (Madrid, 1899), the principal monograph; there is useful information and comment in the introductions to his *Discurso poético* of 1624, edited by Melchora Romanos (Madrid, 1978), a highly contentious discussion of poetry, and to his translation of Torquato Tasso's *Aminta*, edited by Joaquín Arce (Madrid, 1970).

but also the illustrious Greeks: Eustathius and Achilles [Tatius] in their *Ismene* and *Leucippe*, and Heliodorus himself in his *Theagenes*¹¹.

Gabriel de Moncada, approving Pellicer's version, remarks that the original 'has easily gained the esteem of all men of good judgment', and one finds suggestions that everyone is reading *Argenis* and trying to translate it, though daunted by the great difficulty of living up to the original¹².

What, then, aroused such enthusiasm, most extravagantly expressed in the young Pellicer's extraordinarily elaborate 'Oration on the Tomb of John Barclay'? Several points emerge repeatedly. Firstly, *Argenis* is seen as a superb example of a type of work which Spaniards clearly felt they could both enjoy and admire unreservedly. The taste for romance was still, apparently, insatiable, and since the rediscovery of Heliodorus's *Ethiopian History* (the first Spanish translation of which appeared in 1554), high-minded humanist and Neo-Aristotelian critics, while deploring the vogue for chivalric romance, had extolled late Greek romance as an entirely worthy model¹³. This disparity in prestige is most obviously illustrated, of course, by reference to Cervantes, whose wholly serious *Persiles* (1617) sets out explicitly to rival Heliodorus, and in fact owes much to Achilles Tatius¹⁴. Jáuregui,

¹¹ Corral, sig. 93^r.

¹² Pellicer, 'Aprobacion del Lic. Don Gabriel de Moncada', sig. *2^r; Corral, 'Aprobacion del P.M. fray Francisco Boil', sig. 92^v ('la mas ardua dificultad, que ha tenido tan medrosos como deseosos los mejores ingenios de nuestro siglo, a quienes acobardò el temor de poder, con alabanza de su estilo, igualar el primor que en todas artes muestra el original').

¹³ See, for example, P.E. Russell, ed., *Spain: A Companion to Spanish Studies* (London, 1973), p. 300; M. Bataillon, *Erasmus y España. Estudios sobre la historia espiritual el siglo XVI*, translated by A. Alatorre, second edition (Mexico/Buenos Aires, 1966); and recently P.E. Russell, 'Secular literature and the censors: a sixteenth-century document re-examined', *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies*, 59 (1982), 219-25 (p. 223). The first published translation of Heliodorus (Antwerp, 1554), by an anonymous hand, is based on Amyot's French version but claims to have been checked against the Greek. A version by Fernando Mena (Alcalá de Henares, 1587), based on the Latin, had twice been republished in recent years (Barcelona, 1615 and Paris, 1616).

¹⁴ 'Los Trabajos de *Persiles*, libro que se atreve a competir con Heliodoro...' (*Novelas ejemplares*, 'Prologo al lector'). When our translations appeared, Achilles Tatius's *Leucippe and Clitophon* had recently been published in a translation by Diego de Agreda y Vargas (Madrid, 1617). On the *Persiles*, see Alban K. Forcione, *Cervantes' Christian Romance* (Princeton, 1972), and for a very useful recent discussion of romance in Cervantes, see E.C. Riley, 'Cervantes: A Question of Genre', in *Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies on Spain and Portugal in Honour of P.E. Russell* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 69-85.

Pantaleón and Pellicer himself all compare Barclay with Heliodorus, generally to Barclay's advantage¹⁵. It has been plausibly argued that in fact some features of *Argenis* rather resemble chivalric romance, the taste for which survived in the seventeenth century to a greater extent than has sometimes been supposed¹⁶. Many of its detractors had been avid if sometimes furtive readers of it in the past. But certainly, the genre with which *Argenis* was generally associated was both highly popular and much esteemed in this period.

Secondly, of course, it was written in Latin, and exceptionally fine Latin at that. Boil says that Barclay's style 'shows that he has drunk from the purest known spirits of Latinity'¹⁷, and Pantaleón goes further :

Barclay's style had some novelty, but was so felicitous and clever, that its greatest credit results from having had no model [...] For his books do not consist of the Laconic concision which Tacitus affected in ancient times, Cassiodorus in the Middle Ages and Lipsius almost in our own time, nor the Roman profusion which Cicero began, Apuleius followed, and later Apollinaris Sidonius [...] His style is perpetually great [...] it being so difficult to know how to be more expansive or more terse [*dilatar y recoger*] as the occasion demands, that until our author no one person had ever managed it¹⁸.

Praise indeed. Latin bestows prestige in itself, of course, and these commentators, especially Pellicer, suggest that Barclay's Latin is not merely correct but worthy to stand beside the most highly esteemed of classical models. But Pantaleón, at least, clearly felt that Barclay's particular greatness lay in combining the best and avoiding the worst excesses of two supposedly opposite stylistic trends, whose relative

¹⁵ 'Se aventaja [...] al mismo Heliodoro en su Teagenes', Jáuregui in Corral, sig. 93^r; 'Iuan Barclaio [...] hizo los cinco libros que oy se leen de esta fabula, remedando aquella de Theagenes y Cariclea, que escrivio en diez Heliodoro', Pantaleón in Corral, sig. 94^v; 'Cedate Heliodoro...', Pellicer, 'Al tumulto de Iuan Barclayo', [sig. *5^v].

¹⁶ M. R. Lida de Malkiel compares *Argenis* with *Amadis*, suggesting a measure of deliberate imitation on Barclay's part, in "Argenis, o de la caducidad en el arte", in *Estudios de literatura española y comparada* (Buenos Aires, 1969), pp. 221-37; see pp. 227-28. It is worth noting that Calderón, in his dramatisation of the work (*Argenis y Poliarco*, in the *Segunda parte* of 1637), accentuates the chivalric aspects of his source, explicitly comparing Poliarco with Amadis and Esplandián (line 2998); this strongly suggests that *Argenis* was to some extent seen in Spain in terms of chivalric romance.

¹⁷ Pellicer, sig. *2^v.

¹⁸ 'Al que lee', Corral, sig. 94^v.

merits had for some years been the subject of much controversy, in Spain and elsewhere: namely Ciceronianism and Silver Latin (or the Asianic and the Attic)¹⁹. If Barclay's style was seen as a happy medium between these two conflicting ideals (as Coleridge saw it later), such enthusiasm becomes all the more comprehensible²⁰.

Thirdly, *Argenis* is thought to display literary merits of a high order, notably the quality of its 'rare invention', as Jáuregui puts it, the plot being full of varied incident, noble and elevated, and handled with the greatest decorum and elegance. Fourthly it allies this aesthetic appeal with profitable political matter and 'good doctrine'. Boil regards it as an inherently valuable source of political insights ('such wise political rules, such superior statecraft'), Pantaleón speaks of its 'sound political prudence', and Pellicer revels in the fusion of political and personal roles, the fact that now, for the first time, 'in the Academy of Love Reason of State holds a professorship'²¹. This, of course, was a period of intense interest in statecraft in Spain, characterized in particular by an attempt to elaborate a form of political discourse (most notably on the part of the Tacitists) that could be cogently pragmatic as an instrument for absolutist thought, and at the same time avoid too brutally prescriptive a theory of self-interest. It seems reasonable to suggest that such a dramatisation of political discussion within a story of love and intrigue was a strategem calculated to appeal.

Finally, Pellicer in particular speaks of *Argenis* as 'that beautiful enigma, that animated symbol, that metaphor [...] this hieroglyph'²²; it offers, in fact, a puzzle, a mysterious and profound essence concealed

¹⁹ On this subject, of course, the studies by Morris W. Croll collected in *Style, Rhetoric, and Rhythm*, edited by J. Max Patrick and Robert O. Evans (Princeton, New Jersey, 1966) are still fundamental, and should be supplemented by George Williamson, *The Senecan Amble: A Study in Prose Form from Bacon to Collier* (Chicago, 1951). For Spain, no extended study exists, but a number of valuable indications can be found in Luisa López-Grigera, "La prosa de Quevedo y los sistemas elocutivos de su época", in *Quevedo in Perspective: Proceedings from the Boston Quevedo Symposium, October 1980*, edited by James Iffland (Boston, 1980), pp. 81-100.

²⁰ 'The *Argenis*, the style and Latinity of which [...] is equal to that of Tacitus in energy and genuine conciseness, and is as perspicuous as that of Livy, whilst it is free from the affectations, obscurities, and lust to surprise of the former, and seems a sort of antithesis to the slowness and prolixity of the latter...', Coleridge, *Select Poetry and Prose*, edited by Stephen Potter (London, 1962), p. 716.

²¹ Pellicer, [sig. *6r].

²² Ibid.

behind a beautiful exterior. In short, even when one allows for the usual hyperbole of preliminaries in this period, it is clear that these readers felt they were dealing with a masterpiece.

Both translations, as I have said, follow the text of the second Paris edition of 1622, to which all subsequent Latin editions I have seen conform, and which differs substantially from the first Paris edition in two places. One of these is of little significance, involving the expansion of a description in Book I²³. The other, however, is more important, and involves the discussion in Book II, between Archombrotus and Ibburanes (who appears to represent Cardinal Barberini, the future Urban VIII), of the heretical Hyperephanii, followers of Usinulca (a fairly transparent anagram of Calvinus). Since I have not seen this considerable textual change noted elsewhere, the passage in question is worth reproducing in full:

Paris 1621	Paris 1622	
<p>Subrisit Ibburanes; &, laudo impetum tuum, inquit, iuvenile feruore succensum. Olim quo-</p> <p>(1) que eadem sententia plurium fuit; donec rerum successu compertum est, ut quaedam animalia aluntur veneno, ita hanc sectam inualescere publicis malis, intèrque bella & clades saginari. Vt clementius igitur consulas, audi paucis, Archombrote. Multi fauent leuiter Vsinulcae, qui vbi ferro ac minis iubentur ab eius abire sententijs, arctius sectam illam tanquam miseram amant; occultaque deinde libidine liberè quae volunt sentiendi, & praeterea peccandi in publicas leges, cum pertinaciâ incumbunt factioni. Ita superstitionem indignatione & partium aestu verè animo imbuunt, quam nullo cogente omisissent incuriosi,</p>	<p><i>Hic Ibburanes; Laudo impetum tuum, inquit, egregio feruore succensum. Sed sunt tamen qui non sine argumento contraria sentiant; quia rerum successu compertum est, vt quaedam animalia aluntur veneno, ita hanc sectam inualescere publicis malis, intèrque bella et clades saginari. Alias igitur artes, eâsque mitiores quaesiuerè, quibus maculam Sicilia eluat; crediderintque Regum prudentiâ, absque ferro & sanguine, morbi saeuitiem ponere posse. Si quid verò ipse sentiam quaeris; neque cum illis pacem neque bellum simpliciter volo. Nam si quietem possunt pati, non hos puto vllis motibus sollicitandos. Sin in Regem rêmque</i></p>	<p>(1)</p> <p>](6)</p>

²³ Pellicer, fols 19^r-21^r and Corral, fols 12^r-13^r follow the text of the 1622 Paris edition, pp. 43-48, which differs from the corresponding pp. 47-52 of the first (1621) edition. The atmosphere of mystery and suspense in the underground passage which Archombrotus and Timoclea enter has been increased with a description of a hidden stream.

Paris 1621

aut pacatiùs inspectam vltrò dam-
nassent. Itaque veluti fila per se
tenuia ac soluta facilè rumpas; at si
ea inter se violento implicas nexu,
quò fortiùs premis, eò validiùs
stipantur, coëüntque denique in
funem cui frangendo nunquam
suffeceris. Sic isti per se
negligentiores suarum partium,
futurique ex morâ faciles nobis,
vbi intentatos iugulis vident
enses, qui coactum, id est, vt
existimant, pudendam poeniten-
tiam extorqueant, furiosè suis
adduntur; nexùque coniurato,
publicum, & quod vix emoliaris,
induunt robur. Iam enim in
plures serpsit labes, quàm vt
possint & inter reos scribi,
& citari à lictore; Ac prae-
terea ista Hyperephaniorum
natio, non ferendo parendoue
(vt illae meliores) quaerit
sibi incrementa; sed facilis
cieri ad tumultus sua facinora
non perfunctorio sanguine
assuescit asserere. Iuuentute
autem abundat Sicilia, quam
nunc leuitas, nunc egestas,
nunc ipsa armorum cupido, sic
(5) versat, vt non iure aut pudore
aestimato, factiosis det nom-
ina, & in militiam coëat
quantumuis superis mortalibùs-
que auersam. Ita multi dum ar-
mis certatur accedunt spe prae-
dae ad Hyperephanios, qui eos
in pace deuouerent; & Reges
bello illato plures de nouo
reos faciunt, quàm ex veteribus
extinguunt.

An ideo autem ferenda haec
regni perniciēs (ait Archom-
brotus) & veneno gliscente ex-
pectandum donec singula membra

Paris 1622

*publicam seditiosis consiliis
spontè insurgent, ferendos non
arbitror; sed vi armisque pre-
mendam vesaniam superbè furent-
ium. Pia tunc arma, tunc omni
laude digna in eos seueritas.
Totis regni viribus enitendum
ne impunè auferant abominandi
in Reges exempli audaciam. Et
eò quidem celerius vindicandum
est facinus, quò ipsi ferociùs
solent grassari in cunctantes:
nostràmque patientiam pro imbecillitate
contemptim accipere. Ne-
que enim haec secta, ferendo,
parendoue (vt solent meliores
disciplinae) quaerit sibi incre-
menta; sed iurgio, rixâ, tumultu,
sua facinora assuevit asserere.
Ferro igitur, & plusquam aemulâ
ferocitate, censeo in eos esse
agendum, quoties suis iniurijs
Regem ac Patriam lacessent. At si
seditionibus, si rebellio abstine-
bunt, patienturque mitius se haberi,
tunc ego cum illis pacem malim.*
Iam enim in plures serpsit labes
quàm vt singuli inter reos scribi
(3) possint, & citari à lictore. Ac
praeterea iuuentute abundat Si-
cilia, quam nunc leuitas, nunc
egestas, nunc ipsa armorum cupido
(5) sic versat, vt non iure aut pudore
aestimato factiosis det nomina, &
in militiam coëat quantumuis
superis mortalibùsque auersam. Ita
multi dum armis certatur accedunt
spe praedae ad istos Hyperephanios,
qui eos in pace deuouerent: &
Reges bello illato plures de nouo
reos faciunt, quàm de veteribus
extinguunt. Praeterea veluti fila
per se tenuia ac soluta facilè
rumpas: At si ea inter se violento
implicas nexu, quò fortiùs premis,

- perierint? Nihil saltem in
medecinâ, vtcunque periculosam
facias, grauius eâ lethali
cunctatione verendum est. At
Ibburanes: Aliae sunt artes,
Archombrote, eaeque certiores,
(6) [quibus maculam Sicilia eluat.
Caeterum vnus Regibus fata huius
curationis vim dederunt:
speramusque Meleandri pietate &
curâ posituram morbi saeuitiam,
modò hæc ciuilia arma cessent,
per quae semper Hyperephaniis
multum accessit. Pace, ocio,
(7) regni foelicitate debellandi
sunt...

(pp. 244-47).

eò validius stipantur, coëuntque
denique in funem cui frangendo
nunquam suffeceris. Sic isti per
se fortè negligentiores suarum
partium, vbi intentatos iugulis
vident enses, qui coactum, id est,
vt existimant, pudendam poenitent-
iam extorqueant, *interdum furioso &*
quem aegrè exolueris nexu coniurant.
Itaque pace, ocio, regni foelicitate
(si ipsi importunis tumultibus ad (7)
arma Regem non cogent) debellandi
sunt...

(pp. 225-28).

From this point up to the end of the discussion the two editions are identical. It will be seen that some phrases are common to both versions, though reordered in the second, but also that the new material (in italics in the right-hand column) explicitly insists on the use of force if the heretics show any signs of rebellion, whereas the original version was entirely directed to rejecting the use of force in favour of persuasion. Part of the earlier argument, to the effect that force merely hardens resistance, is retained, but only after being firmly placed within this uncompromising new context. In fact the change of tone is clear from the sentence 'Pace, ocio, regni foelicitate debellandi sunt' at the end, into which a proviso has now been inserted: 'si ipsi importunis tumultibus ad arma Regem non cogent'.

Barclay died in Rome in August 1621, when the first edition was actually in press²⁴. He cannot have introduced this change in the second edition, but it is not clear who did. In any case, whether the translators had seen only the revised version, or had seen both and regarded the second as preferable, Corral follows this politically safer version exactly, whereas Pellicer avoids the whole issue by translating just the first two sentences and then passing straight on to the next

²⁴ 'Achevé d'imprimer pour la premiere fois le 31 iour d'Aoust mil six cens vingt & un', end of preliminaries to first edition.

episode, omitting the rest of the discussion²⁵. Since the treatment of religious minorities was a delicate and contentious issue in Spain, especially since Bodin and so precisely in relation to the French Wars of Religion which Barclay seems to have in mind here, this textual change, and Pellicer's almost total omission of the whole passage, are particularly interesting²⁶.

Despite K. F. Schmid's opinion, that Corral's translation 'steht der von Pellicer de Salas [...] besonders an Genauigkeit und Vollständigkeit nach', the one other sizeable omission I have found also occurs in Pellicer's version²⁷. The passage in question is the last part of a discussion of astrology, which is comprehensively attacked by Nicomachus (normally taken to represent Barclay himself). It consists of an anecdote mocking an old woman soothsayer in Phrygia who could not even tell who had left a pile of dung outside her door, followed by a little mock-serious poem on the same subject. All this is faithfully translated by Corral²⁸. One can only speculate as to why Pellicer left it out; every Latin edition I have seen includes it. Perhaps it was a mere oversight, or he may have felt that it made an unseemly conclusion to a serious discussion of an important religious and moral issue.

Apart from this, however, both translations are quite faithful. Schmid, as we have seen, considers Corral less accurate, and cites the catalogue of the Biblioteca de Salvá, which calls it a 'rather free translation'. M. R. Lida de Malkiel, in her excellent article on *Argenis*, suggests that Corral's version was supplanted by Pellicer's because it was freer²⁹. A general difference of approach is perceptible. Of the two, Pellicer is often the more literally accurate in terms of

²⁵ See Pellicer fol. 95^r. He translates from 'Hic Ibburanes' to 'morbi saeuitiam ponere posse', but then other characters arrive, abruptly terminating the discussion. He therefore omits about seven pages of the original, including not only Ibburanes's own arbitration on the question, but also the whole of the argument in favour of toleration. In Corral the passage starts on fol. 59^r.

²⁶ On Bodin in Spain see M. de Albuquerque, *Jean Bodin na península ibérica: ensaio de história das ideias políticas e de direito público* (Paris, 1978). For a Spanish view explicitly opposed to Bodin on this issue, see Pedro de Rivadeneyra, *Tratado de la Religión Y Virtudes que deve tener el Principe Cristiano...* (Madrid, 1595), I, xxvi ('Que los herejes deben ser castigados y cuán perjudicial sea la libertad de conciencia').

²⁷ Schmid, op. cit., p. 63.

²⁸ See Barclay (1621), pp. 385-87; Pellicer, fol. 142^r; Corral, fol. 92^{r-v}.

²⁹ *Argenis*, o de la caducidad en el arte', p. 233 (see n. 16 above).

word-for-word correspondence, but conversely this sometimes leads him into obscurity, and he is guilty more often than his rival of failing to construe the syntax correctly, though Corral is by no means exempt from this. On the other hand, his version is more consciously ornate than Corral's, and more verbose; it is some 25,000 words longer—about ten per cent. He is much given to epic circumlocutory epithets (such as 'el joven Líbico'—the young Libyan—where Barclay and Corral simply use the name Archombrotus), and seems to be aiming more markedly than Corral for a grandiloquent, Latinate diction. Corral, on the whole, tends to favour clarity, and where he paraphrases or expands on the original it is often with this in mind, whereas when Pellicer does so the effect is generally ornamental.

These points can be seen more clearly from a few examples. First, a sentence from Book IV, in which Poliarchus is defending absolutism, arguing that Hyanisbe (a constitutional monarch supposedly representing Elizabeth I) must be free to levy taxation without being subject to parliamentary control:

Barclay	Pellicer	Corral
Poterunt tamen audi aut negligentes aëris Principes peccare in populum. Certè enim, & in caeteris etiam rebus, quas non idèo iuri eorum detrahimus (p. 911).	Pueden tambien los ambiciosos, o negligentes Principes del trituto pecar contra el Reino. Si ciertamente: y tambien en las demas cosas, que no se las quitamos a su poder por esso (fol. 325 ^v).	Podrà ser, que los Principes, ya por avaros, ya por prodigos agravièn al pueblo, ansi serà posible en esto, como en las demas cosas, que no negamos que puedan hazerlas (fol. 218 ^v).

Here we see Pellicer staying very close to the Latin, choosing cognate words (*negligentes*, *pecar*, *ciertamente*), adopting a word-by-word approach which produces a somewhat forced and obscure rendering. The hyperbaton, separating *del tributo* (*aëris*) from the adjectives by the subject (*Principes*), confuses the syntax, obscuring the link between *del tributo* and the adjectives. Corral, in a slightly freer version, makes the meaning clearer. His chosen adjectives, *avaros* and *pródigos*, imply money in themselves, so *aëris* can be omitted, and his structure, *ya por ... , ya por ...* ('either through being ..., or through being ...'),

clarifies both the contrast and the relationship between adjectives and verb. Pellicer's *pecar contra el Reino* is literal but rather obscure; Corral's *agraviar* ('offend' or 'oppress') again clarifies the meaning. The final phrase is again very literal in Pellicer—*quitamos* ('we take away') for *detrahimus*; *a su poder* ('from their power': a sort of Spanish dative) for *iuri eorum*—but with the cumbersome relative construction the phrase is a little difficult to construe. Corral opts for a brief paraphrase ('we do not deny that they can do them') which renders the idea of the original in a plain, clear way. Overall, Pellicer is more stylized, more Latinate, but his Castilian is somewhat stilted. Corral renders the sense clearly and fluently—his sentence does not read like a translation—but his version sacrifices the elegant intricacy of the Latin.

My second example comes from Archombrotus's speech to King Meleander's army before the defeat of Lycogenes in Book III:

Barclay
Et sum, inquit, sum
Archombrotus, Com-
mitones. Dij
bene quòd Patroclo
foelicioꝛ sub maior-
ibus armis fefelli.
Regis iussu quos
videtis cultus
sumpsi [...] Si sal-
uum hunc vultis, bis
vincendus est Lico-
genes. Iam enim in
Regem contendit non
tàm quòd victoriam
illic speret, quàm
quòd hìc victus est.
Tamen à furentis &
morituri impetu
Regem eripite
(p. 450).

Pellicer
Yo soy (dize) Arcom-
broto, comilitones,
gracias a los dioses,
que mas dichoso que
Patroclo engañè con
mas gloriosas armas.
Obediente al Rey
ocupè estos que veis
militares adornos
[...] Si le quereis
salvo, dos vezes ha
de ser vencido Lico-
genes. Ahora camina
contra el Rey, no
porque espère vencer
alli, sino porque
aqui ha sido vencido;
libralde pues del
impetu de una des-
esperacion en una
certidumbre de la
muerte
(fol. 164^v).

Corral
Y yo soy (dize) yo
soy Arcombroto
amigos, gracias a
los Dioses que mas
feliz que Patroclo,
con mas ilustres
armas me he disimu-
lado. Por gusto del
Rey vesti estas in-
signias [...] si
deseais su vida:
otra vez aveis de
vencer a Lycogenes,
que contra el Rey va
agora, no porque alli
espere vitoria, sino
porque aqui fue vencido:
Con todo salvad a
vuestro Rey de las
manos de su desespera-
cion, que furioso como
save que ha de morir,
no atiende a los
peligros
(fols. 107^v - 108^r).

Here again, Pellicer stays closer to the Latin verbally. He retains the very rare Latinate *comilitones*, whereas Corral opts for the vaguer but more idiomatic *amigos*; *engañè* ('I deceived') renders *fefelli* literally, but Corral's *me he disimulado* clarifies the nature of the deception—Archombrotus's disguise. Again, Pellicer's retention of *quos videtis* with the hyperbaton produces a consciously Latinate effect—*estos que veis militares adornos*—a construction alien to Castilian though characteristic of the controversial *culterano* style, a point to which I shall return. But it is the last phrase which really separates the two. 'Free him then from the impetus of a despair in a certainty of death', in Pellicer, is wilfully obscure almost to the point of incomprehensibility. Corral expands considerably, but intelligently. Nothing in the original corresponds to his last phrase, 'no atende a los peligros' ('pays no attention to dangers'), but it is a sound enough elucidation. What Corral misses, of course, is the terse, lapidary quality of this sentence, the climax of an exhortation, which Pellicer does at least attempt to capture.

My third example comes very near the beginning of the book :

Barclay	Pellicer	Corral
Discubuere deinde in triclinium cœna perlata; ritêque insinuatis sermonibus non dubitauit Timoclea quaerere ab hospite, quo nomine quâve patriâ esset; an praeterea consilio, vel errore, appulisset ad in- sulam. Ille se ab Africâ patriâ suâ, venire respondit; nomen, ac genus, dissimulari eos velle, quibus in se arbitrium erat; dum rediret, Ar- chombrotum iussisse appellari (p. 13).	Sentados pues a la mesa, sirviendoles la vianda, y en- laçada la conver- sacion, no reusò Timoclea el preun- tar a su huesped su nombre, su patria; si por consejo, o por yerro le derrotò el mar a Trinacria. El res- pondio ser de na- cion Africano, que su estirpe y su nombre no podia revelalle, pero que hasta la buelta avia mandado a sus criados que le llamasen Arcom- broto (fol. 5 ^v)	Sentaronse despues en una sala, y sir- viendo la cena, pro- siguiendo por sus terminos la conver- sacion, no dudò Timoclea de pregun- tar al forastero su nombre y su patria, v si caminava a Sicilia, o por error del mar avia aportado en ella. El res- pondio, que venia de Africa su patria, que los que podian mandarle le avian ordenado que en- cubriesse su nombre, y sus padres : y que en tanto que bolvia le impusieron por nombre Arcombroto (fol. 4 ^r).

Here we see Corral's relative freedom combined with a closer attention to detail; his version is distinctly the more accurate. He attempts *ritéque* (albeit clumsily) which Pellicer ignores. Pellicer's *huesped* and *por consejo, o por yerro* are very close to *hospite* and *consilio, vel errore*, but his *le derrotò el mar a Trinacria* is a gratuitous elaboration (the learned *Trinacria*, for Sicily, is typical of him), and again Corral's paraphrase is clearer and actually closer (*avia aportado*, had landed, for *appulisset*). From this point on Pellicer is quite inaccurate. He misses *ab Africâ patriâ suâ venire*, merely saying that Archombrotus was African, completely omits *eos quibus in se arbitrium erat* (an important point — Archombrotus is responsible to others), and, perhaps because of this omission, quite misconstrues *Archombrotum iussisse appellari*. The subject of *iussisse* is of course *eos*; Pellicer makes it Archombrotus himself. Corral renders all this fluently and accurately.

To argue like this from three small extracts is, of course, a hazardous and very limited enterprise; nevertheless, the points which emerge from them seem to me to be representative. Corral's version, on close examination, appears to be the work of a better Latinist, and it certainly reads more fluently; his liberties usually arise from a desire to recreate the semantic nuances of the original in relatively clear, idiomatic Castilian. Pellicer, it seems, is not aiming for clarity; his generally literal approach produces, not surprisingly, a Castilian which is highly Latinate in vocabulary and syntax. If, as has been argued, his version was the more popular, it may be due to a taste for such grandiloquence, particularly in a work of this type, whose whole aesthetic atmosphere is classical and elevated. But beyond this, the general differences between the two translations might be seen as representative, in some degree, of differing attitudes towards the type of writing usually termed *culteranismo*. Although, of course, this is essentially a poetic style, associated with Góngora, and the application of the term to prose writing requires some caution, it seems legitimate to compare the particular stylistic tendencies which distinguish Pellicer's version from Corral's with the characteristic features of the *culterano* manner, which involves above all a conscious Latinisation of vocabulary and syntax. Conversely, if Corral is avoiding such effects, relatively speaking, perhaps his manner was calculated to appeal to Jáuregui, whose recent *Discurso poético* (1624) had confirmed his outspoken opposition to the particular obscurities of the full-blown Gongoran

style³⁰. At the same time, such distinctions are never entirely clear-cut; seventeenth-century Spanish literary controversies often turn out to be as much a matter of personalities as of aesthetic considerations.

As Mrs Lida de Malkiel remarks, 'a systematic catalogue of the mentions of Barclay and his works in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Spain would occupy many pages'³¹. Such a catalogue is not possible here; however, a brief outline of Spanish attitudes to Barclay in the first half of the seventeenth century will serve to indicate that the enthusiasm evinced by the two translations of *Argenis* is one manifestation of a considerable vogue.

Although there is no record of a translation, or a Latin edition published in Spain, of Barclay's early *Euphormionis Lusinini Satyricon*, it is clear that this fascinating satirical *roman à clef*, as well as the same author's *Icon animorum*, did reach Spain. The former did not, however, escape the censor's eye, and in the 1632 Zapata Index we find it included in the *Secunda classis, in qua certorum auctorum libri aut prohibentur, aut expugnantur, aut cautione, explicationeve adhibita, notantur*³². The author is described as 'non immerito de religione suspectus'. The objections are based partly on the author's personal history, and partly on the work itself. The censor was troubled by Barclay's apparently willing service in the Protestant court of James I in the first decade of the century ('in Aula Britannica servivit, & inter sectarios commoratus...'), and indeed, one of the few passages actually expurgated from the text itself is the Epistle Dedicatory to Part II, addressed most flatteringly to the arch-Protestant Cecil—understandably somewhat offensive to the delicate Inquisitorial sensibilities. Nevertheless, although a specific charge is then added ('etiam adversus Cardinalem Bellarminum calamum strinxerit'), Barclay is acknowledged to have returned to the fold, and earned exemption from the status of *auctor damnatae memoriae*: 'tamen suam fidem tandem probasse videtur Paulo V. P.M. in Paraenesi ad sectarios Romae edita, 1627'.

As for the work itself, the censor finds certain passages offensive to princes and to the church, 'gravioribus quibusdam & calumniosis

³⁰ See n. 10 above.

³¹ Op. cit., p. 233.

³² *Novus index librorum prohibitorum et expurgatorum; editus auctoritate & iussu eminentissimi ac Reverendissimi D. D. Antonii Zapata...* (n.p., 1632), p. 669a-b.

criminationibus, ac maledicentibus detractationibus; quae ubi occurrant expugnandae sunt'. But in practice very little is removed. His other specific objection, rather interestingly, concerns the keys published in later editions, which particularize the satire in an unacceptable way; without them, the work could be tolerated 'quasi fabulam quandam commentitiam, aut vagum & fallax somnium'.

Neither in theory nor in practice, however, did such strictures prevent the work from circulating and finding an appreciative readership, and in the case of *Argenis*, the product of Barclay's last unimpeachably orthodox Roman years, there is no trace of even the slightest official objection. If it is true that the wicked Radirobanes represents Philip II, no-one in Spain seems to have minded.

Indeed, *satira* does not appear to have been an invariably pejorative term. In 1658 we find Alonso Núñez de Castro introducing a quotation from *Euphormionis Lusinini Satyricon* with some relish: 'como dixo a otro intento con satirico donaire Barclaio...' ³³. Five years earlier Juan de Solórzano Pereira, a knight of Santiago and member of the Councils of Castille and Indies, had peppered his *Emblemata* with quotations from Barclay's works, which he evidently enjoyed and valued highly ³⁴. He does take objection to a disparaging reference to Spain, from the *Icon animorum* ('Satyricus ille Barclayus, qui dicere ausus est...'), but he admires the poem on tobacco from Part II of the *Satyricon*, ('adducto praeclaro carmine Ioannis Barclai'), and reserves his warmest praise for *Argenis* ³⁵.

A final list of Barclay's admirers would include some very famous names indeed. Lope de Vega cites him as a paradigm of artifice and erudition in Latin prose, and Baltasar Gracián awards Barclay the highest praise, ranging from the approving reference to 'las mordacidades de Barclayo' in the list of literary models for the *Criticón* (a work in which Barclay actually makes an appearance) to the handsome tribute in the *Agudeza*: '¿Qué cosa más ingeniosa y perfecta

³³ *Libro historico politico. Solo Madrid es corte, y el cortesano en Madrid* (Madrid, 1658), fol. 16^r.

³⁴ *Emblemata regio-politica in centuriam unam redacta...* (Matriti, 1653).

³⁵ *Emblemata*, pp. 692, 289-90, and, for example, p. 716 ('Et Ioannes Barclaius [...] prudentissimè contulit'), and p. 454 ('Addo & alia verba notatu digna Ioannis Barclai, qui lepidae, & fabulosae suae Argenidis narrationi, serias graves, & veras sententias intermiscens...').

que el *Argenis* de Barclayo?’³⁶. The ‘apogee’ of *Argenis* in Spain, as Mrs Lida de Malkiel puts it, is marked by the appearance of a stage version by Calderón in the mid-1630s, under the title *Argenis y Poliarco*³⁷.

All this is no more than a sample of responses to Barclay and his *Argenis* in one country, and undoubtedly a full study of his European reception should be added to our list of *desiderata*. For the moment, however, both his former celebrity and his enduring literary excellence entitle him to a tribute on his fourth centenary³⁸.

Oxford.

³⁶ See Lope de Vega, ‘aprobación’ to Castro y Anaya, *Auroras de Diana* (1631); Gracián, *El Criticón*, edited by M. Romera-Navarro, 3 vols (Philadelphia/London, 1938-40), I, p. 98 (see also II, p. 159 and III, pp. 282-86); Gracián, *Agudeza y arte de ingenio*, edited by E. Correa Calderón, 2 vols (Madrid, 1969), vol. II, p. 198 (*Discurso* lv). In *Discurso* xlv (ed. cit., vol. II, p. 137), Gracián regards *Argenis* as an imitation of Heliodorus’s *Cariclea*. The library of Gracián’s patron, Lastanosa, contained *Argenis* in both Latin (Paris, 1625) and Spanish (the Pellicer translation); see Karl-Ludwig Selig, *The Library of Vicencio Juan de Lastanosa, Patron of Gracián* (Geneva, 1960), pp. 18, 19 and 44.

³⁷ See n. 16 above, and my forthcoming article, ‘Calderón’s Use of his Source in *Argenis y Poliarco*; Dramatic Craftsmanship and Taste’.

³⁸ An earlier version of this paper was read at a session of the Fifth International Congress of the International Association for Neo-Latin Studies, on 28 August 1982.

K. A. NEUHAUSEN und E. TRAPP

SPRACHLICHE UND SACHLICHE BEMERKUNGEN
ZU EINER NEUEN AUSGABE
DES CYRIACUS VON ANCONA (I)*

Die Wirksamkeit des so vielseitigen Frühhumanisten Cyriacus von Ancona (1392-1452)¹, der zur Wiederbelebung der Antike als begeisterter und origineller Erforscher der klassischen Denkmäler und Inschriftensammler wesentlich beigetragen hat², ist mit der umfassenden Monographie, die ihm Colin neulich widmete³, in den Mittelpunkt des wissenschaftlichen Interesses gerückt und daher heute besonders aktuell. Leider hat Colin jedoch folgende wichtige Textausgabe in seinem umfangreichen Werk nicht berücksichtigt :

Cyriacus of Ancona's Journeys in the Propontis and the Northern Aegean 1444-1445, ed. by Edward W. Bodnar and Charles Mitchell. *Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 112 (Philadelphia, 1976), VIII, 90 pp.

Diese Edition eines lateinisch abgefaßten Reiseberichts des Cyriacus hat auch sonst bisher nicht die Beachtung gefunden, welche sie ver-

* Wie in einem gemeinsam verfaßten früheren Aufsatz (in: *Jahrbuch der Österr. Byzant.*, 28 [1979], 141-165) haben die Autoren eine Arbeitsteilung vorgenommen: K. A. Neuhausen untersuchte vor allem den lateinischen Text, und zwar hauptsächlich unter sprachlich-stilistischen und literarischen Aspekten, während E. Trapp vorwiegend die historischen und überlieferungsgeschichtlichen Probleme erörterte. Die Siglen "N." und "T." jeweils am Ende der Einzelerklärungen weisen auf den Verfasser des Beitrages.

¹ Vgl. zu ihm jetzt E. Trapp in: *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit* (PLP) VI, 1983, Nr. 13983.

² J. E. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship*, Vol. II (Cambridge, 1908), S. 39, nennt Cyriacus treffend den 'Schliemann seiner Zeit'. Vgl. jetzt auch R. Pfeiffer, *Die Klassische Philologie von Petrarca bis Mommsen* (München, 1982), S. 71-72.

³ Jean Colin, *Cyriace d'Ancone, Le voyageur, le marchand, l'humaniste* (Paris, 1981), 610 pp.

dient⁴. Die vorliegende Ausgabe enthält nicht nur eine Reihe vorher noch nicht publizierter Texte, sondern bildet nach dem Anspruch der Verfasser vor allem

“a first contribution towards a critical edition of the surviving writings of Cyriacus of Ancona, its purpose being to make the text readily available and to indicate the kinds of editorial methods we propose to employ”⁵.

Die folgenden Erläuterungen zu einzelnen Passagen dieser Ausgabe dienen einem besseren Verständnis der betreffenden Textstellen. Sprachliche Erklärungen zu Cyriacus⁶ sind schon deshalb erforderlich, weil Wortgebrauch, Syntax und Stil seiner lateinischen Texte manche Besonderheiten aufweisen; das Latein des Cyriacus steht generell sogar im Ruf, fehlerhaft und schlecht zu sein⁷. Die sachlichen Beiträge des Cyriacus gelten dagegen als höchst wertvoll und sind wegen ihres bahnbrechenden Einflusses auf die Wiederentdeckung der Antike stets von größter Bedeutung.

In diesem 1. Teil sprachlicher und sachlicher Bemerkungen zu Cyriacus behandeln wir — mit drei Ausnahmen⁸ — nur solche Texte, die Bodnar-Mitchell erstmals veröffentlicht haben, während der folgende 2. Teil umgekehrt die Textabschnitte betrifft, die — bis auf zwei Ausnahmen⁹ — alle schon vorher publiziert worden waren. Die Zahlen am Rande beziehen sich auf die Zeilenangaben der Edition von Bodnar-Mitchell, deren Textfassung wir unseren Erörterungen jeweils voranstellen.

⁴ J. Raby, “Cyriacus of Ancona and the Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II”, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 43 (1980), 242-246, und auch z.B. Pfeiffer erwähnen die Ausgabe nicht; D.M. Lewis beschränkt sich in seiner Rezension (in: *Classical Review*, N.S. 28 [1978], 196) auf 4 Zeilen.

⁵ So Bodnar-Mitchell gleich im ersten Satz ihrer Einführung (S. 1). Demgemäß präsentieren sie nach ihrer Einführung (S. 1-8) und einem Handschriften- und Literaturverzeichnis (S. 9-18) die nummerierten und mit Zeilenangaben versehenen Textabschnitte mit kritischem Apparat (S. 19-60) sowie Anmerkungen zum Text (S. 61-69); ein Index und Abbildungen beschließen die Ausgabe.

⁶ Zu Sprache und Stil der lateinisch schreibenden Humanisten generell vgl. das Kapitel “Language and Style” in dem grundlegenden Werk von J. IJsewijn, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies* (Amsterdam, 1977), S. 237-253. Vgl. jetzt auch: Wolfgang G. Müller, *Topik des Stilbegriffes. Zur Geschichte des Stilverständnisses von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (Darmstadt, 1981).

⁷ Vgl. den Abschnitt “Le latin de Cyriaque” bei Colin (S. 503-507).

⁸ Text Nr. II (Z. 219-360), Nr. IIIc (Z. 395-412) und Nr. IVb (Z. 425-469).

⁹ Text Nr. VIa-b (Z. 618-648) und Nr. VIIa (Z. 859-880).

1-31 *Ad VIII K. August. ... reponenda curavimus:*

Dieser erste zusammenhängende Textabschnitt, der nur von einer kurzen Inschrift unterbrochen wird (Z. 7-8), besteht aus 5 Sätzen, von denen der längste (Z. 15-25) 11 Z. umfaßt, der kürzeste (Z. 29-31) 3 Z. und die übrigen jeweils ca. 5-6 Z. Demgemäß bilden die Sätze Perioden mit durchschnittlich zwei Hypotaxen; der längste enthält drei Nebensätze, der kürzeste einen Nebensatz. Jeder Satz ist zudem mit dem jeweils vorhergehenden durch eine Partikel (*Exinde vero; et inde; sed; at*) logisch verknüpft, so daß der gesamte Komplex formal eine Einheit darstellt. Zwar verraten Syntax und Stil der einzelnen Sätze einige Abweichungen von den Regeln der klassischen Latinität. Aber insgesamt steht die Perikope auf einem höheren sprachlichen Niveau als der Textabschnitt, der nach Umfang, Thematik und Gattungszugehörigkeit am ehesten vergleichbar ist: Nr. IVb (Z. 426-459); s.u. S. 68-71.

N.

1-12 *ex Bizantio Salubream per Ponticum ... per Ponticum Heracleam ... ad isthmon qui Proponticum a Pontico mari disternat et Bizantium terminat Chersonesum:*

Cyriacus fährt von Konstantinopel durch das Marmarameer; die geographisch falsche Bezeichnung "pontisches Meer" ist vielleicht durch seine subjektive Vorstellung zu erklären, der bis Herakleia reichende thrakische Chersones werde auf beiden Seiten von demselben Meer gespült.

T.

1 *Salubream:*

Die geläufige Namensform dieser Stadt ist griech. Σηλυ(μ)βρία, lat. *Selymbria*; vgl. aber auch die Varianten *Salombrea*, *Salombria*¹ und *Salumbria*², woraus Cyriacus, dessen Vorliebe für Namensspiele-reien wir auch weiterhin antreffen werden, offensichtlich in volks-etymologischer Anlehnung an *salubris* die Form *Salubrea* "die Heilsame" gebildet hat, vgl. auch das Adj. *Salubriano* in Z. 2.

1. Vgl. Graesse-Benedict-Plechl, *Orbis Latinus*. T. III (Braunschweig, 1972), S. 361.

2. M. Thomas, *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum*, II (Venedig, 1899), S. 304 (a. 1411).

T.

2 *Cappaneo Salubriano ducente navarcho*:

Der Name *Cappaneo* (-us) scheint nicht bekannt zu sein; anzunehmen ist wohl wieder ein etymologisierendes Spiel, und zwar mit dem antiken thebanischen Fürsten Capaneus und Cattaneo, wie eine bekannte genuesische Familie hieß, die auch im östlichen Mittelmeer in Erscheinung trat. So war Maurizio Cattaneo Podestà der Genuesen auf Chios und Admiral in Konstantinopel, in welcher Eigenschaft er 1453 unter den Verteidigern der Hauptstadt zu finden ist¹.

1. PLP V (1981), Nr. 11448.

T.

3 *iuvene Thoma Georgii filio Cataguzino, pro Theodoro Porphyrogenito despote praefecto*:

Zu Thomas und Georgios Kantakuzenos vgl. jetzt besser PLP V 10959 und 10969, die Namensform *Cataguzinus* steht der ursprünglichen, später selteneren, Schreibung *Κατακουζηνός* (aus *κατὰ Κουζηνῶν* nach einem Berg und Kloster bei Smyrna) näher¹. Der Despot ist Theodor II. Palaiologos, Sohn des Kaisers Manuel II., geb. ca. 1395, 1407-1443 als Despot in Mistra, von 1444 bis zu seinem Tod (Juni 1448) in Selymbria².

1. Vgl. D. Nicol, *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos* (Dumbarton Oaks, 1968), S. VIII-IX.

2. Vgl. A. Papadopoulos, *Versuch einer Genealogie der Palaiologen* (München, 1938), Nr. 91; P. Schreiner, *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, II (Wien, 1977), S. 463f. u. 471f.

T.

4 *quam honorifice*:

Im klassischen Latein wird *quam* in der Bedeutung 'möglichst' mit dem Superlativ eines Adjektivs oder Adverbs verbunden, in spätlateinischer Zeit dagegen oft auch mit dem Positiv und Komparativ¹. Es ist bezeichnend für den synkretistischen Sprachgebrauch des Cyriacus, daß er *quam* sowohl mit dem Superlativ² als auch mit dem Positiv — wie hier *quam honorifice* — und mit dem Komparativ³ verbindet.

1. Vgl. J. B. Hofmann-A. Szantyr, *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik* (München, 1965), S. 164; R. Kühner-C. Stegmann, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache*, II 2 (Darmstadt, 1971⁵), S. 480.

2. So z.B. *quam sollertissime* (Z. 627f.) und *quam laudatissime* (Z. 1069).

3. So z.B. *quam plures* (Z. 21) und *quam citius* (Z. 388).

N.

5 *nullum fere antiquitatis suae monumentum comperimus ...* :

Suae bezieht sich nicht auf das im übergeordneten Verb *comperimus* enthaltene Subjekt des Hauptsatzes, nämlich die Person des Cyriacus, sondern auf den in Z. 1 angegebenen Ort *Salubrea*, das erste Reiseziel des Cyriacus. Diese gegen die Norm der klassischen lateinischen Grammatik verstoßende Benutzung des Reflexivpronomens *suus* — statt eines Demonstrativpronomens — ist ebenfalls charakteristisch für den Sprachgebrauch des Cyriacus (im Unterschied zu dem späteren Humanisten): Reflexivpronomina wie *suus* etc. und *sibi* verwendet Cyriacus auch im folgenden Text oft inkorrekt¹; der Einfluß des mittelalterlichen Lateins war also bei ihm noch so stark, daß 'richtiger' und 'falscher' Gebrauch der Reflexivpronomina in bunter Folge wechselt².

1. Vgl. z.B. *suae* in Z. 308 und 660; *sua* in Z. 690, 717 und 1011; *sui* in Z. 26 und 226; *suis* in Z. 25 und 311; *suum* in Z. 1012, *sibi* statt *ei* in Z. 408. Interessant ist, daß in Z. 975 die aus dem 15. Jh. stammenden Hss. RC und T das grammatisch unrichtige Pronomen *suam* bieten, während in VL 6 (16. Jh.) die 'korrekte' Form *eius* überliefert ist, für die sich Bodnar-Mitchell entscheiden. Dieser Unterschied zwischen RC und VL 6 bestätigt, was auch aus vielen anderen Beispielen hervorgeht: Die Lesarten in RC stehen dem Original des Cyriacus oft näher als die in VL 6, denen Bodnar-Mitchell zumeist den Vorzug geben.
2. Das gleiche gilt auch für andere sprachliche Erscheinungen im folgenden zu erläuternden Cyriacustext.

N.

9-15 *Exinde vero concedens ... petens ... devectus ... venimus, ubi ... comperi* :

Syntax und Stil dieses Satzes weisen drei typische Merkmale auf:

- a) die asyndetische Aneinanderreihung der drei Participia coniuncta (*concedens*, *petens* und *devectus*),
- b) die Inkonzinnität der Satzkonstruktion (statt des Plurals *venimus* ist der Singular *veni* zu erwarten), und
- c) die Umkehrung von Haupt- und Nebensatz (der mit *ubi* eingeleitete Nebensatz enthält die Kernaussage und müßte daher aus formallogischen Gründen den Hauptsatz bilden).

Die Eigenart der Struktur dieses Satzes tritt deutlicher hervor, wenn man die Komposition des — auch sachlich vergleichbaren — Einleitungssatzes des Proöms Ciceros zum *Brutus* gegenüberstellt: *Cum e Cilicia decedens ... venissem ... cepi ...* (Brut. 1). Die gleiche Konstruktionsweise wählt Cyriacus bezeichnenderweise z.B. auch in der feierlichen Einleitung seiner Beschreibung des Hadrian-

tempels von Cyzicus: *Cum vero templi huiusce mirifici magnitudinem habilis considerassem metirique certius maluissem, comperimus ...* (Z. 319-22).

Der Vergleich dieser Stellen läßt bereits erkennen, was in vielen der folgenden Texte des Cyriacus noch klarer zum Ausdruck kommt: Die Stillage seiner Schilderung wechselt mit dem Gegenstand, den er beschreibt, und mit dem Ziel, das er jeweils verfolgt. Je wichtiger ihm das betreffende Objekt erscheint, desto höher pflegt daher auch das Stilniveau zu sein, auf welchem seine Darstellung sich bewegt¹; analog entspricht einem weniger relevanten Thema eine niedrigere Stilebene². Maßstab für die sprachliche Ausdrucksweise des Cyriacus ist folglich prinzipiell die Sache, die ihm am Herzen liegt, nicht ein bestimmtes Stilideal, an das er sich—wie es bei so vielen Humanisten der Fall war³—grundsätzlich überall zu halten hätte.

1. Besonders eindrucksvolle Beispiele sind das Bittgebet an Merkur (Z. 414-424), die Beschreibung des Hadriantempels (Z. 224-339) sowie der Brief an R. Castiglione (Z. 379-394).
2. Vgl. z.B. den tagebuchartigen Bericht in Z. 426-460.
3. Zu den verschiedenen lateinischen Stilidealen der Humanisten vgl. allgemein vor allem IJsewijn und Müller (s.o. S. 46, N. 6).

N.

11 *Bizantium*:

Das lateinische Adjektiv zu Byzantium lautet sonst *Byzantinus*, *Byzantius* oder *Byzantiacus*. Cyriacus, der hier—wie auch später—als Humanist eine Vorliebe für graeco-lateinische Wortbildungen zeigt, geht vom griechischen Βυζαντινός aus, das bei Stephan von Byzanz überliefert ist¹; ebenso auch in Z. 315.

1. Ed. A. Meineke, S. 190, 9.

T.

13-15 ... *murum antiquum constituisse ... comperi*:

Statt *constituisse* (= Inf. Perf. von *constituere* 'beschließen') ist aus sprachlichen und sachlichen Gründen zu lesen: *constitisse* (= Inf. Perf. von *constare*, nicht von *consistere*). Zwar verwendet Cyriacus, wenn er von der Existenz bestimmter Denkmäler spricht, gewöhnlich das Kompositum *exstare*, aber gelegentlich eben auch *constare* (z.B. in Z. 323) oder *praestare* (Z. 309f.). Die paläographisch leicht erklärbare Verwechslung von *constitisse* und *constituisse* findet sich in ähnlicher Form auch bei Caes., *Gall.* 1, 13.7: Überliefert ist dort *constituissent*

ebenso wie *constitissent*, aber nur *constitissent* bildet—wie *constitisse* hier bei Cyriacus—die richtige Lesart; der einzige Unterschied besteht darin, daß *constitissent* bei Cäsar zu *consistere*, *constitisse* bei Cyriacus zu *constare* gehört.

N.

- 19f. *ab Heraclio principe Constantinopolitano, a quo nomen civitati (scil. Perintho) inditum est:*

Dies ist nicht richtig, nicht erst unter Kaiser Herakleios (610-641) wurde Perinthos umbenannt, es hieß schon seit Diokletian Herakleia. Cyriacus meint hier nämlich sicherlich nicht Diokletians Mitherrscher Maximian, nach dessen Mitregententitel "Herculius" der Name der Stadt vermutlich geändert wurde¹, da "Constantinopolitanus" für diesen nicht paßt; *princeps* schreibt Cyriacus gleichwertig mit *imperator* für den byz. Kaiser, vgl. Z. 452 *Johanne Palaeologo Imperatore*, aber Z. 867 *ab Andronico II Palaeologo principe*. Der Wechsel des Namenspatrons ist gut vorstellbar, da auch bei Herakleios die Anlehnung an Herakles gesucht wurde².

1. RE XIX/1, 810 (Oberhummer).

2. Vgl. A. Pertusi, *Giorgio di Pisidia, Poemi* (Ettal, 1960), S. 265.

T.

- 60-2 ... *Maximo Sabino Lupo futuro filiis suis primus consacravi:*

Im Text dieser antiken Inschrift, von der bisher nur eine griechische Fassung bekannt war¹, sind zwei Berichtigungen vorzunehmen:

- 1) Statt des hier unsinnigen Futurpartizips *futuro*² muß man—gemäß auch der griechischen Version (Z. 70) bzw. deren richtiger Transkription bei Dumont (p. 37)—*Futuro* schreiben. Denn es handelt sich hier um den Dativ des Eigennamens bzw. des Cognomen "Futurus" das grammatisch auf derselben Stufe steht wie die Namen bzw. Cognomina der drei unmittelbar vorher aufgezählten anderen Söhne: "Maximus", "Sabinus" und "Lupus"³.
- 2) Statt *consacravi* (= 1. P. Sing.) ist hier—wie wiederum die entsprechende griechische Wortform (Z. 72: καθιέρωσεν) und ebenso das Reflexivpronomen *suis* beweisen—zu schreiben: *consacravit* oder *consecravit* (= 3. P. Sing.)⁴.

1. Vgl. A. Dumont, *Inscriptions et monuments figurés de la Thrace* (Paris, 1876), S. 36-37.

2. Eine Beziehung zu dem vorhergehenden Cognomen (*Lupo*) erscheint gerade auch dann absurd, wenn man an das berühmte Sprichwort "homo homini

lupus" denkt (vgl. dazu A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter ... der Römer*, Leipzig, 1890, S. 201).

3. Zu allen diesen Cognomina vgl. I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* (Helsinki, 1965). Für "Futurus" bringt Kajanto allerdings nur einen Beleg (S. 359), für "Maximus", "Sabinus" und "Lupus" jeweils mehrere.
4. Zu *consacrare* und *consecrare* vgl. das *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, fasc. II (1969) 411.

N.

74-76 *pi nostro Iovio ... Caesari VS vem praef. praetor :*

Diese anscheinend sonst nicht publizierte Inschrift läßt sich mit einer kleinen Verbesserung wohl so ergänzen: *piissimo* (eher als bloßes *pio*)¹ ... *v(iro) s(ancto) v(ivens) f(ecit) m(onumentum) praefectus praetorio*². Oder ist wegen *pi(issimo) VS* eher in *votum solvens* aufzulösen?

1. Denkbar ist auch *pientissimo*; vgl. A. Dumont, S. 11 und 23.
2. Zu den Abkürzungen vgl. A. Cappelli, *Dizionario di abbreviature latine ed italiane* (Mailand, 1979⁶), S. 511-513.

T.

180 *Teucris :*

Τεῦκροι (die antiken Trojaner) ist eine besonders im 15. Jh. bei griechischen Schriftstellern beliebte archaisierende Bezeichnung für die *Turci* (Τοῦρκοι), mit denen sie gleichgesetzt wurden¹.

1. G. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica*, II (Berlin, 1958), S. 307; vgl. auch *Teucris* bei Du Cange, VIII 90, und den Brief des Cyriacus bei Colin, S. 376.

T.

219 *Praeconensium insulam :*

Geläufig sind die Namensformen *Proconensis insula*, *Proconnes(i)us*, *Proconnesus*¹. Wohl von letztgenannter Form ausgehend hat Cyriacus ähnlich wie in Z. 1 *Salubrea* den Namen durch eine aufwertende Etymologie abgeändert, indem er an *praeconium* "Verherrlichung" anknüpfte; vgl. auch *Praeconesiam insulam* (Z. 428) gegenüber dem normalen *Proconesum* (Z. 474).

1. *Orbis Latinus* III (vgl. zu Z. 1), 209.

T.

220 ... *petens ... venimus :*

Diese Inkonzinnität—statt des Plurals (*venimus*) ist wie in Z. 12

und Z. 220 der Singular zu erwarten—empfindet man nicht als so hart wie jene in Z. 9-15: Der Satz eröffnet eine der sachlich reichhaltigsten und demgemäß auch literarisch anspruchsvollsten Partien des Reiseberichts des Cyriacus, nämlich seine teilweise geradezu hymnische Beschreibung des Hadriantempels von Cyzikus (Text Nr. II = Z. 219-360), der in der Spätantike so berühmt war, daß ihn einige Zeitgenossen enthusiastisch sogar zu den 'sieben Weltwundern' zählten¹.

1. Belege bei T. Reinach, "Temple d'Hadrien à Cyzique", *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, 14 (1890), 517-545, S. 517-518.

N.

224-5 *Verum et cuius ergo veneram et Propontiacum superavimus mare ...*

Die Kernfrage lautet: Was bedeutet der Relativsatz *cuius ergo veneram*? Beschränkt man sich auf den vorliegenden Satz, muß man *cuius* auf ein Pronomen beziehen, das wie *Propontiacum mare* von *superavimus* abhängig ist, also *id* (sc. *mare*). Gemeint wäre dann—entsprechend etwa der Junktur *per Propontiacum aequor Hellespontiacumque et Aegeum* (Z. 421 f.)—ein bestimmtes Meer, das Cyriacus vor Überquerung des *Propontiacum mare* passierte. Eine solche Erklärung wäre zwar grammatisch plausibel, ist aber aus sachlichen Gründen zurückzuweisen, da Cyriacus auf der Seereise von Perinthus nach Cyzikus, die er hier schildert, kein anderes Meer befahren haben kann als eben das *Propontiacum mare*. Mit *cuius ergo veneram* muß darum etwas anderes gemeint sein als ein Meer.

Das Problem läßt sich lösen, wenn man den von Bodnar-Mitchell erstmals veröffentlichten Brief heranzieht, den Cyriacus am 12.8.1444—13 Tage nach Niederschrift des vorliegenden Satzes—an Raffaello Castiglione sandte (Z. 379-394). Dieser beginnt mit den Worten: *Bis tui gratia Perinthus venimus ... et primo atque altero adventu aufugeras et nostro te aspectu subtraxisti*. Cyriacus war demnach zweimal 'wegen R. Castiglione' nach Perinthus gekommen, hatte jedoch beidemal vergeblich versucht, ihn anzutreffen. Allein schon diese Mitteilung des Cyriacus würde genügen, *cuius ergo veneram* in Z. 224 auf R. Castiglione zu beziehen, so daß vor *cuius* nicht *id*, sondern *eum* (sc. Raffaello Castiglione) ergänzt werden muß: 'den, dessentwegen ich gekommen war'.

Es gibt einen zusätzlichen, noch klareren Beweis für die Notwendigkeit dieser Ergänzung. Cyriacus fährt nämlich in dem zitierten Brief

fort: *Equidem vero cum primum adveneram, ... exclamavi: quae regio Raphaelem, quis habet locus? Illius ergo venimus et magnum Propontidis penetravimus aequor*. Zweifellos liegt hier, wie Bodnar-Mitchell anmerken, eine Vergilimitation¹ vor; *Aen.*, VI 670-71 lautet:

*Quae regio Anchisen, quis habet locus? Illius ergo
venimus et magnos Erebi tranavimus amnis.*

Cyriacus übernimmt diese beiden Verse, indem er nur den Namen des Anchises durch den des Raffaello Castiglione ersetzt und statt *magnos Erebi tranavimus amnis* genau analog schreibt *magnum Propontidis penetravimus aequor*. Dieselben Vergilverse hatte folglich Cyriacus schon 13 Tage vorher vor Augen, als er prägnant formulierte: *et cuius ergo veneram et Propontiacum superavimus mare*. Denn *cuius ergo veneram* bezieht sich evident auf *illius ergo veneram* bei Vergil, während *et Propontiacum superavimus aequor* ebenso wie *et magnum Propontidis penetravimus aequor* (Z. 385) dem Satzteil *et magnos Erebi tranavimus amnis* bei Vergil nachgebildet ist. *Et cuius ergo veneram et Propontiacum superavimus mare* bildet demnach eine Kurzfassung der ausführlichen Vergilnachahmung in Z. 385f.

Eine besondere Prägnanz enthält diese Kurzfassung außerdem dadurch, daß das Pronomen *eum*, das man zu *cuius ergo veneram* ergänzen muß, ebenso wie das Objekt *Propontiacum mare* von dem Prädikat *superavimus* abhängt. Der Ausdruck *superavimus mare* ist geläufig (vgl. Z. 485f.: ... *Hellespontum superavimus laeti*): *Mare superare* bedeutet 'ein Meer überqueren'²; vielleicht ahmt Cyriacus Ovids Ausdruck *bimarem cursu superavimus Isthmon* (*Trist.*, I 11.5) nach, zumal da er unmittelbar darauf (Z. 228-31) ausdrücklich zwei Verse der vorhergehenden Elegie Ovids (*Trist.*, I 10.29-30) zitiert. Ungewöhnlich ist dagegen die Junktur *eum cuius ergo veneram* in Verbindung mit *superavimus mare*.

Offenbar liegt hier ein Zeugma vor: Definiert man 'Zeugma' als die — zumeist absichtliche — Verbindung eines Verbs mit zwei Substantiven, von denen jedoch nur eines sinngemäß genau paßt³, so verwendet Cyriacus hier *superare*, um einen größeren rhetorischen Effekt zu erzielen, in doppeltem Sinne, nämlich in den Bedeutungen *superare aliquem* und *aliquid*⁴. Denn *superavimus* bezieht sich in gleichem Maße (*et – et*) sowohl auf die Person des R. Castiglione als auch auf einen konkreten Gegenstand, das *Propontiacum mare*, paßt aber streng genommen nur zum letzteren, da es zwischen den

Worten *Propontiacum* und *mare* steht. Die besondere Wirkung des Zeugma beruht also auf der speziellen Bedeutung, die *superare aliquem* hier hat: Was heißt in diesem Zusammenhang *eum* (= *Raffaelem C.*) ... *superavimus*?

Was Cyriacus mit dieser lapidaren Angabe meint, läßt sich wiederum nur aus dem Brief erschließen, den er einige Tage später eben an Raffaello Castiglione schickte (Z. 379-394). Denn aus diesem Brief erfahren wir ja, daß sich Castiglione, den Cyriacus in Perinthus aufsuchen wollte, zweimal einer Begegnung mit ihm entzog. Um nun diesen Sachverhalt bildlich auszudrücken, benutzt Cyriacus *superare* im Sinne einer geläufigen Metapher: 'vorbeigehen, vorübergehen, passieren' bzw. 'to get beyond, pass'⁵. *Eum superavimus* bedeutet hier also: 'Ich bin an ihm vorübergegangen': Bei seinem Bemühen, Castiglione zu treffen, ist Cyriacus — so bemerkt er kurz und knapp — 'an ihm vorbeigegangen'. Damit erweckt Cyriacus scheinbar den Eindruck, als ob es an ihm gelegen habe, daß eine Zusammenkunft mit Castiglione nicht zustandekam; in Wirklichkeit jedoch weist er ironisch darauf hin, daß Castiglione schuld daran war, weil er sich heimlich entfernt hatte.

Das Zeugma *et cuius ergo veneram et Propontiacum superavimus mare* läßt sich daher im Deutschen adäquat ausdrücken, wenn man den Doppelsinn, den das Verb *superare* hier aufweist, mit 'passieren' wiedergibt; denn 'passieren' kann ebenso 'am jemandem vorübergehen' wie 'etwas überqueren' bedeuten⁶. Der Satz ist demnach zu übersetzen: 'Ich passierte sowohl den, um dessentwillen ich gekommen war, als auch das Propontische Meer'. Alle Elemente dieses Satzes lassen somit erkennen, daß der lateinische Stil des Cyriacus — wenn er der Sache, über die er berichtet, besonderen Wert beimißt — auch im kleinsten Detail oft viel ausgefeilter ist, als man gewöhnlich anerkennt.

1. Zum Weiterleben Vergils in Byzanz vgl. den — für Cyriacus freilich unergiebig — Aufsatz von B. Baldwin, "Vergil in Byzantium", *Antike und Abendland*, 28 (1982), 81-93, und J. Irmscher, "De Vergilii apud Byzantinos cognitione", in: *Quaestiones Vergilianae. Academiae Latinitati fovendae commentarii*, V (Rom, 1982), S. 31-32.
2. Vgl. das *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, fasc. VIII (1982), S. 1877-8, s.v. "supero", Nr. 1 b: "to cross (a river, strait, etc.)".
3. Vgl. H. Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik* (München, 1973²), passim, und *Elemente der literarischen Rhetorik* (München, 1967³), bes. S. 105-106; O. F. Best, *Handbuch literarischer Fachbegriffe...* (Frankfurt, 1973), S. 317.
4. In einen solchen Doppelsinn wird *superare* auch von Curtius (4,9.22) gebraucht; nach dem OLD, l.c., S. 1877, liegt daher auch an dieser Stelle ein Zeugma vor.

5. Vgl. *OLD*, l.c., S. 1877.

6. *Der Große Duden*, Bd. 8 (Sinn- und sachverwandte Wörter und Wendungen) (Mannheim, 1972), S. 509, bietet unter "passieren" folgende Bedeutungsreihe: "vorübergehen, vorbeifahren, vorbeigehen, durchreisen, durchqueren, überqueren".

N.

230-1 *Inde Propontiacis haerentem Cyzicon oris*

Cyzicon Haemoniis nobile gentis opus:

Bodnar-Mitchell notieren zwar, daß Cyriacus hier Ov., *Trist.*, I 10. 29-30 zitiert, weisen aber nicht auf die textkritische Bedeutung dieses Zitats. Von den drei Cyriacus-Handschriften, die den Text mit jener Ovidstelle enthalten, bietet nur VL 6 die Lesart, der Bodnar-Mitchell den Vorzug geben (*Inde*), RC und N5 dagegen *Hinc et*. In seiner Ausgabe der *Tristien Ovids*¹ entscheidet sich Luck für die Lesart *inque* und bemerkt im kritischen Apparat zur Überlieferungslage:

"inque M B A V al. : hincque D T pl. : hinc K al. : inde duo codd. ap. BURMANN., cod. BERSMANNI, FRANCIVS ex coni., HAUPT."

Demnach scheint *Hinc et* (RC-N5) der erste und *Inde* (VL 6) ein folgender zweiter Versuch schon in frühhumanistischer Zeit gewesen zu sein, die ursprüngliche Lesart *inque* aus stilistischen Gründen zu glätten. Die Überlieferung der Ovidstelle in RC und N5 läßt somit erkennen, daß diese beiden Handschriften oft größeren Wert besitzen, als Bodnar-Mitchell ihnen zuerkennen.

1. Bd. I (Heidelberg, 1967), S. 64.

N.

245 *integri fere omnes incliti parietes:*

So schreiben die Herausgeber mit Korrektur des überlieferten *integrae*. Es ist aber das in der älteren Hs. RC (15. Jh.) tradierte feminine Genus als *lectio difficilior* gegenüber der nicht konsequent gereinigten Fassung VL 6 (16. Jh.) vorzuziehen. Der Verstoß gegen die lat. Grammatik konnte Ciriaco wegen des ital. 'la parete' leicht passieren, daher ist auch in den nächsten Zeilen (246-253) RC zu folgen: *diminutae ... collapsae ... altissimae*, ebenso Z. 326f. *conspicuas parietes*. Es ist sicherlich methodisch richtig, gegebenenfalls von originalen Fehlern des Cyriacus auszugehen, die man wohl erst in späterer Zeit wenigstens teilweise zu beseitigen trachtete.

T.

255 *Kyriaceumque diem* :

In der (hier einzigen Hs.) steht zwar eigentlich *Kyriceumque*, was die Herausgeber im Apparat nicht vermerken, doch ist dies zu verbessern, wie der Vergleich mit Z. 485 *Cyriaceoque die*, 532 *Cyriaceumque diem* und 1128f. *Cyriaceum ... diem* beweist. Der Autor hat diese griech.-lat. Kontamination als Lehnübersetzung nach dem griech. κυριακή (scil. ἡμέρα) "Sonntag" mit "dominus dies" gebildet. Man gewinnt den Eindruck, daß Cyriacus zu dieser Form durch Anlehnung an seinen eigenen Namen subjektiv motiviert wurde¹.

1. Vgl. auch J. Colin, S. 282 mit Anm. 390.

T.

305-6 *et humani generis calamitatem inferentes ab humanis quoque principibus animadvertendum duxi* :

'Bestrafen' in dem hier gemeinten Sinne heißt *animadvertere in aliquem* oder nur *aliquem*. Demgemäß muß man entweder *animadvertendum* zu *animadvertendos* berichtigen oder ein *in* (zwischen *et* und *humani*) hinzufügen. Das letztere trifft wohl das Richtige: Wahrscheinlich hat Cyriacus die zu erwartende Präposition *in* wegen des folgenden Kompositums *inferentes* wegfallen lassen, um eine Dublette zu vermeiden.

N.

308 *eius verendissimae vetustatis* :

So nach der Hs. VL 6, während es in der älteren (RC) heißt: *suae verendissimae veterinitatis*. Wir haben hier wieder einen Fall der unklassischen *lectio difficilior* vor uns, der sicherlich der Vorzug vor der nachträglichen Normalisierung zu geben ist¹. *Veternitas* scheint zwar unbelegt zu sein, begegnet aber noch zweimal ebenfalls als frühere Lesung in zwei verschiedenen Hss. (Z. 551 u. Z. 687 *veterinitatis*).

1. Zur falschen Verwendung des Reflexispronomens vgl. S. 49, ferner die ältere Variante *suo* in Z. 247 sowie die folgende Stelle.

T.

311 *eius Propontino e lapide moenibus* :

So die Herausgeber wieder nach VL 6 gegenüber "suis serpentino e lapide moenibus" in RC. Gegen diese Textherstellung sind aber folgende Einwände zu erheben :

1. *eius* ist als Glättung von *suis* zu werten;
2. die Adjektivbildung *Propontinus* ist unüblich (unbelegt?), Cyriacus selbst verwendet sonst die gängigen Formen *Proponticus* (Z. 11, 16, 224 Var., 374, 429) bzw. *Propontiacus* (Z. 224, 421, 474);
3. der Ausdruck "aus propontischem Stein" (d.h. Marmor) wäre eine inhaltsleere Abwechslung mit "marmorea" in der nächsten Zeile. Eine bloß stilistische Variatio kommt auch kaum in Frage, wenn wir Z. 720 vergleichen, wo Cyriacus an der Wiederholung keinen Anstoß nimmt ("ad marmoreum Thasii portus molum unico de marmore").

Es ist also die Lesart "*suis serpentino e lapide moenibus*" zu bevorzugen. Serpentin (ein meist grünliches Mineral) ist im Mittelalter in der Form *serpentina* belegt¹.

1. Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, VII 439.

T.

328-31 *Praeterea ante faciem templi, pronaonis decore, inter quae pro lateribus extant columnae quino ordine quaternae, viginti numero, extitisse videntur, ornatissimis epistiliis laquearibus protectae.*

Was bedeutet hier *decore*? Das ist das Hauptproblem einer Analyse der Satzstruktur: Zwar legt die Form *decore* die Vermutung nahe, es handle sich hierbei um den Ablativ von *decus* oder *decor*; aber aus syntaktischen Gründen scheidet dieser Ablativ im vorliegenden Satz als unpassend aus. Trotzdem scheint auch Ashmole¹ *decore* vom Substantiv *decus* bzw. *decor* abzuleiten, indem er übersetzt:

"Moreover, before the front of the temple, as a decoration for the pronaos, columns seem to have stood between those that stand in front of the sidewalls — four in five rows, twenty in number, with most ornate architraves, covered with coffers."

Gegen die Übersetzung "as a decoration for the pronaos" ist jedoch von vornherein einzuwenden, daß eine solche prädikative Ergänzung, falls sie zuträfe, im lateinischen Text statt *decore* den Nominativ Plural *decora* voraussetzen würde². Ashmole müßte daher, um seine Übersetzung zu rechtfertigen, *decore* zu *decora* berichtigen. Eine derartige Korrektur erfordert gewiß nur die Änderung eines Buchstabens (*e* zu *a*), führt aber dennoch zugleich zu einer wesentlichen Umgestaltung des gesamten Satzgefüges.

Demgegenüber ist schon aus paläographischen Gründen³ geltend zu machen, daß man die Form *decore* nicht korrigieren muß, weil

sie sich sozusagen auf natürliche Weise erklären läßt: Am nächsten liegt es, das auslautende *e* als Diphthong (= *ae*) aufzufassen. *Decore* bedeutet folglich nichts anderes als *decorae* (sc. *columnae*): Gemeint sind hier 'prächtige Säulen der Vorhalle' (= *pronaonis decorae ... columnae*). Dabei liegt der Nachdruck eben auf dem Adjektiv *decorae*; denn es ist durch seine vorgezogene Stellung besonders hervorgehoben. Verstärkt wird diese Betonung zudem durch den zwischen *decorae* und *columnae* eingeschobenen Satzteil *inter quae pro lateribus extant*. Nach *inter* bzw. vor *quae* ist dabei *illas* oder *eas* (sc. *columnas*) zu ergänzen; denn Cyriacus verweist hier auf die 30 Seitensäulen des Tempels, die er kurz vorher erwähnt hatte (Z. 323-5):

Columnae vero ab utroque latere XXX numero, eiusdem parietum altitudinis, XIII pedum invicem distantes, totidem pedum ab ipsis parietibus distant.

In der Beschreibung dieser 30 Seitensäulen beschränkt sich Cyriacus also auf die Angabe äußerer Daten (Zahl und Ausmaße der Seitensäulen im Verhältnis zu den Wänden) und verzichtet demgemäß auch auf jeden rhetorischen Schmuck⁴. In der Charakteristik der 20 Säulen der Vorhalle dagegen (Z. 328-31) teilt Cyriacus nicht nur die Anzahl und Anordnung dieser Säulen mit, sondern würdigt gleichzeitig ihre hohe künstlerische Qualität, indem er bildhaft unterstreicht, daß 'sehr schmuckvolle Architrave' und 'getäfelte Decken' sie zierten: *ornamentis epistiliis laquearibus protectae*. Diesen wesentlichen Unterschied zwischen den 20 Säulen der Vorhalle und jenen 30 Seitensäulen hebt Cyriacus deshalb gerade dort hervor, wo er diese beiden Säulengruppen unmittelbar einander gegenüberstellt: eben in dem vorliegenden Satzteil *pronaonis decorae inter quae pro lateribus extant columnae*. Sachlich bedeutet diese Angabe, daß diese prächtige 20 Säulen der Vorhalle zwischen jenen schmucklosen 30 Seitensäulen standen. Zur Verdeutlichung dieses Sachverhaltes schiebt Cyriacus zwischen *pronaonis decorae* und *columnae* die Junktur *inter quae pro lateribus extant* ein, um dadurch zugleich die räumliche Proportion sowie den ästhetischen Unterschied der 20 Säulen der Vorhalle zu den 30 Seitensäulen auch sprachlich angemessen hervortreten zu lassen. Der Schwerpunkt liegt darum auf dem gesamten Ausdruck *pronaonis decorae* als Kontrast zu *inter quae pro lateribus extant* (sc. *columnae*); der Rest des Satzes dient der Erläuterung dieser prägnanten Gegenüberstellung, und zwar insbesondere des Schlüsselbegriffs *decorae*.

Statt *inter quae pro lateribus extant* hätte Cyriacus freilich auch

inter quas (= *inter illas, quae*) *pro lateribus extant* schreiben können; der entsprechende Zusatz im folgenden Satz lautet nämlich: *praeter quas pro lateribus extabant* (Z. 332)⁵; Cyriacus bezieht sich hier also mit denselben Worten, die er kurz vorher in Z. 329 gebrauchte (*inter quae pro lateribus extant*), auf jene 30 Seitensäulen in Z. 323-5, wählt jedoch nach *praeter* nicht den Nominativ *quae*—wie vorher nach *inter*—, sondern stattdessen zur Abwechslung den Akkusativ *quas*, obwohl dadurch eine grammatische Härte bzw. ein Konstruktionsfehler entsteht⁶. Einen so gravierenden Anstoß bietet *inter quae pro lateribus extant* in Z. 329 nicht. Im Gegenteil ist *quae* dabei offensichtlich sowohl auf die direkt vorhergehende Form *decorae* als auch auf die folgenden Formen *quaternae* und *protectae* harmonisch abgestimmt: Auf diese Weise wird *columnae*, das gemeinsame Beziehungswort jener vier Formen auf -ae, von jeweils zwei Wörtern dieser Art umrahmt und steht damit als das Subjekt des Satzes und Zentralbegriff auch äußerlich wirkungsvoll im Mittelpunkt des Satzgefüges.

Erst auf Grund der Konjektur *decorae* läßt sich folglich in vollem Umfang ermessen, wie kunstvoll Cyriacus diesen Satz gestaltet hat; dabei zeigt es sich wiederum besonders deutlich, daß Komposition und Stil dem Gegenstand angepaßt sind, den er jeweils beschreibt. Zur Erleichterung des Verständnisses der vorliegenden Textstelle sollte man auch die Interpunktion, wie sie Bodnar-Mitchell sowie Reinach und Ashmole⁷ bieten, teilweise ändern; der Satz lautet daher insgesamt folgendermaßen:

Praeterea ante faciem templi pronaonis decorae—inter quae pro lateribus extant—columnae quino ordine quaternae, viginti numero, extitisse videntur ornatissimis epistiliis laquearibus protectae.

1. B. Ashmole, "Cyriac of Ancona and the Temple of Hadrian at Cyzicus", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 19 (1956), 179-191, S. 181. Ashmole folgt der Textfassung von Reinach S. 545.
2. Dieselbe Form (*decora*) kommt in ähnlichem Zusammenhang, aber in anderer Satzfunktion bei Cicero vor: ... *decora atque ornamenta fanorum ... nominantur* (Verr. 4, 97).
3. Vgl. jetzt vor allem B. Bischoff, *Paläographie des römischen Altertums und des abendländischen Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1979), S. 156 und 187-188; instruktiv auch schon die Beispiele bei B. L. Ullman, *The Origin and Development of Humanistic Script* (Rom, 1960), S. 24-29.
4. Bezeichnenderweise verwendet Cyriacus hier auf engstem Raume jeweils zweimal das Verb *distare* sowie die Substantive *pes* und *paries*.
5. Ashmole übersetzt treffend: "in addition to those that stood in front of the side-walls".

6. Im Gegensatz zu *quae* kann *quas* nicht das zu 'extabant' notwendigerweise zu ergänzende Subjekt bilden: *Extabant* hängt syntaktisch gleichsam in der Luft; es liegt auf jeden Fall ein Anakoluth vor.
7. Beide setzen sogar einen Strichpunkt nach *columnae* und trennen damit das Subjekt vom Prädikat des Satzes (*videntur*); die Konstruktion des Satzes wird dadurch vollends entstellt.

N.

331 *laquearibus*:

Die Handschrift RC hat *laqueariis*, man sollte dieser seltenen Nebenform den Vorzug geben.

T.

379-394 (Brief an Raphael Castiglione vom 12. August 1444)

Dieser neue Brief¹, den Bodnar-Mitchell nicht näher erläutern², gehört trotz seiner Kürze zu den literarisch hervorragenden Texten der vorliegenden Cyriacusausgabe. Ordnet man den Brief einer der vielen Briefgattungen zu, die Erasmus in seinem maßgeblichen brief-theoretischen Hauptwerk *De conscribendis epistolis*³ aufzählt und treffend charakterisiert, so könnte man ihn als eine Variante des 'vorwurfsvollen Briefes' (*epistola exprobratoria*) bezeichnen, wie ihn Erasmus im Abschnitt *De exprobratione* (S. 532-535 M.) behandelt.

Die typische Anrede *Kyriacus Raphaeli suo salutem dicit et ὁμόνοιαν* weist darauf hin, daß Cyriacus an einen sehr engen Freund schreibt; Erasmus hält gerade diese Grußformel, die bezeichnenderweise aus der Antike stammt, für diejenige, welche wahrer Freundschaft am würdigsten sei (S. 279,3-9 M.):

... *mihi probatur veterum simplicitas, quam utinam per nostrae tempestatis corruptissimos mores ubique liceret aemulari, ut nos invicem nudis nominum titulis salutaremus: C. Plinius Calvo suo S. D. Quid enim erat verius aut purius? Siquidem ubi quis nomen audit, omnes pariter virtutes suas audit compendio. Habet praeterea nescio quid peculiariter blandum proprii nominis appellatio, quo audito delectari videntur et animantia bruta.*

Man sollte deshalb annehmen, daß Cyriacus—wie es in solchen Fällen üblich ist—gleich im ersten Satz seines Briefes die 'Beiwörter' (*epitheta*) gebraucht, die zu Raphael Castiglione als einem seiner besten Freunde passen. Tatsächlich verwendet Cyriacus diese Beiwörter jedoch erst am Ende des Briefes: *dulcissime Raphael optime* (Z. 392f.). Diese ungewöhnliche Maßnahme weist auf das Hauptanliegen des Briefes. Cyriacus eröffnet ihn nämlich mit dem harten Vorwurf, Castiglione

habe seine Freundschaftspflicht verletzt, weil er sich den Blicken des Freundes zweimal absichtlich entzogen habe: *Bis iam tui gratia Perinthum venimus ... et primo atque altero adventu aufugeris et nostro te aspectu subtraxisti*. Wie verärgert Cyriacus darüber war, zeigte bereits seine Anspielung vom 31. Juli⁴. Zur Begründung seines Vorwurfes stellt Cyriacus sein eigenes Verhalten als vorbildlich dar, indem er schildert, wie er aus Sehnsucht nach dem Freund überall nach ihm gesucht habe (Z. 381-385):

Equidem vero cum primum adveneram, apud ipsum Cydonem praefectum et oppidanos Heraclidas Perinthios olim cives exclamavi: quae regio Raphaelem, quis habet locus? Illius ergo venimus et magnum Propontidis penetravimus aequor.

Mit dieser geschickten Abwandlung einer klassischen Vergilstelle (Aen. 6,670/1)⁵ hebt Cyriacus seine Kritik an Castiglione auf ein literarisch hohes Niveau und entschärft somit seinen Vorwurf, zumal da er Castiglione indirekt sogar ein Lob spendet: Da er im Gegensatz z.B. zu seiner Notiz vom 2. Oktober (Z. 519f.: ... *Maro noster in Aenea commemorat his dictis* ...) Vergil hier nicht ausdrücklich zitiert, anerkennt er die literarische Bildung Castigliones. Auch die folgenden Sätze sind dementsprechend sorgfältig gebaut:

Illi vero te Pontum vel Bithyniam primum, secundo vero Zurlaeum in Thracia oppidum accersitum habere. Ego vero, quamquam me Byzantium quam citius petere res haud inopportuna cohercerent, te hic tamen per diem e Zurlo remeaturum duximus expectandum.

Zu *illi* ist ein Prädikat wie *responderunt* zu ergänzen, von dem der folgende A. c. I. abhängt; durch Ellipse und eine oratio obliqua entsteht so ein wirkungsvoller Kontrast zum vorhergehenden Satz. Eine Mischung aus den syntaktisch verschiedenen Elementen dieser Sätze bildet der folgende Satz. Sein Aufbau ist mustergültig: Das Subjekt (*ego*) steht mit satzverknüpfender Partikel (*vero*) am Anfang, es folgt der eingeschobene Nebensatz (*quamquam*), der Hauptsatz ist mit ihm verbunden (*tamen*), und am Schluß befindet sich das Prädikat (*duximus*), und zwar zwischen den beiden Verben, die von ihm direkt (*expectandum*) bzw. indirekt (*remeaturum*) abhängig sind. Auf Grund dieser kunstvollen Struktur übersieht man daher fast die einzige Inkonzinnität des Satzes: Statt des Plurals *duximus* ist natürlich wie in Z. 12 und 220 der Singular zu erwarten. Aber diese Abweichung von der Norm wirkt hier nicht so störend wie etwa in Z. 12, sondern im Rahmen der formallogisch und stilistisch sonst vorbildlichen Kon-

struktion des Satzes eher reizvoll, zumal da der nächste Satz, der den Brief abschließt, folgendermaßen lautet (Z. 390-93):

et tibi quae hic nobilia veterum monumenta comperimus, quodque deinde apud Cyzicum revisimus Haemoniae nobile gentis opus, si veneris, ostentabo, dulcissime Raphael optime, iuvante deo Iove.

Die Komposition auch dieses Satzes ist wohlgeformt. So besteht der Hauptsatz zwar nur aus 6 Wörtern, diese sind aber so verteilt, daß sie den gesamten Satz umschließen und beherrschen: *Et* verknüpft ihn mit dem vorhergehenden, *tibi* ist Dativobjekt zu dem in der Mitte stehenden Subjekt und Prädikat *ostentabo*, und der zugehörige Ablativus absolutus *iuvante deo Iove* beendet den Satz. Eingeschoben zwischen *tibi* und *ostentabo* sind drei ebenfalls von *ostentabo* abhängige Satzglieder, nämlich die stilistisch elegant jeweils in einen Relativsatz hineingezogenen Akkusativobjekte *monumenta* und *opus* sowie das Futur II *si veneris*, welches das Futur I *ostentabo* unmittelbar vorbereitet; die Anrede *dulcissime Raphael optime*, die eigentlich im ersten Satz des Briefes zu erwarten war, ist gleichfalls vorschriftsmäßig in das Satzgefüge eingebaut — freilich erst an der fast letzten Stelle, die überhaupt möglich war.

Diese Anordnung erinnert zwar daran, daß der vorliegende Brief hauptsächlich durch das tadelnswerte Verhalten des Adressaten veranlaßt wurde. Aber Cyriacus mildert auch hier den gegen Castiglione erhobenen Vorwurf. Denn er bemüht sich wiederum nicht nur um eine kunstvolle sprachliche Ausformung des Satzes, sondern adaptiert dabei zugleich Verse eines klassischen Dichters der augusteischen Zeit: Hatte Cyriacus am Anfang des Briefes Vergil (*Aen.* VI, 670-71) imitiert, ohne diese literarische Quelle ausdrücklich anzugeben, und damit jene so kurze und prägnante, aber eben dadurch vielleicht — *brevis esse laboro / obscurus fio* (Hor., *Ars* 25-26) — etwas dunkle Angabe seines Tagebuchs vom 31. Juli (Z. 224f.) nachträglich in ausführlicher und einleuchtender Weise erläutert, so spielt er am Ende desselben Briefes mit der Formulierung *apud Cyzicum revisimus Haemoniae nobile gentis opus* auf das Distichon Ovids an, das er kurz nach jener Tagebuchnotiz (Z. 228-231) mit ausdrücklicher Quellenangabe zitiert hatte, und übernimmt den betreffenden Pentameter (Ov., *Trist.* I 10.30: *Cyzicon Haemoniae nobile gentis opus*) fast völlig wörtlich, und zwar wiederum ohne *expressis verbis* zu vermerken, daß ihm dabei ein *locus classicus* der römischen Dichtung, in diesem Falle Ov., *Trist.* I 10.29-30, als Vorlage diene.

So klingt denn der Brief, der im Kern einen schwerwiegenden Vorwurf gegen den Adressaten enthält, dank der besonders großen Sorgfalt, mit der ihn der Autor stilistisch gestaltete, und nicht zuletzt infolge der beiden anspruchsvollen literarischen Reminiszenzen in persönlicher Hinsicht versöhnlich und ebenso formal betrachtet harmonisch aus. Dazu paßt schließlich auch die typische Formel *iuvante deo Iove*, mit welcher Cyriacus seinen Brief in feierlichem Ton beendet: Nach der Verwertung zweier klassischer Stellen der nicht-christlichen römischen Dichtung lag es für Cyriacus nahe, gerade Jupiter, den obersten antiken Gott, darum zu bitten, ihn bei seinen künftigen Unternehmungen mit seinem Freund R. Castiglione zu unterstützen. Diese emphatische Anrufung Jupiters steht zudem grundsätzlich in vollem Einklang mit Cyriacus' synkretistischer Religionsauffassung, die offenbar auch Castiglione teilte und die daher beide Freunde besonders eng miteinander verband. Denn das für Cyriacus und viele zeitgenössische Humanisten so charakteristische Bestreben, anscheinend Widersprüchliches miteinander zu vereinbaren — nämlich die christliche Religion mit der griechisch-römischen zu verschmelzen und so das Christentum gewissermaßen zu paganisieren⁶ —, läßt sich nicht nur aus dem folgenden Gebet an Merkur (Z. 414-424) ersehen, sondern offenbart sich ebenso in dem Rang, den Cyriacus in anderen Teilen des folgenden Reiseberichts gerade Jupiter zuerkennt; es genügt in diesem Zusammenhang ein Hinweis auf die Gleichstellung Jupiters und der gesamten antiken Götterwelt mit der Jungfrau Maria und dem Evangelisten Johannes in der Junktur *optimi maximique Iovis et Beatae Virginis almae Ioannisque sanctissimi Evangelistae protectoris tui auspicante numine, caeterisque caelicolum iuvantibus divis almis felicissimisque numinibus* (Z. 1069-72) sowie den Ersatz des Namens Christi durch den Jupiters in den Zeitangaben *hodie VIII Kalendas Ianuarias ab eiusdem incarnati Iovis anno milleno quatricenteno quinto et quaterdeno* (Z. 1056f.) und *Anno ab humanati Iovis* (sic!), *anti-quatae legis ritu circumcisi milleno ... Eugenii Papae Anno XIII* (Z. 1095-7).

Auf diese Weise ist der vorliegende Prosabrief, der aus aktuellem Anlaß spontan entstand und seinen ursprünglichen Charakter als echter 'Privatbrief' keineswegs verleugnet, nach typischer Humanistenart unversehens zugleich zu einem — an antiken Vorbildern orientierten — 'Kunstbrief' geworden, welcher sowohl die stilistische Virtuosität und Vertrautheit des Cyriacus mit der Literatur der klassischen Antike

(der römischen Dichtung ebenso wie der Epistolographie und Rhetorik) als auch schließlich die—orthodoxen christlichen Glaubensbrüdern seiner Zeit gewiß revolutionär erschienenen—religiösen Anschauungen des Autors erkennen läßt.

1. Zur lateinischen Epistolographie im Zeitalter der Renaissance vgl. jetzt generell den Art. "Brief, Briefliteratur, Briefsammlungen" in: *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, Bd. II, Lief. 3 (1982), 648-682. Vgl. außerdem 1) A. Buck, "Epistolographie in der Renaissance", *Wolfenbütteler Renaissance Mitteilungen*, 3 (1979), 101-105 bzw. 5 (1981), 56; 2) M. Fumaroli, "Genèse de l'épistolographie classique: Rhétorique humaniste de la lettre, de Pétrarque à Juste Lipse", *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France* 78 (1978), 886-905; 3) U. Hess, "Typen des Humanistenbriefs...", in: *Befund und Deutung ...*, hrsg. von K. Grubmüller u.a. (Tübingen, 1979), S. 470-497.—Einen guten Überblick über die lateinische Briefliteratur bis zum Ende des Humanismus bietet K. Smolak in der Einleitung zu seiner Ausgabe von Erasmus' *De conscribendis epistolis* (Darmstadt, 1980), S. IX-LXXXVI.
2. Sie beschränken sich auf zwei äußerst knappe Anmerkungen.
3. Text von J.-Cl. Margolin in der Amsterdamer Gesamtausgabe der Werke des Erasmus, Tom. I 1 (1971), S. 153-579.
4. Zu *cuius ergo veneram* (Z. 224) s.o. S. 53.
5. Vgl. dazu die Interpretation oben S. 54.
6. Vgl. vor allem das Kapitel "Le sentiment religieux de Cyriaque" bei Colin (S. 278-285).

N.

405 ... *almae Christicolum religionis nostrae amatorem* ... :

Christicolum ist—wie schon bei Prudentius¹—Gen. Pl. zu *Christicola* (= 'Verehrer von Christus' bzw. 'Christ'). Cyriacus liebt synkoptierte Formen dieser Art, wie sie schon seit klassischer Zeit in Dichtung und Prosa geläufig sind²: Vgl. vor allem *caelicolum* (= *caelicolarum*) in der typischen Junktur *caeterisque caelicolum iuvantibus* (Z. 1072) sowie *omnigenum* (= *omnigenarum*) in Z. 976³.

Die Wirkung der Form *Christicolum* beruht hier speziell auf der Stellung und Funktion dieses Wortes im Satzgefüge: *Christicolum* ist eingeschoben zwischen drei andere Genitivformen und erläutert als Genitivus epexegeticus das Pronomen *nostrae*; *alma Christicolum religio nostra* bedeutet also etwa 'unsere hehre christliche Religion'. Einen zusätzlichen Effekt erhält dieser Ausdruck dadurch, daß Cyriacus im folgenden Text (Z. 414) den antiken Gott Merkur mit *alme Mercuri* anredet.

1. Belege bei K. E. Georges, *Lexikon der lateinischen Wortformen* (Leipzig, 1890), S. 134.

2. Vgl. Georges s.v. "caelicola", "deus" und "omnigena".

3. Dementsprechend z.B. auch *deum* (= *deorum*) in Z. 248 und *Palaeologum* (= *Palaeologorum*) in Z. 1074.

N.

414-424. (Gebet des Cyriacus an Merkur vom 20. September 1444¹)

Vor der Veröffentlichung dieses Textes, dessen editio princeps nunmehr vorliegt, kannte man nur zwei andere solche Gebete des Cyriacus an Merkur². Eine genauere Untersuchung dieser beiden 'alten' Gebetstexte gibt es bisher noch nicht³; Erläuterungen zum vorliegenden 'neuen' Gebet des Cyriacus an Merkur fehlen völlig⁴. Eine umfassende formale und inhaltliche Analyse aller drei Gebete ist daher ein Desiderat, würde jedoch den Rahmen unserer Bemerkungen zur Cyriacusausgabe von Bodnar-Mitchell sprengen. Es erschien deshalb zweckmäßig, eine Interpretation auch des vorliegenden Gebetstextes getrennt an anderem Ort zu publizieren⁵.

Um hier indes wenigstens einen ungefähren Eindruck von diesem auf höchstem stilistischem und literarischem Niveau stehenden und bis ins kleinste Detail durchgeformten Gebet zu vermitteln, halte ich es für angebracht, stichwortartig einige Hinweise zu geben.

A. Allgemeine Bemerkungen zu Inhalt und Form des Gebetes.

Obwohl Cyriacus einerseits am traditionellen christlichen Glauben festhielt⁶, versuchte er andererseits—wie bereits die Formel *iuvante deo Iove* (Z. 393) zu erkennen gab—, die antike Götterwelt wiederzubeleben und infolgedessen das Christentum generell zu paganisieren⁷. Entsprechend dieser synkretistischen Tendenz, die für die Religionsauffassung auch vieler anderer Humanisten gerade in der Frührenaissance charakteristisch ist⁸, betrachtete Cyriacus nicht etwa einen christlichen Heiligen, wie man erwarten könnte, sondern bezeichnenderweise einen Gott des Olymp, und zwar gerade Merkur, als seinen Schutzpatron: Von allen Göttern der griechisch-römischen Antike verehrte Cyriacus keinen so überschwenglich und innig wie eben Merkur bzw. Hermes⁹ und apostrophierte ihn daher auf Grund dieses so engen Nahverhältnisses ständig als seinen 'Schutzheiligen'¹⁰.

Demgemäß ist auch das vorliegende Gebet an Merkur ein echtes, weil einem persönlichen Bedürfnis entsprungenes Gebet und zugleich nach literarischen Mustern der Antike¹¹ kunstvoll gestaltet¹²: Es handelt sich um ein typisches Bittgebet mit Elementen auch anderer Gebetsformen, insbesondere des Gebetshymnus¹³, und nimmt somit

eine Mittelstellung zwischen Prosa und Poesie ein; man kann deshalb seine Form als poetische Prosa bezeichnen. Die klassischen Vorbilder für Cyriacus' Gebet an Merkur finden sich bereits bei Homer, und zwar bereits im 1. Buch der Ilias¹⁴. Manche Berührungspunkte weist das Gebet des Cyriacus auch mit anderen berühmten, scheinbar jedoch ganz disparaten Texten der Antike auf: mit Cäsars Schilderung des keltischen Merkurkults (*B. Gall.* 6, 17.1) und Jupiters Aretalogie Merkurs bei Martianus Capella (§92) ebenso wie z.B. einer Inschrift, die dem Gott Priap geweiht ist¹⁵.

B. Gliederung des Gebetes.

Kompositionsprinzip, Motivzusammenhänge und Zielsetzung des Gebetes treten deutlich hervor, wenn man erkannt hat, daß der Text nach folgendem Schema aufgebaut ist:

1. Anrufung (Epiklese, *invocatio*) und Aretalogie Merkurs:

Artium, mentis, ingeni facundiaequae pater, alme Mercuri, nec non viarum itinerumve optume dux ... (Z. 414f.).

2. Begründung der Bitte (mit Berufung auf früher stets gewährte Hilfe):

qui tuo sanctissimo numine nostram undique mentem animumque fovisti quique nostrum omne iucundissimum iter per Latium, Illyriam, Graeciam, Asiam et Aegyptum terra marique tutum, rectum habileque fecisti ... (Z. 415-9).

3. Formulierung der Bitte (Anwendung des allgemeinen Prinzips auf den konkreten Fall):

ita, noster inclite geni, et nunc et nostrum omne per aevum animo menti facundiaequae opitulare nostrae, nec non hodie per Propontiacum aequor Hellespontiacumque et Aegaeum ac nostrum omne deinceps per orbem iter tutum, felix, faustum atque beatum dirigere, favitare atque comitare velis (Z. 419-24).

1. Zur genaueren Datierung dieses Textes—Cyriacus verfaßte das Gebet an einem Sonntag (= 'Cyriaceus dies')—vgl. meinen Spezialaufsatz "Ein neues Gebet des Cyriacus von Ancona an Merkur", *Rhein. Museum für Philol.*, 126 (1983), im Druck.
2. Vgl. O. Jahn, "Cyriacus von Ancona und Albrecht Dürer", in *Aus der Alterthumswissenschaft* (Bonn, 1868), S. 333-352 (bes. S. 347); Ch. Mitchell, "Archaeology and Romance in Renaissance Italy", in *Italian Renaissance Studies ...*, ed. E. F. Jacob (London, 1960), S. 455-483 (bes. S. 473); Colin 282.
3. Jahn, Mitchell und Colin beschränken sich jeweils auf eine (z.T. nur partielle) Übersetzung mit knappen Hinweisen zur Texterklärung.
4. Bodnar-Mitchell begnügen sich mit einem Verweis auf Mitchell, S. 473.
5. Vgl. den oben Anm. 1 angekündigten Beitrag.
6. Vgl. den Abschnitt "L'orthodoxie de Cyriaque" bei Colin, S. 280.
7. Vgl. den Abschnitt "Le paganisme de Cyriaque" bei Colin, S. 281-2.
8. Zum Fortleben der antiken Götterwelt in der Renaissance generell: J. Seznec, *The Survival of the Pagan Gods* (Princeton, 1972); E. Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance* (New Haven-London, 1958).

9. Zu Hermes vgl. jetzt: H. Herter, "Hermes – Ursprung und Wesen eines griechischen Gottes", *Rhein. Museum für Philologie*, 119 (1976), 193-241.
10. Dieser Ausdruck stammt von Jahn 346f.
11. Vgl. jetzt generell die Art. "Gebet I" und "Gebet II (Fürbitte)" im *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, Bd. 8 (1972), S. 1134-1258 bzw. Bd. 9 (1976), S. 1-36.
12. Grundlegend das Kapitel "Untersuchungen zur Stilgeschichte der Gebets- und Prädikationsformeln" bei E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos* (Leipzig, 1913), S. 143ff.
13. Vgl. vor allem H. Hommel, *Ciceros Gebetshymnus an die Philosophie Tusculanen V 5* (Heidelberg, 1968).
14. Hier genügt ein Hinweis auf C. Ausfeld, "De Graecorum precatationibus quaestiones", *Fleckeisens Jahrbücher*, 28 (1903), S. 505-547.
15. Text, Übersetzung und moderne Literatur bei B. Kytzler-C. Fischer, *Carmina Priapea ...* (Zürich, 1978), S. 98-101 und 208.

N.

426-459 *Ad XII Kal. Octob. ... epigrammata:*

Symptomatisch für Syntax, Sprache und Stil dieses Textabschnittes ist bereits der Aufbau der ersten Sätze: ... *petens et ... petens ... conscendi; et ... venimus ... et vidimus et ...* (Z. 426-431). Cyriacus reiht hier also in einfachster Form drei Hauptsätze parataktisch aneinander, indem er (a) mehrmals und ausschließlich die primitivste Satzverbindende Partikel, nämlich *et*, benutzt, (b) als Prädikat jeweils nur ein Verb verwendet, und zwar lediglich die elementaren Ausdrücke *conscendi*, *venimus* und *vidimus*, von denen außerdem bloß Akkusativobjekte abhängig sind, (c) Hypotaxen gänzlich vermeidet, wenn man von den Participia coniuncta *petens et ... petens* absieht, die indes allein schon aufschlußreich genug sind: Im Unterschied zur bunten Reihe der Partizipien in Z. 9/10 (... *concedens ... petens ... devectus ...*) gebraucht Cyriacus hier zweimal kurz hintereinander dasselbe Verb in derselben Form: *petens*.

Alle diese Eigentümlichkeiten der Komposition in Z. 426-431, insbesondere auch der Vergleich mit Z. 9-12, weisen darauf hin, daß die nächsten Textpartien ebenfalls sprachlich-stilistische Feile vermissen lassen. Tatsächlich reiht Cyriacus in Z. 434-459 wiederum Hauptsätze — insgesamt sechs — parataktisch aneinander, ohne dabei auch nur einen einzigen echten Nebensatz einzuordnen. Denn der Satz in Z. 450-54 bildet lediglich eine scheinbare Ausnahme: Auf den relativen Anschluß *Ubi*, der den Satz einleitet, folgt kein Verb, so daß als Prädikat aus dem Zusammenhang eine finite Verbalform wie *visi-*

mus zu ergänzen ist; als Ausgleich für die Ellipse hat daher Cyriacus einen selbständigen Relativsatz (*quem ... comperimus*) angehängt, der somit grammatisch und erst recht sachlich den gleichen Rang hat wie der ebenfalls von *comperimus* abhängige Hauptsatz kurz zuvor (Z. 434-437).

Hervorstechendstes Merkmal dieses Gesamtkomplexes sind überhaupt die Verben, die jeweils als Prädikat der einzelnen Hauptsätze fungieren: Von Z. 429 bis Z. 452 — also auf engste Räume — verwendet Cyriacus viermal *venimus* (Z. 429; 434; 439; 450)), dreimal *vidimus* (Z. 430; 455; 457), einmal *visimus* (Z. 438), wobei man jedoch die zu ergänzende Angabe *visimus* (Z. 451) und auch die von *visere* ebenso wie von *videre* ableitbare Form *visis* (Z. 439; 443) noch hinzufügen muß, sowie endlich zweimal *comperimus* (Z. 436; 454). Zwar wechseln diese Verben in bunter Folge ab, und der Gleichklang der Reihe *venimus*–*vidimus*–*visimus* erinnert fast völlig wörtlich an einen berühmten Ausspruch Cäsars: “Veni vidi vici”¹. Gleichwohl erreicht Cyriacus im vorliegenden Textzusammenhang keinesfalls die nachhaltige Wirkung Cäsars prägnanter Formulierung, sondern eher das Gegenteil: Die zehnmalige Wiederholung einfachster und so ähnlich klingender Verben wie *venire*, *videre* und *visere* auf nur ca. 25 Zeilen macht einen farblosen Eindruck und erzeugt Monotonie.

So entsteht unter rein formalen Gesichtspunkten hier in Z. 426-459 insgesamt ein negatives Kontrastbild zu allen anderen vergleichbaren Textabschnitten dieses Reiseberichts: nicht nur zu stilistisch und literarisch so hochstehenden und anspruchsvollen Kompositionen wie dem unmittelbar vorhergehenden Gebet an Merkur (Z. 414-424) oder dem Brief an R. Castiglione (Z. 379-394), sondern auch zu den ersten Partien dieses Itinerariums (Z. 1-31; 219-254; 303-336), die den gleichen Umfang aufweisen und denselben Darstellungstyp repräsentieren, nämlich den des Tagebuchs; denn es handelt sich hierbei jeweils um Texte, die Cyriacus nicht an außenstehende Adressaten gerichtet, sondern in erster Linie zu seinem privaten Gebrauch bestimmt hat. Im Unterschied zu so farbigen und abwechslungsreichen Schilderungen wie in Z. 1-31, 219-254 und 303-336 wählt Cyriacus hier in Z. 426-459 die simpelste Darstellungsform. Der Grund dafür mag sein, daß er in diesem Falle — was bei der Schnelligkeit seiner Reise ja kein Wunder ist — nicht die erforderliche Zeit hatte, um seinen Bericht wie sonst stilistisch zu überarbeiten. Offenbar kam es ihm hier zunächst nur darauf an, möglichst viele Fakten und Daten mit geringstem äußeren

Aufwand dokumentarisch festzuhalten. Daher bietet Cyriacus eine ungewöhnlich große Fülle dicht aufeinanderfolgender Personen- und Ortsnamen sowie Fachbegriffe, von denen manche Seltenheitswert besitzen und einer Erklärung bedürfen (s.u.). Aus dem gleichen Grunde verzichtet Cyriacus im Rahmen dieser telegrammartig knappen Mitteilungen auf rhetorische Ausschmückung, wie er sie sonst liebt, und ebenso fehlen hier auch literarische Reminiszenzen (wie sie in den vorhergehenden Texten so deutlich erkennbar waren). Als einzige Ausnahme könnte man die Randbemerkung *et Segeo, Troiae nobili promontorio, et in conspectu Tenedo insula visis et illico praetermissis* (Z. 442-44) betrachten; denn diese flüchtige Erwähnung der Insel Tenedos im Zusammenhang mit Troja erinnert an Verg., *Aen.* II 21-23 :

*Est in conspectu Tenedos, notissima fama
insula, dives opum Priami dum regna manebant,
nunc tantum sinus et statio male fida carinis.*

Aber trotz der sogar wörtlichen Anklänge an diese Vergilstelle wirkt Cyriacus' Anspielung so schwach, daß Bodnar-Mitchell, die sonst aufmerksamen Herausgeber, sie gar nicht bemerkten: In der Masse des topographischen, archäologischen und prosopographischen Materials, das Cyriacus hier aufhäuft, geht jener kleine literarische Lichtblick fast zwangsläufig unter.

So bietet Cyriacus bereits in den wenigen Texten, die wir bisher erläutert haben, ein farbiges Kontrastprogramm: Auf der einen Seite stehen literarisch erstrangige Texte wie das Gebet des Cyriacus an Merkur (Z. 413-424) und sein Brief an Castiglione (Z. 379-394), welche man der höchsten literarischen Stilebene, dem *genus grande*, zuordnen kann. Andererseits gibt es eine breite Palette mehr privater Tagebuchaufzeichnungen, die Momentaufnahmen seiner betreffenden Reisestationen bilden und daher je nach den zeitlichen oder örtlichen Umständen ganz unterschiedlichen Charakter tragen: Beschreibungen wie die des grandiosen Hadriantempels (Z. 219-336) nähern sich weitgehend dem gehobenen Stil, Schilderungen wie die in der Einleitung dieses Reiseberichts (Z. 1-31) bewegen sich auf einem mittleren Stilniveau, während rein quantitative Detailangaben mit ihrer Menge an informellen Kurznotizen wie hier in Z. 426-459, wo Cyriacus mit dem lateinischen Grundwortschatz auskam und auf literarische Vorbilder allenfalls am Rande anspielen wollte, der niedrigsten Stilebene entsprechen, dem *genus tenue*.

Infolgedessen wird man das bisher gültige Werturteil über den lateinischen Stil des Cyriacus modifizieren müssen. Beschränkt man sich auf Texte wie den vorliegenden oder berücksichtigt man nur jene Passagen, welche dem mittelalterlichen Latein näher zu stehen scheinen als dem Humanistenlatein, wird das Urteil über Cyriacus' lateinischen Stil, sofern man die Wertmaßstäbe der Humanisten zugrundelegt, wie üblich negativ ausfallen. Zieht man jedoch—wie man verlangen darf—ebenso auch die zahlreichen anderen Texte heran, die alle Stillagen vom niedrigen bis zum hohen Stil widerspiegeln und zu den verschiedensten literarischen Gattungen gehören, ergibt sich ein wesentlich differenzierteres Bild. In Anbetracht der Vielfalt und Abstufungen des stilistischen und literarischen Niveaus dieser Texte könnte man—um ein bekanntes Diktum abzuwandeln—prägnant feststellen: 'Quot argumenta, tot stili'. Geht man zudem von dem berühmten Ausspruch "Le style est l'homme même"² aus, der auf antike Vorstellungen zurückzuführen ist und so einprägsame Formulierungen wie *qualis vir, talis oratio* oder *stilus arguit virum* voraussetzt³, und berücksichtigt man ferner, daß dieser Gedanke der 'Identität von Mensch und Sprache' bzw. der 'personalen Identifikation durch den Stil' gerade in der Renaissance zentraler Bestandteil des humanistischen Menschenbildes war⁴, so wird man eben in der Mannigfaltigkeit der Stilmittel, die Cyriacus jederzeit zur Verfügung standen und die er daher nach Belieben einsetzte, ein Abbild seiner Gesamtpersönlichkeit erblicken. Varietas delectat!

1. Vgl. A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtliche Redensarten der Römer* (Leipzig, 1890), S. 363; K. Bartels-L. Huber, *Veni vidi vici, Geflügelte Worte aus dem Griechischen und Lateinischen* (Zürich, 1966).
2. Vgl. das betreffende Kap. bei Müller (s.o. 46), S. 40-51.
3. Belege im Kap. "Die topische Gleichung von Mensch und Stil in der Antike" bei Müller, 9-21.
4. Vgl. das Kap. "Zum Weiterleben der topischen Gleichung von Mensch und Stil in Renaissance und Barock" bei Müller, 22-39.

N.

427f. Alexio Disypato :

Alexios Disypatos, der 1453 unter den Verteidigern von Konstantinopel begegnet, ist in griechischen Quellen nicht belegt, zu der lateinischen Quelle vgl. jetzt A. Pertusi, *La caduta di Costantinopoli*, I (Verona, 1976), S. 208 u. 420.

T.

441 *Madidocrissaque* :

Während die übrigen Städte in dieser Aufzählung durchwegs bekannt sind (*Segeum* ist *Sigeum*), ist dieser Name so nicht verständlich. Im Index (S. 73) setzen ihn die Herausgeber zwar mit Madytos gleich, doch kann dies nur für den ersten Teil des Wortes zutreffen. Es ist also auf jeden Fall in Madido Crissaque zu trennen. *Madidus* ("feucht") statt Madytus ist hierbei offenbar ähnlich wie oben *Salubrea* (Z. 1) und *Praeconensium insula* (Z. 219) eine etymologisierende Spielerei, während wir für Crissa eine weitere Stadt finden müssen. Tatsächlich bietet sich dafür Krithea an, das in der Nähe von Madytos lag¹ und in spätmittelalterlichen lateinischen Quellen entweder einem Crista oder Cresta entspricht².

1. RE XI/2, 1898 (Oberhummer).

2. N. Jorga, "Notes et extraits pour servir à l'histoire des croisades au XV^e siècle", *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, 4 (1896), 66 A. 11; für den Hinweis auf diese Stelle danke ich Herrn Dr. Peter Soustal von der *Tabula imperii Byzantini* (Wien).

T.

446 *Hermodoro Michaelae Critobulo* :

Den nur in der Antike geläufigen Namen Hermodorus führte dieser bekannte spätbyzantinische Historiker in Wirklichkeit nicht. Cyriacus, dessen Nahverhältnis zu Merkur besonders in dem vorangegangenen Gebet (Z. 414-424) deutlich wurde, hat hier vielmehr ein Epitheton ornans "Geschenke des Hermes" aus eigenem hinzugesetzt. Im übrigen ist Κριτόπουλος und nicht die an den antiken Κριτόβουλος (Sohn Kritons) angelehnte Namensform als original anzusehen¹.

1. Zu den Kritopuloi vgl. jetzt H.-V. Beyer in *PLP* VI 13805-13817.

T.

450f. *Manuelem Asanium* :

Manuel Laskaris Asanes war von 1438/39 bis 1444 Statthalter von Imbros¹.

1. *PLP* I (1976) 1507.

T.

457 *antiqua ex mole* :

So schreiben die Herausgeber wieder nach der späteren Hs. VL 6, während RC "antiquo ex molo" hat. Diese späte Nebenform¹ ist

jedenfalls in den Text zu setzen, sie findet sich nämlich auch in Z. 720 (*molum*) und 1109 (*e molo*), in zwei Passagen allerdings, die nicht in VL 6, sondern in RC bzw. T (ebenfalls 15. Jh.) überliefert sind. Man muß nun doch den Herausgebern den methodischen Fehler vorwerfen, daß sie bei ihrem aufgrund der verstümmelten Überlieferung an sich natürlich richtigen Eklektizismus nur in der umfangmäßigen Herstellung des Textes konsequent verfahren sind, nicht aber hinsichtlich der Sprachform. Was diese betrifft, so müssen wir vielmehr von den in Handschriften des 15. Jhdts. erhaltenen Partien ausgehen und bei unterschiedlichen Lesarten in den übrigen Textteilen von dort Parallelstellen zur Bestimmung des Sprachgebrauchs heranziehen. Dabei wird man unschwer zu der Feststellung gelangen, daß Cyriacus eben noch teilweise mittelalterliches und kein reines Humanistenlatein gebrauchte, daß dies in der späteren Überlieferung anstößig erschien und daß man daher gelegentlich Nachbesserungen vornahm.

1. Vgl. Du Cange V 450.

T.

467 *Ad arcem icoras (?) et magnis ex cocto latere litteris :*

Diese Stelle ist nur in der Hs. VL 6 mit dieser Textverderbnis überliefert. Sie läßt sich jedoch heilen, wenn wir einen Abschreibfehler voraussetzen. Da *incorporatum* paläographisch als "icorat" abgekürzt werden kann¹, hat ein Kopist dies wohl zusammen mit der Endung -is, für die ein ähnliches Zeichen wie für "et" eintreten kann², als "icoras et" verlesen. Ein bloß kopulatives oder explikatives "et" ist in dem Satz nicht gut anzunehmen, weil die Wörter "incorporatis" und "magnis" sinngemäß auf anderer Ebene liegen; vielmehr ist "incorporatis" einerseits als besonders betont vorangestellt, darf aber andererseits nicht von "ex cocto latere" getrennt werden, worauf es ja zu beziehen ist. Es ist also zu schreiben: *Ad arcem incorporatis magnis ex cocto latere litteris* ("An der Burg mit großen Buchstaben, die aus gebranntem Ziegelstein eingefügt sind"). Gemeint ist demnach eine Ziegelinschrift, die in der steinernen Burgmauer später angebracht wurde.

1. Cappelli (vgl. Anm. 1 zu Z. 74-76), S. 171: 14. Jh.

2. Cappelli XXIV und 408.

T.

468f. † ΠΙΚΕΡΝΗΣ Ο ΚΟΜΝΙΝΟΣ
ΚΟΙΝΤΟΣ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ

Das erste Wort bereitet keinerlei Schwierigkeiten: πικέρνης (lat. *pincerna*) "Mundschenk" bezeichnet ein byz. Hofamt, das auch mit etymologischer Umdeutung als ἐπικέρνης vorkommt. Was die Namen betrifft, so ist jedenfalls Κόϊντος für das lat. *Quintus* kein byzantinischer Vorname und wäre auch neben Stephanos sinnlos. Es liegt also höchstwahrscheinlich wieder ein Lesefehler des Cyriacus vor, indem dieser den ihm offenbar unbekannten Namen Κοντοστέφανος (mit angenommener Haplographie des Sigma in der Mitte) mißverstand und zerlegte. Leider können wir diesen Komnenos Kontostephanos nach den sonst bekannten Quellen nicht identifizieren; es ist aber immerhin festzuhalten, daß mehrere Mitglieder bzw. Nachfahren der Kaiserfamilie der Komnenen seit dem Ende des 11. Jhdts. dieses Amt bekleidet haben¹. Des weiteren läßt sich zumindest in der Spätzeit eine Verwandtschaft der Komnenen mit den Kontostephanoi nachweisen².

1. R. Guiland, *Recherches sur les institutions byzantines*, I (Berlin, 1967), S. 24.

2. *PLP* VI 13118, zu Kontostephanos vgl. auch die dortigen Literaturangaben vor Nr. 13113.

T.

Universität Bonn.

Jürgen BLUSCH

ZUR REZEPTION DER GERMANIA DES TACITUS
BEI GIANNANTONIO CAMPANO
UND ENEA SILVIO PICCOLOMINI*

Seit dem 1911 erschienenen Aufsatz von P. Joachimsen¹ wissen wir, erstens daß die beiden im Titel erwähnten humanistischen Autoren² die *Germania* des Tacitus benutzt haben³, Campano in seiner für den Regensburger Reichstag von 1471 komponierten großen Türkenrede⁴,

* Die Arbeit am vorliegenden Thema hatte ich vor Jahren begonnen, dann aber eingestellt, als ich hörte, daß der Druck eines Aufsatzes von M. Fuhrmann zum gleichen Thema — im Hinblick jedenfalls auf die beiden im Titel genannten Autoren — unmittelbar bevorstehe ("Einige Dokumente zur Rezeption der taciteischen *Germania*", *Altsprachlicher Unterricht*, 21/1, (1978), 39-49; Texte in *Beilage* zu H. 1, Reihe 21, 1978, 12-14). Erst als ich sehr viel später jenen Aufsatz las, merkte ich, daß mein eigenes Unternehmen damit durchaus nicht gegenstandslos geworden war: Fuhrmann hat nur einen Teil des textlichen Vergleichsmaterials erfaßt (Vollständigkeit war für seine Zwecke vielleicht auch gar nicht so erforderlich), vor allem aber zeichnen sich bei ihm angesichts der Tacitus-Benutzung durch Campano Bewertungen ab, die m.E. nachweislich falsch sind — nur weil unterlassen wurde, den Redner Campano und seine rednerischen Intentionen näher in Betracht zu ziehen und von daher eine begründete Antwort auf die Frage zu finden, warum Campano an mehr als einer Stelle mit seiner Vorlage recht unbedenklich umgeht, sie verzerrt oder gar, wie ich meine, verfälscht.

¹ P. Joachimsen, "Tacitus im deutschen Humanismus", *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, Geschichte und deutsche Literatur*, 14 (1911), 697-717; im folgenden zitiert als: Joachimsen.

² Biographisches zu beiden: G. Paparelli, *Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Pio II.*, Biblioteca di cultura moderna 481, Bari, 1950; neuere Ausgabe: Padua, 1978. — F. Di Bernardo, *Un vescovo umanista alla Corte Pontificia, Giannantonio Campano (1429-1477)*, *Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae* 39 (Rom, 1975). — Weitere biographische Literatur auf S. 78/79, Anm. 1 u. 2, meines Aufsatzes "Enea Silvio Piccolomini und Giannantonio Campano. Die unterschiedlichen Darstellungsprinzipien in ihren Türkenreden", *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 28 (1979), 78-138; im folgenden zitiert unter: "Darstellungsprinzipien". — Kurzer Abriß der Vita Campanos: "Darstellungsprinzipien", 79.

³ Literatur zur Wiederentdeckung und zur Rezeption der *Germania* des Tacitus in "Darstellungsprinzipien", 81/83, Anm. 12, 15 u. 16; dazu der oben (Anm. *) erwähnte Aufsatz von M. Fuhrmann.

⁴ *Oratio in conventu Ratisponensi ad exhortandos principes Germanorum contra Turcos et de laudibus eorum anno 1471 habita*; zu den Handschriften und den Drucken

Enea Silvio in seiner 1457/58 verfaßten sogenannten *Germania*⁵, und zweitens — dies mehr andeutungsweise — in welcher gegensätzlicher Tendenz sie die Schrift des im Mittelalter fast vergessenen antiken Autors herangezogen haben⁶; letzteres im übrigen bei gleichgeartetem methodischen Ansatz, einem Ansatz nämlich, der sich kurz so kennzeichnen läßt, daß in beiden Fällen (ungeachtet der im einzelnen verfolgten konkreten Argumentationsziele) das alte Germanien — und hierin hat Enea Silvio „kategorienbildend gewirkt“⁷ — mit dem modernen Deutschland des 15. Jahrhunderts in einen mehr oder weniger stark das Gegensätzliche betonenden Vergleich gezogen wird. Das Faktum und — jedenfalls in Umrissen — die generelle Tendenz der Benutzung der taciteischen *Germania* sind seit Joachimsen also bekannt.

Die folgenden Überlegungen sollen nun auf etwas abzielen, das gleichsam genau zwischen dem bekannten Faktum und der ein für allemal festgestellten generellen Tendenz liegt. Meines Wissens gibt es bis heute noch keine systematische, möglichst auch auf Vollständigkeit bedachte Auflistung des von Campano und Enea Silvio rezipierten Textmaterials. Eine solche Auflistung soll hier — in Form der Textgegenüberstellung — geliefert werden, dies jedoch nicht in selbstzweckhafter Weise, sondern aus zwei Gründen: Erst eine vollständige Erfassung des rezipierten Materials wird vollen Einblick gewähren in gewisse Merkwürdigkeiten der Tacitus-Benutzung vor allem durch Campano — etwa wenn man beobachtet, wie was zitiert wird, auch: ob mit oder ohne Namensnennung des antiken Gewährsmannes —, und erst eine vollständige Erfassung dieser 'Merkwürdigkeiten' wird

dieser Rede siehe unten Anm. 12. — Umstritten, m.E. jedoch ganz unwahrscheinlich ist, daß die Rede — eine 'Stilübung' — damals gehalten worden ist; vgl. "Darstellungsprinzipien", 80/81, Anm. 10.

⁵ Aeneas Silvius, *Germania*, zusammen mit Jakob Wimpfelings *Responsa et Replicae ad Aeneam Silvium*, ed. A. Schmidt (Köln, 1962); deutsche Übersetzung ebenfalls von A. Schmidt, *Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Deutschland*, GDV, 3. Gesamtausgabe, 104, (Köln, 1962) (unter Einschluß von Wimpfelings *Antworten*). — Wie bei Tacitus ist auch hier der Titel spätere Zutat.

⁶ Enea Silvio beruft sich mit Tacitus auf die germanische Urzeit, um den Deutschen seiner Zeit, die sich u.a. über von Rom auferlegte finanzielle Belastungen beklagt hatten, vor Augen zu führen, wie reich Deutschland nunmehr sei und wie heilsam sich das Christentum ausgewirkt habe (germanische Urzeit = negative Kontrastfolie), Campano dagegen, um durch Hinweis auf germanisches Heldentum die Deutschen seiner Zeit zum Kampf gegen die Türken zu animieren (= positive Kontrastfolie); im einzelnen vgl. "Darstellungsprinzipien", 81-2.

⁷ Joachimsen, 704.

eine sichere Grundlage für deren Beurteilung bzw. Deutung abgeben können⁸. Am Ende steht sozusagen die Frage nach dem rezeptionsgeschichtlichen Stellenwert der Rezeption der taciteischen *Germania*, so wie sie von Enea Silvio und Campano in Gang gesetzt worden ist.

Beginnen wir mit Textauszügen aus der Türkenrede des Campano⁹ in Gegenüberstellung mit parallelisierbaren Textstücken aus der *Germania*¹⁰.

Campano

Tacitus

I.

§53 Etenim traditum est Germanos praecipuos mortalium omnium trahi cupiditate laudis et gloriae, pro qua maiores vestri obicere vitam periculis et relicta patria quaerere externa regna imperiaque remotissima non dubitaverunt. Fecerunt id, quod nobilitas tanta postulabat. §54 Quae enim nobilitas aut quae potius vita sine gloria est? A gloria enim orta^o atque aucta nobilitas nulla^o re alia potest contineri et

13,4 ... nec solum in sua gente cuique, sed apud finitimas quoque civitates id nomen, ea gloria est, si numero ac virtute comitatus emineat ...

14,1 ... sua quoque fortia facta gloriae eius (= principis) adsignare praecipuum sacramentum est ... 14,2 ... facilius inter ancipitia clarescunt (sc. plerique nobilium adulescentium) ... *ebd.* (*direkt vorher*): ... si civitas in qua orti sunt longa pace et otio torpeat, pleri-

⁸ Vgl. Anm. * und unten S. 85.

⁹ Entgegen der Chronologie gehe ich zuerst auf Campano ein, erstens weil er im Rahmen dieser Abhandlung der eigentlich problematische Autor ist, zweitens weil man sich bei seiner merkwürdigen Art der Quellenbenutzung den Blick dafür schärfen kann, womit man zu rechnen hat, wenn in dieser Zeit jemand einen antiken Autor 'zitiert'; d.h. diese Reihenfolge wird hilfreich sein, auch bei Enea Silvio eher versteckten Bezugnahmen auf Tacitus ausfindig zu machen. — Die Paragraphenzählung der abgedruckten Campano-Texte entspricht meiner in Arbeit befindlichen Ausgabe von dessen Türkenrede. Um einstweilen die Orientierung zu erleichtern, gebe ich hier eine Synopse dieser Zählung mit der Blattzählung der allgemein zugänglichen Ferni-Gesamtausgabe (siehe unten Anm. 12), so wie sie sich im Inhaltsverzeichnis dieser Ausgabe (nicht auf den Blättern selber!) findet: fol. 24 v^o = § 1-4; fol. 25 r^o = § 4-15; fol. 25 v^o = § 16-31; fol. 26 r^o = § 31-46; fol. 26 v^o = § 46-62; fol. 27 r^o = § 62-74; fol. 27 v^o = § 74-88; fol. 28 r^o = § 88-103; fol. 28 v^o = § 104-120; fol. 29 r^o = § 120-136; fol. 29 v^o = § 136-154.

¹⁰ Die Reihenfolge der abgedruckten Texte richtet sich nach dem Text der Campano-Rede (und zwar ohne Abstufung nach intensiverer oder weniger intensiver Quellenbenutzung), nicht nach Tacitus (weshalb dessen Texte in etwas zusammengewürfelter Form erscheinen). Außerdem werden die Campano-Texte relativ so ausführlich ausgezogen, daß man den Sinnzusammenhang sich einigermaßen verdeutlichen kann. Das hat Nachteile, weil man das jeweilige Zitat nicht mit einem Blick zu erfassen vermag; es wird sich nachher aber vorteilhaft auswirken bei der endgültigen Bewertung von Campanos Art und Weise der Tacitus-Benutzung.

conservari quam gloria. Sed quae gloria inter mortales maior quam imperii et famae, pro quibus rebus nobilissimi quique omnes subire labores et pericula et mortes non recusaverunt?

que nobilium adolescentium petunt ultro eas nationes, quae tum bellum aliquod gerunt ...

13,2 insignis nobilitas aut magna patrum merita principis dignationem etiam adolescentulis adsignant ... **13,4** ... et ipsa plerumque fama bella profligant. **14,1** ... iam vero infame in omnem vitam ac probrosum superstitem principi suo ex acie recessisse ...

II.

§57 Nam de latitudine Germaniae nil attinet dicere, cum nonnulli veterum scriptorum dubitaverint, an finem aliquem septentrionem versus Germania habuerit. Adeo^o lata atque immensa, ut ...

1,1 ... cetera Oceanus ambit, latos sinus et insularum immensa spatia complexens ...

III.

§80 Sed quid viros tantopere miramur? Proditum est memoriae feminas quoque Germanas^o sumptis aliquando pro patria armis ex integro virorum pugnas instaurasse et nullam aliam dotem afferre consuesse in maritorum domos quam frenatum equum et scutum et frameam; quod genus teli apud vos primum inventum est ...

8,1 Memoriae proditur quasdam acies inclinatam iam et labantes a feminis restitutas constantia precum et obiectu pectorum et monstrata comminus captivitate ...

18,2 dotem non uxor marito, sed uxori maritus offert. intersunt parentes et propinqui ac munera probant, munera non ad delicias muliebres quaesita nec quibus nova nupta comatur, sed boves et frenatum equum et scutum cum framea gladioque.

6,1/2 Ne ferrum quidem superest, sicut ex genere telorum colligitur ... hastas vel ipsorum vocabulo frameas gerunt ... et eques quidem scuto frameaque contentus est ...

IV.

§82 Tum neque templa ingredi neque forum adire neque de publicis aut privatis rebus quicquam agere vestri maiores nisi armati consueverunt. Armati rem divinam, armati profanam, armati urbanam, armati domesticam faciebant.

13,1 Nihil autem neque publicae neque privatae rei nisi armati agunt ...

22,1 ... tum ad negotia nec minus saepe ad convivia procedunt armati.

Vgl. auch 11,4: ut turbae placuit, considunt armati ...

V.

§83 Veterum numinum Martem° (!) praecipuum, quod bellis praesset, coluere; et inter peritos astrorum constat vim atque influxum Martis, hoc est appetitum quendam armorum ardoremque bellandi, inesse Germanis.

9,1 Deorum maxime Mercurium (!) colunt ... Herculem ac Martem concessis animalibus placant.

VI.

§85 ... natura quoque° ipsa ad rem militarem disciplinamque bellicam gignebantur (sc. maiores vestri). Quae et corpora vobis eximia atque exstantia et vultus, quantum° pace laetos, tantum bello° terribiles et oculos in pugna° minaciores atque incensos et vocem° ad perterrefaciendum plenior et animos ad rem paratos et laudis et gloriae et imperii cupidos dedit.

4,2 unde habitus quoque corporum, tamquam in tanto hominum numero, idem omnibus: truces et caerulei oculi, rutilae comae, magna corpora et tantum ad impetum valida.

3,1/2 ... terrent enim trepidantve, prout sonuit acies, nec tam vocis ille quam virtutis concentus videtur. adfectatur praecipue asperitas soni et fractum murmur, obiectis ad os scutis, quo plenior et gravior vox repercussu intumescat.

Vgl. auch 20,1: ... in haec corpora quae miramur excrescunt ..., ferner (über die Chatten) 30,2: duriora genti corpora, stricti artus, minax vultus et maior animi vigor ...

VII.

§86 Nec minus habitu corporis quam ipso corpore videmini rem militarem profiteri; nam et coma porrecta Lacedaemoniorum more, qui omnium fuere bellicosissimi, et ad pulchritudinem domi et terrorem belli alitur° vobis et vestes non promissae et complicatae ut Italici, non gibbosae et praelatae ut Gallici, non fluxae° et cadentes ut Graeci, non laxae et reiectae ut Armeniis° et Persis, non nodosae et obligatae ut Indici adaptantur, sed quales armaturae convenient, breves, expeditae, compactae membris nec° modo artus singulos, sed ipsos prope dicam nervos ac venas exprimentes ...

4,2 — vgl. den Textauszug aus Tacitus Nr. VI.

17,1 ... locupletissimi veste distinguuntur non fluitante, sicut Sarmatae ac Parthi, sed stricta et singulos artus exprimente.

VIII.

§95 At° quam aequum est convenire

2,1 Ipsos Germanos indigenas credi-

inter se Germanos, qui sic nominamini, non quia Gallis^o simillimi, ut quidam putaverunt (= *Strab.* 7,1,2 p. 290, vgl. 4,4,2 p. 195/96) — quippe aliud robur, alia lingua, alia militia in vobis est —, sed quoniam inpermixti^o aliis, coniuncti vobis, commercia externa et peregrina coniugia aspernati, semper indigenae^o Germaniae hoc in caelo nati, non aliunde deducti mores, quos vestri maiores ab initio habuere, ad ultimum retinetis.

derim minimeque aliarum gentium adventibus et hospitiiis mixtos ...

4,1 Ipse eorum opinionibus accedo qui Germaniae populos nullis [aliis] aliarum nationum conubiis infectos (vgl. **46,1**: conubiis mixtis) propriam et sinceram et tantum sui similem gentem extitisse arbitrantur.

19,5 ... plusque ibi boni mores valent quam alibi bonae leges. *Zum Stichwort commercia* vgl. **5,4**: ... quamquam proximi ob usum commerciorum aurum et argentum in pretio habent ... interiores simplicius et antiquius permutatione mercium utuntur; *ferner* **5,5**: ... promisca ac vilia mercantibus.

IX.

§96 Quam ob rem convictus quidam socialis atque hospitalis ... vestrum^o per familias similitudo ... haec paritas propria^o vestra ... fecit, ut, id quod esse consuevistis, Germani diceremini. Quam^o igitur dignum est convenire tam simillimos, tam sociales et convenire in re adeo pulchra, gloriosa, necessaria?

21,2 Convictibus et hospitiiis non alia gens effusius indulget ...

4,1 ... Germaniae populos ... tantum sui similem gentem ...

N.B.: Das Zeichen ^o weist auf Textkritisches hin, das unten in der Einzeltext-Besprechung näher erläutert wird. — Dort auch Verweise auf Parallelen innerhalb des Campano-Textes.

Dies sind also diejenigen Texte aus der Türkenrede Campanos und der *Germania* des Tacitus, die ich im Sinn unseres Untersuchungszieles für relevant halte¹¹. Was ihre Vergleichbarkeit betrifft, so sei vorweg gesagt: Neben solchen Äußerungen Campanos, die eine klare Bezugnahme auf Tacitus zu erkennen geben, finden sich andere, in denen Taciteisches — mehr oder bisweilen auch weniger deutlich — bloß an-

¹¹ Da und dort könnte man noch eine Art Einort-Anklang konstatieren z.B. Camp. §90 ("ut maiores vestri convenerunt") gegenüber Tac. 11,3 ("non simul nec ut iussi conveniunt"), doch ist dergleichen zu wenig aussagekräftig. Absichtlich habe ich auch die speziellen Teile der *Germania* (ab 8,1) nur ganz am Rande berücksichtigt; darüber hinaus könnte man noch des Tacitus "tam diu Germania vincitur" (37,2) mit Campanos "invicti Germani estis" (§90) konfrontieren; aber da der allgemeine Teil der *Germania* von Campano massiv genutzt wird, der Rest jedoch nur — wenn überhaupt — in verschwindend geringem Maße, könnte so mancher Anklang auch rein zufälliger Art sein.

klingt, bis hin zu Feststellungen Campanos, die geradezu das Gegenteil von dem besagen, was Tacitus mitteilt. Bei einigen der einander gegenübergestellten Texte wird der Leser vielleicht überhaupt Mühe haben, Bezüge zu entdecken; in solchen Fällen kann ich — einstweilen — nur mit der Bitte aufwarten, die notwendige Klärung vom weiteren Verlauf der Untersuchung zu erwarten: denn erst wenn wir — und zwar anhand der absolut sicheren Bezugnahmen auf die *Germania* des Tacitus — gelernt haben, worauf wir uns bei Campano, wenn er zitiert, wohl oder übel einstellen müssen, werden auch derartige Texte, ja sogar im Widerspruch zu Tacitus stehende Äußerungen Campanos keinen Zweifel offen lassen, was ihre Herkunft bzw. die rechte Art ihrer Zuordnung betrifft.

Betrachten wir nun das vorgeführte Textmaterial als solches, anders gesagt: betrachten wir — noch ohne Berücksichtigung evtl. erkennbarer Bezüge über die einzelnen Beispielgrenzen hinaus und noch ohne wertende Abstraktion des Vorgefundenen — die besagten Texte zunächst gleichsam ganz von außen her. Diese, wie angedeutet, vorerst 'äußerliche' Art der Betrachtung soll im übrigen zugleich auch Gelegenheit bieten, gewisse Informationen — etwa Textkritisches zu Campano — einfließen zu lassen, Informationen also, die im Argumentationszusammenhang zwar durchaus ihren Stellenwert haben, jedoch im Rahmen der 'wertenden Abstraktion des Vorgefundenen' eher störend wirken würden, kurz: Dinge, die vorab geklärt sein sollten.

Zu I. TEXTKRITISCHES zu Campano¹² (hier nur § 54 betreffend):
orta R] orta est cett. || sine] sin Mü || nulla re alia] haec nulla re alia

¹² Unter der Rubrik 'Textkritisches' werden die folgenden — für meine Edition vorgesehenen — Siglen vorkommen: R, Pl¹, Pl² (Übereinstimmung von Pl¹ u. Pl² = Pl), Fe, Re, Mü. Zur Erläuterung: bei R handelt es sich um eine der beiden Handschriften, die (aus Urbino stammend) heute im Vatikan liegt (cod. Urb. lat. 324), Titel: *Campani oratio* (sic!) *ad imperatorem habita Germaniae*; eine weitere in Turin befindliche Handschrift konnte noch nicht eingesehen werden (T); Pl¹ meint den Erstdruck, der um 1487 von Stephan Planck in Rom erstellt wurde, Pl² einen weiteren Planck-Druck ebenfalls in Rom um 1488/90, Titel: so wie oben Anm. 4 (leicht gekürzt); bei Fe handelt es sich um die von Michele Ferni besorgte Gesamtausgabe der Werke Campanos (Rom, 1495; zweite Aufl. Venedig, 1502); die Ferni-Ausgabe liegt vor in einem Nachdruck von 1969; Re meint Nicolaus Reusner mit seinem Werk *Selectissimarum orationum et consultationum de bello turcico variorum auctorum* (Campano-Rede I 23-49) (Leipzig, 1596; Zweitaufgabe Eisleben, 1603); Mü bedeutet J. J. Müller, der in seinem *Des Heiligen Römischen Reiches deutscher Nation Reichstags-theatrum 1440-1493* (Jena, 1713), Campanos Rede S. 360-372 noch einmal mitabgedruckt hat.

Mü || *recusaverunt*] *dubitaverunt* Mü. — VERWEISE auf andere Passagen der Campano-Rede: Zu der Äußerung *relicta patria quaerere externa regna imperiaque remotissima* (§ 53) vgl. auch § 56: *maximis semper ac pulcherrimis expeditionibus*, ferner § 68: *semper aliena quaerere imperia*. Zu *Sed quae gloria inter mortales maior quam imperii et famae* bis *non recusaverunt* (§ 54) vgl. auch § 55: *apud posteros fama duratura*. — BESCHREIBUNG des textlichen Befundes (Campano-Tacitus): Auf den ersten Blick ist es nicht gerade viel, was sich in den einander gegenüberstehenden Texten parallelisieren läßt; andererseits sagt Campano *traditum est*, und das ist für diesen Autor bereits die höchste Form des Eingeständnisses, daß er sich anderweitig informiert hat — ob wirklich bei Tacitus, sei einstweilen noch dahingestellt. Immerhin ist festzuhalten: In beiden Textauszügen wird — bei Campano geradezu massiv — im weitesten Sinn der Aspekt 'Streben nach Ruhm' thematisiert; gemeinsame Ausdrücke: *gloria*, *fama*, *nobilitas* (letzteres bei beiden Autoren wohl nicht ganz gleichsinnig verwendet); andere Ausdrücke im Umkreis des genannten thematischen Aspekts bei Campano: *laus*, bei Tacitus: *nomen*, *emineat*, *clarescunt*, *infame*; im übrigen registriert man auch die Worte *nobilissimi quique omnes* bei Campano sowie *plerique nobilium adolescentium* bei Tacitus. Das zuletzt angeführte Beispiel macht aber gleichzeitig auch einen markanten Unterschied zwischen beiden Autoren bzw. Texten vollends deutlich: denn was bei Tacitus auf einen bestimmten Personenkreis bezogen ist — es geht um das Gefolgschaftswesen —, gilt bei Campano für Germanen schlechthin. Das zeigt sich ebenfalls, wenn wir zwei weitere Textstücke parallelisieren: Nach Campano hatten die alten Germanen um des Ruhmes willen nichts dagegen *obicere vitam periculis* oder auch *subire mortes*, bei Tacitus heißt es, daß es als lebenslange Schande gelte *superstitem principi suo ex acie recessisse*; in beiden Fällen also Betonung der Bereitschaft, gegebenenfalls — sei es um Ruhm zu erwerben (Campano), sei es um das Gegenteil, Schande, zu vermeiden (Tacitus) — den Tod in Kauf zu nehmen, jedoch wiederum mit dem Unterschied, daß Tacitus im Gegensatz zu Campano eben nicht Germanen im allgemeinen, sondern Gefolgsleute meint. Angenommen, Campano hat die *Germania* des Tacitus vor Augen gehabt — ich bevorzuge hier noch die hypothetische Form der Aussage —, dann müßten wir bei Campano allerdings gewisse Akzentverschiebungen in Rechnung stellen; darüber wird noch zu reden sein. Schließlich sei auch noch auf folgendes aufmerksam gemacht: Wenn Tacitus sagt, daß etliche der (schon

genannten) jungen Adligen aufgrund der schlaffmachenden Wirkung langer Friedensruhe innerhalb ihres eigenen Gemeinwesens *petunt ultro eas nationes quae tum bellum aliquod gerunt*, und wenn man andererseits bei Campano liest, daß die alten Germanen *relicta patria quaerere externa regna imperiaque remotissima non dubitaverunt* (vgl. auch die anderen diesbezüglichen Textstellen), dann ist es wohl nicht zwingend, aber auch nicht ganz unwahrscheinlich, hier eine Bezugnahme Campanos auf Tacitus anzunehmen — natürlich wiederum unter Berücksichtigung einer in diesem Fall recht handfesten Akzentverschiebung: Eine Art Beschäftigungsdrang, der die Langeweile verscheuchen, im übrigen aber auch den Unterhalt sichern soll, wird bei Campano zum imperialen Expansionswillen. Die Wahrscheinlichkeit der Annahme, daß Campano sich hier auf Tacitus bezieht, würde größer oder sogar zur Gewißheit, wenn der Nachweis gelänge, daß Campano in einer ganz bestimmten ihm wichtig oder notwendig erscheinenden Tendenz auch sonst im Rahmen seiner Rede Akzente zu verschieben bestrebt ist, kurz: wenn der Sinn der — dann doch wohl bewußt herbeigeführten — Akzentverschiebungen aufgedeckt werden könnte; diesen Nachweis glaube ich später liefern zu können.

ZU II. TEXTKRITISCHES: *nil] nihil* Re || *Adeo.lata] Adeo est lata* Mü. — VERWEISE: Zu *Adeo lata atque immensa* vgl. auch § 56: *patriam ... amplissimam ac patentissimam (patetissimam R potentissimam Pl)* [gäbe man, was aber auszuschließen ist, der Lesung *potentissimam* den Vorzug, wäre der Verweis jedenfalls in diesem Bestandteil gegenstandslos], ferner § 62: *imperium ... latissimum*. — BESCHREIBUNG: In den beiden parallelisierten Texten geht es, was das alte Germanien betrifft, um 'Abmessungen', die sich Campano gleich unter dem Hauptbegriff *latitudo* erschließen, während Tacitus das in Rede stehende Gebiet eigentlich nur mit Grenzen versieht, die — jedenfalls im Norden — immerhin solche Ausmaße haben, daß man Rückschlüsse auf die Größe des so eingegrenzten Landes ziehen könnte. Mir kommt es hier auf die von beiden Autoren verwendeten Adjektive *latus* und *immensus* an; diese sind zwar durchaus verschieden bezogen, bei Campano auf das Land als solches, bei Tacitus bloß auf bestimmte Grenzregionen bzw. überhaupt auf das Gebiet außerhalb des besagten Landes (überdies: Genus-Wechsel), jedoch: die bei Campano gleiche Reihenfolge der genannten Adjektive scheint mir verräterisch zu sein. Gewiß, der Hinweis auf *nonnulli veterum scriptorum*, den man (siehe oben) als solchen ernst nehmen muß (weniger ernst übrigens den Plural

nonnulli), könnte auf irgendeinen anderen antiken Autor hindeuten, aber daß höchstwahrscheinlich dennoch Tacitus gemeint ist, glaube ich eben aus der Reihenfolge der verwendeten Adjektive schließen zu können. Und was deren unterschiedliche Bezugspunkte angeht — *Germania* als ganzes auf der einen, *sinus* und *insularum spatia* auf der anderen Seite —, so dürfte hier wiederum das Stichwort Akzentverschiebung am Platze sein.

ZU III. TEXTKRITISCHES: *Germanas*] *Germanos* Mü. — VERWEISE: Zu *feminas ... virorum pugnās instaurasse* vgl. auch §81: *Veniebant ergo feminae ad arma paratae viros adiuturæ (adiutare Re adiuvere Mü)*, ferner §89: *Et plus olim feminis vestris animi fuerit, quam nunc vobis sit viris ad communem libertatem defendendam?* — BESCHREIBUNG: Für das, was sich hier bei Campano an *Proditum est memoriae* anschließt, bedarf es wohl nicht erst eines Nachweises, daß wirklich Tacitus die Inspiration geliefert hat; die Bezugnahme auf die *Germania* ist offenkundig (wie überhaupt die §§80-86 der Campano-Rede als die Schwerpunkte der Tacitus-Benutzung anzusehen sind). Die Einzelheiten, die dafür sprechen, kann ich mir — die Gegenüberstellung oben dürfte für sich sprechen — hier also ersparen. Wichtiger erscheint es mir vielmehr, gewisse Differenzen zum Text des Tacitus in den Vordergrund zu rücken. Daß Campano sich in der vorgeführten Passage (aber auch sonst) offenbar nicht gemüßigt fühlt, die von ihm benutzte Quelle wörtlich zu zitieren, mag ja noch verständlich sein (wenngleich wir uns später auch hierfür nach einer Begründung umsehen werden), gravierender ist jedoch, erstens daß er (inhaltlich) wichtige Bestandteile des Tacitus-Textes, die bei Tacitus die Begründung tragen oder aber das Geschehen verdeutlichende Begleitumstände angeben (siehe von *constantia precum* bis *captivitate*), einfach wegläßt und dafür anderes einsetzt (in diesem Fall z.B. *sumptis aliquando pro patria armis*), zweitens daß er etwas später (*nullam aliam dotem ...*), orientiert zwar an der Aussage des Tacitus, aber doch in krassem Widerspruch zu ihr schlicht das Gegenteil von dem behauptet, was Tacitus mitzuteilen weiß. Angesichts dieser Gegebenheiten sollte man es sich nicht zu leicht machen und die Erklärung in Zufälligkeiten der Art suchen wollen, daß man meint, Campano habe einen schlechten Tacitus-Text benutzen müssen oder aber — in Regensburg — gar keinen zur Hand gehabt bzw. sich nur auf sein (dann offenbar mäßiges) Erinnerungsvermögen stützen können, oder er habe bestimmte Textstellen einfach nicht verstanden und deshalb verdreht oder durch

Eigenes ersetzt¹³. Konstatieren wir lediglich, daß wir hier wieder einmal vor sogenannten Akzentverschiebungen stehen, die in diesem Fall — wenigstens aus unserer Sicht — geradezu den Anschein bewußter ‘Fälschung’ erwecken. Wenn der festgestellte Befund nicht zufällig so ist, sondern bewußt herbeigeführt sein sollte, was könnte Campano veranlaßt haben, sich einerseits durchaus auf die Mitteilungen eines antiken Autors zu stützen, diese aber auf der anderen Seite — fast noch im gleichen Atemzug — doch wiederum nicht so ganz ernst zu nehmen, und dies mit den besagten an Willkür gemahnenden Konsequenzen?

ZU IV. BESCHREIBUNG : In dieser Textgegenüberstellung ist fast nichts problematisch, die Bezugnahme Campanos auf Tacitus außerhalb jeden Zweifels, abgesehen davon, daß es hier mit der Wörtlichkeit der Wiedergabe genauso steht wie schon zuvor. Das laut Tacitus uneingeschränkt waffenklirrende Wesen der alten Germanen hat Campano — aus welchen Gründen auch immer — offenbar so beeindruckt, daß er — dies die einzige inhaltliche Änderung über Tacitus hinaus — sie, die alten Germanen, sogar Tempel bzw. Kirchen in bewaffnetem Zustand betreten läßt, wo er doch bei Tacitus hätte lesen können (9,3) : *ceterum nec cohibere parietibus deos ... ex magnitudine caelestium arbitrantur : lucos ac nemora consecrant* Nun, diese leichte Akzentverschiebung wird nicht schwer zu erklären sein.

ZU V. TEXTKRITISCHES : *Martem] Marem* Pl¹. — BESCHREIBUNG : Campanos Äußerung über den von den alten Germanen bevorzugten Gott Mars würden wir wohl gar nicht in Beziehung zu derjenigen des Tacitus über Merkur setzen, wenn nicht sonst alles in dieser Umgebung bei Campano von Tacitus inspiriert wäre. Campano muß gelesen haben, was bei Tacitus wirklich steht; er ändert (‘fälscht’) hier also aus Gründen, die, wenn man den Kontext betrachtet, gar nicht schwer zu erschließen sind¹⁴, nämlich in Rücksichtnahme auf sein rednerisches Argumentationsziel, so wie er auch sonst — etwa als *episcopus Aprutensis*¹⁵ — Rücksicht zu nehmen bereit ist, indem er an

¹³ So Fuhrmann, S. 43, im Blick auf “obiectum pectorum” (8,1), dem bei Campano ungeachtet aller sonstigen Übereinstimmung in §80 so recht gar nichts entsprechen will — aus gutem Grund, wie sich zeigen wird; vgl. unten S. 97.

¹⁴ Fuhrmanns Erwägung, Campano habe immerhin in den Historien des Tacitus (4,64) von Mars als “praecipuus deorum” bei den Tenkterern lesen können, sucht in einer ganz verkehrten Richtung nach einer Erklärung; dazu unten S. 97.

¹⁵ In den Abruzzen (Teramo).

entsprechender Stelle z.B. statt *Deorum* (so Tacitus) lieber *Veterum numinum* einsetzt. Und liest man außerdem noch *et inter peritos astrorum constat*, dann ist klar, daß der hier angesprochene Bereich von Campano bestenfalls der Astrologie zugerechnet wird. Ihm, dem christlichen Bischof, sind die alten *numina* eben vollkommen gleichgültig, beliebig und somit austauschbar—die Ersetzung des einen Namens durch einen anderen ist ihm alles andere als ein ‘Sakrileg’—; wenn er im Zusammenhang seiner Rede überhaupt diesen Punkt berührt, dann allein aus—situationsbedingten—Erwägungen der Zweckmäßigkeit. Eines ist hier bereits deutlich, nämlich daß Campano, wenn er sich auf eine bestimmte Vorlage stützt, dies keinesfalls um ihrer selbst willen tut¹⁶ und daß man von ihm, wenn er auf Überliefertes zurückgreift, eine historisch getreue Wiedergabe nicht erwarten sollte; ob er nicht ‘zitieren’ kann oder will, sei einstweilen dahingestellt.

ZU VI. TEXTKRITISCHES: *quoque*] *quam* Pl || *quantum*] *quanto* Pl || *bello*] *belli* Fe || *pugna*] *pugnas* R || *vocem*] *voces* Fe.—BESCHREIBUNG: Hier sind die Übereinstimmungen von der Art, daß man die Bezugnahme Campanos auf Tacitus eben noch mit gutem Gewissen behaupten kann. Weniges ist halbwegs wörtlich (z.B. *vocem plenior* bei Campano, *plenior vox* bei Tacitus), manches beziehungsweise vertauscht (vgl. etwa *vultus terribiles* und *oculos minaciores* bei Campano gegenüber *minax vultus* und *truces oculi* bei Tacitus). Die *Germania* hat gleichsam die Stichworte geliefert—Körpergröße, Gesichtsausdruck, Augen, Stimme¹⁷—, deren sich Campano dann in relativ freier Bearbeitung angenommen hat, und dies offenbar mit der (für Campano, wie wir noch sehen werden, nicht untypischen) Tendenz, die verhältnismäßig schlichte Form der Darstellung bei Tacitus sozusagen zu ‘übertrumpfen’.

ZU VII. TEXTKRITISCHES: *alitur*] *aliter* (Al- Pl²) Pl Fe || *fluxae*] *flixae* R Pl || *Armeniis*] *Armenis* Pl Fe Mü || *nec modo*] *nec non* Mü.—BESCHREIBUNG: Die Ausdrücke *habitu corporis* und *coma* gehören in den Zusammenhang des zuvor besprochenen Beispiels; siehe Anm. 17.

¹⁶ Daß ihm die Bedeutung der *Germania* des Tacitus als einer kulturgeschichtlichen Quelle ersten Ranges auch nur entfernt in ihrem ‘Eigenwert’ aufgegangen ist, darf man wohl verneinen.

¹⁷ Haartracht bzw. -farbe sowie “habitus corporum” bzw. “corporis” sind, obwohl hierher gehörig, aufgrund der von der Anordnung der Sätze bei Campano abhängigen Paragraphen-Einteilung ins nächste Textbeispiel geraten; siehe Nr. VII.

Im übrigen geht es hier um Kleidung. Der wörtlichste Bezug, der es zweifelsfrei erscheinen läßt, daß Campano den Text des Tacitus vor Augen hatte, ist: *artus singulos ... exprimentes* (Tacitus: *singulos artus exprimente*), halbwörtlich: *vestes ... non fluxae* (Tacitus: *veste ... non fluitante*). Ferner ist zu konstatieren, daß Campano die taciteische Satzstruktur im Kern beibehält: *non — (sic) ut — sed*. Interessanter und bezeichnender für Campanos Art der Quellenbenutzung ist m.E. hier wiederum, was bei ihm anders ist als bei Tacitus. Hier ist sowohl Inhaltliches als auch Stilistisches anzuführen. Eine inhaltliche Verschiebung ist darin zu erblicken, daß Campano in der nun schon bekannten ihm eigenen Unbekümmertheit die Sarmaten und Parther des Tacitus gegen Völker seiner eigenen Zeit austauscht (Italiener, Franzosen, Griechen, Armenier, Perser, Inder). Die stilistische Differenz kommt hier wieder einmal durch Campanos Hang zur 'Übertrumpfung' zustande, indem er u.a. die Beispielreihe gewaltig aufbauscht: Die Anzahl der bei Tacitus erwähnten Völker multipliziert er mit drei, die Adjektive, die den Unterschied in der jeweiligen Kleidung charakterisieren sollen, verdoppelt er, mit dem Ergebnis, daß dem einen Ausdruck *fluitante* bei Tacitus bei Campano zehn im übrigen verschiedene Begriffe gegenüberstehen — eine Stilübung, wie es scheint. Um abschließend noch ein m.E. recht treffendes Beispiel zu geben für das, was ich unter Übertrumpfung verstehe, will ich die Aufmerksamkeit hier eigens noch einmal darauf lenken, was Campano aus des Tacitus ohnehin schon recht plastischem Ausdruck *singulos artus exprimente* macht: Daß die germanisch-deutsche Bekleidung die einzelnen Glieder sich abzeichnen läßt, ist ihm noch nicht genug, bei ihm müssen es vielmehr Gewänder sein, von denen sich sagen läßt: *vestes ... nec modo artus singulos, sed ipsos prope dicam nervos ac venas exprimentes*. Es wird ja wohl niemand meinen, daß ein seit der germanischen Urzeit anders gewordenenes Modebewußtsein zu dieser Formulierung geführt hat, dahinter steht vielmehr einzig und allein Campanos gesteigert 'manieristisches' Ausdrucksbedürfnis.

ZU VIII. TEXTKRITISCHES: *At] Ad Re || Gallis] galli R || inpermixti] permixti Pl Fe Re Mü || indigenae] indigete (-gete = -getae) R Pl Fe indigere Mü.* — BESCHREIBUNG: Beginnen wir nach der Feststellung, daß in den zweiten Teil des Campano-Auszugs in der nunmehr schon bekannten eher Anklänge suchenden Manier Taciteisches eingegangen ist, hier zunächst mit dem weniger Wichtigen, nämlich den Stichworten *commercium externa* und *mores*. Daß die alten Germanen mit auswärtigem

Handel nicht viel im Sinn hatten, könnte Campano aus denjenigen Zeilen bei Tacitus herausgelesen haben, in denen es heißt, daß die weiter im Inland wohnenden Germanen in ziemlich primitiver und archaischer Weise Tauschhandel (doch wohl nur untereinander?) betreiben, und das auch noch mit billigem Kleinkram. Desgleichen könnte Campano die germanischen *mores*, wenn er sie als autochthon bezeichnet, der Bemerkung des Tacitus über "die Sitten dort" verdanken — man beachte das *non aliunde* (auf die *mores* bezogen) bei Campano gegenüber dem *alibi* (bezogen auf die den *mores* kontrastierten *leges*) bei Tacitus. Nun zur Hauptsache. Dem einen oder anderen Leser mag es mißlich erscheinen, daß ausgerechnet das Stichwort, das für die Tacitus-Benutzung durch Campano der schönste und absolut sichere Beweis sein könnte, durch Konjekturen zustande gekommen ist, nämlich *indigenae*; ich gebe allerdings zu bedenken, daß im Grunde nur ein einziger Buchstabe verändert wurde (da *indigete* = *indigetae*) und daß in Anbetracht der Tatsache, daß im Campano-Text auch ohne dieses Wort sich wie bei Tacitus inhaltlich praktisch alles dem Oberbegriff Autochthonie subsummieren läßt (*commercium externa et peregrina coniugia aspernati; semper; non aliunde deducti; ab initio — ad ultimum*), diese Änderung — eben im Anschluß an Tacitus — zwingend geboten erschien (im nachhinein sehe ich, daß Nicolaus Reusner in seinem 1596 erschienenen Nachdruck der Campano-Rede ebenfalls *indigenae* eingesetzt hat).

ZU IX. TEXTKRITISCHES: *convictus] coniunctus* Fe Re || *vestrum] vestium* R(?) Pl || *propria vestra] vestra propria* Mü || *Quam igitur dignum] Quid igitur dignum* Fe Re *Quid igitur? Annon dignum* Mü. — BESCHREIBUNG: Die letzten beiden Texte sind eigentlich nur noch der Vollständigkeit halber angeführt (das heißt auch, daß ich sonst in der Campano-Rede keine weiteren auch nur halbwegs aussagekräftigen Anspielungen auf die *Germania* des Tacitus habe entdecken können¹⁸). Bei im übrigen weitestgehend eigenem Text Campanos sind es — wieder einmal — im Grunde nur Stichworte, die auf Tacitus hinweisen; sie betreffen Geselligkeit einerseits und 'Selbstidentität' bzw. (äußerliche?) Ähnlichkeit andererseits. Der letztgenannte Aspekt würde unter der Voraussetzung, daß man die Lesart *vestium* statt *vestrum* bevorzugt, in einem Punkt ausfallen, durch das sich anschließende *tam simillimos* aufs Ganze gesehen jedoch seine Geltung behalten können.

¹⁸ Vgl. Anm. 11.

Dies also, mehr oder weniger von außen her gesehen, die Darstellung des im Einzeltext-Vergleich zwischen Campano und Tacitus Vorgefundenen. Es ist hier müßig zu bemerken, daß Campano die *Germania* des Tacitus herangezogen hat—das hat seit Joachimsen ohnehin niemand bezweifelt—; auch die generelle Tendenz der Tacitus-Benutzung durch Campano dürfte—ungeachtet des relativ geringen Umfangs der angeführten Textbeispiele im Vergleich zur Gesamtrede—außer Frage stehen¹⁹. Jedoch: wie steht es—abgesehen von der Tatsache der Benutzung und über die angemerkte generelle Tendenz hinaus—mit der Art und Weise dieser Benutzung? Ich hatte in der Einleitung im Hinblick auf diese Fragestellung gewisse 'Merkwürdigkeiten' in Aussicht gestellt; diese sind wohl im Rahmen der Einzeltext-Besprechung (unter dem Titel 'Beschreibung'), wie ich hoffe, deutlich geworden, doch möchte ich vor der nunmehr anstehenden Wertung dieser Merkwürdigkeiten den Befund der letzten Seiten noch einmal kurz zusammenfassen.

Campano zitiert nie wörtlich—von 'zitieren' im modernen Sinn kann man bei ihm ohnehin nicht sprechen—, kein einziger Satz aus der *Germania* des Tacitus wird von ihm vollständig übernommen; vielmehr sind es oft nur Stichworte, die er im jeweiligen Zusammenhang aus dem fremden Kontext herausgreift, um sie gleichsam mit eigenem Leben zu erfüllen, indem er zum geringeren Teil mit Tacitus, zum größeren über ihn hinaus oder sogar gegen ihn seine Version sucht und findet. Das ist übrigens auch insofern anmerkenswert, als man bei so manchem humanistischen Autor die Erleichterung förmlich zu verspüren meint, wenn er—augenscheinlich enthoben der Notwendigkeit, sich selbst den Kopf zerbrechen zu müssen—seitenweise, sofern es nur halbwegs zur eigenen Intention paßt, einen antiken Gewährsmann ausbeuten kann (oft wortwörtlich—anders als Campano, häufig ohne Namensnennung—so wie Campano). Angesichts dieser Art zu 'zitieren' hatte man oft genug den Eindruck, daß Campano mit dem Vorgefundenen nicht so ganz zufrieden gewesen ist—sei es aus sachlichen Erwägungen oder aus welchen Beweggründen auch immer: Er streicht, wie wir sahen, Dinge, die—im Kontext der *Germania*—nicht nur als sinnreich, sondern (etwa als Träger der Begründung oder als Erläuterung zu den jeweils getroffenen Feststellungen) auch als notwendig empfunden werden, und setzt dafür

¹⁹ Vgl. oben die Einleitung mit Anm. 6.

Neues, Eigenes ein, oder aber er behauptet schlicht das Gegenteil von dem, was Tacitus anführt (und zwar ohne daß an solchen Stellen die Tatsache einer Anregung durch die *Germania* des Tacitus zweifelhaft wäre). Stichworte in dieser Hinsicht waren 'Akzentverschiebung' (bis hin zu 'Fälschung'), was die von Campano mitgeteilten Fakten betrifft, und 'Übertrumpfung', was die sprachliche Seite angeht. Ehrfurcht vor der antiken Autorität ist offenkundig nicht Campanos bestimmende Intention, wenn er sich auf Tacitus stützt. Was ist seine Intention?

Kommen wir nunmehr zur wertenden Abstraktion der vorgefundenen Merkwürdigkeiten der Tacitus-Benutzung durch Campano. Hierzu müssen wir uns in die Situation versetzen, in der Campano seine Rede komponiert hat. Der Rahmen war vorgegeben, desgleichen das nicht gerade ausgesprochen akademische Publikum, ebenso das Thema und damit zugleich das—im Sinn des Themas zu verfolgende—äußerliche Argumentationsziel, also: der Regensburger Reichstag von 1471, ein politisches Forum, sodann die Ansammlung von z.T. an der Sache wenig interessierten bzw. vornehmlich vom Prestigedenken geleiteten²⁰ weltlichen und geistlichen Potentaten, ferner das Türkenproblem und schließlich die entscheidende Frage, auf welche Weise man am ehesten der drohenden Gefahr begegnen könne. An diesem Ort, vor dem Publikum, zu diesem Thema mit eben jener Zielsetzung eine Rede halten zu wollen, war gewiß keine Angelegenheit, die man leicht nehmen konnte, wenn man effektiv sein wollte. Dazu bedurfte es einerseits des—zum Thema passenden—einschlägigen Materials und zum anderen einer—angesichts der zu erwartenden Zuhörerschaft—nicht unerheblichen rednerischen Anstrengung. Was nun das Material betrifft, so bot sich—mit den festgestellten Einschränkungen—die *Germania* des Tacitus an. Diese wurde von Campano herangezogen, soweit sie brauchbar zu sein schien—teilweise lediglich im Sinn eines für das behandelte Thema praktikablen Stichwortverzeichnisses—; was ihm bei Tacitus nicht zusagte, wurde verändert oder sogar ins Gegenteil verkehrt. Der antike Autor Tacitus ist ihm keine Herzensangelegenheit, die Campano-Rede ist nicht "in memoriam Taciti" verfaßt worden; auch ohne die wiederentdeckte *Germania* hätte Campano sich gleichwohl an die Komposition seiner

²⁰ Dazu vgl. J. Reissermayer, *Der große Christentag zu Regensburg 1471*, 2 Teile, (Progr. Regensburg, 1887-88).

Rede gemacht. Aber da sie nun einmal vorhanden war, bediente er sich ihrer — und zwar beinahe so unbekümmert wie bestimmte Baumeister früherer Jahrhunderte, die auf ihre Weise die Antike ‘wiederentdeckten’, indem sie nämlich die Bauten des Altertums, denen die Zeit nichts oder nur wenig hatte anhaben können, als Steinbrüche für eigene Bauwerke benutzten. Campano ist, wie es scheint, alles andere als ein Historiker, er betrachtet Tacitus nicht mit dem Interesse eines klassischen Philologen. Ja, man kann, was Campanos hier anklingendes Desinteresse betrifft, sogar noch einen Schritt weitergehen: Es gibt genügend Indizien dafür, daß ihn auch das ‘Politikum’ Regensburg nicht interessierte, weder was die anwesenden Personen (Kaiser, Fürsten usw.) noch die zu verhandelnde Sache betraf; denn seine potentielle Zuhörerschaft hielt er zum Großteil ohnehin schlicht für zu dumm, als daß sie seinen Ausführungen hätte folgen können²¹, und zur Sache hatte schon bald nach Eröffnung der Verhandlungen u.a. der päpstliche Legat, Francesco Todeschini-Piccolomini²², in dessen Begleitung Campano angereist war, das Nötige gesagt — kurz und bündig, wie es scheint, und sicher auch ohne Zuhilfenahme der *Germania* des Tacitus. Wenn nun Campano — ganz abgesehen von seinem nicht vorhandenen antiquarischen Interesse — bei der Komposition seiner Rede nicht einmal sachliche oder politische Intentionen verfolgte²³, was bleibt dann übrig? Was interessierte ihn dann eigentlich, wenn er sich schon die Mühe machte? Erste vorsichtige Antwort: nichts anderes als eben seine Rede.

An dieser Stelle sei der Gang der Untersuchung kurz unterbrochen zugunsten einiger allgemeinerer Erwägungen. Wer etwa im Rahmen der Edition eines antiken Autors meint, auch das sogenannte ‘Nachleben’ dieses Autors oder dessen Wirkungsgeschichte mitberücksichtigen zu müssen, zeigt oftmals Reaktionen einer gewissen Enttäuschung: Da trifft man auf Schriftsteller aus humanistischer Zeit, die sklavisch

²¹ Das äußert er natürlich nicht in seiner Rede, sondern in den Briefen, die er von Regensburg nach Italien schickte; vgl. “Darstellungsprinzipien”, 82-83, Anm. 14. — Campanos Briefe in der Ferni-Ausgabe (oben Anm. 12) oder besser bei J. B. Mencken, *Jo. Antonii Campani Epistolae et Poemata una cum Vita Auctoris* (Leipzig, 1707).

²² Ein Neffe des Enea Silvio bzw. Pius II.; als Pius III. starb er 1503 nach nur vierwöchigem Pontifikat.

²³ Als Literat war Campano alles andere als ein *homo politicus*; in politisch-administrativer Funktion als Gouverneur (unter Sixtus IV.) ist er jedenfalls kläglich gescheitert; vgl. “Darstellungsprinzipien”, 79.

und wenig geistreich antike Vorbilder seitenweise abschreiben, oder aber auf solche, die offenbar Eigenes geben wollen, antikes Gedankengut eher spärlich einfließen lassen und mit diesem Gedankengut u.U. geradezu willkürlich umgehen²⁴. Im einen Fall also ein 'Zuviel', im anderen ein 'Zuwenig des Guten'; und aus Enttäuschung kommt es dann häufig zu dem Urteil: im einen Fall lohne die Lektüre nicht, da solle man doch gleich zum antiken Original greifen; im andern Fall das gleiche Fazit mit der Begründung, der humanistische Rezipient habe sein antikes Vorbild nicht richtig gelesen oder aber nicht richtig verstanden (bzw. aus welchem Grund auch immer nicht richtig verstehen wollen). Und doch sollte m.E. gerade dieser eigenmächtige, 'unbotmäßige' Rezipient unsere besondere Aufmerksamkeit auf sich ziehen. Erst wenn wir uns ganz auf ihn eingestellt, seine Intentionen aufgespürt haben, wird die Frage nach dem Warum und dem Wie der Quellenbenutzung sich zufriedenstellend beantworten lassen, wird schließlich eine Entscheidung darüber möglich sein, ob man angesichts dieses oder jenes Rezipienten von wirklicher Antike-Rezeption sprechen kann oder ob—nunmehr aber begründet—ein negatives Ergebnis am Ende, dafür aber vielleicht ein Literat von höchst eigenem Format vor uns steht, den zu behandeln um seiner selbst willen lohnend erscheinen könnte. Geschieht dies nicht, kann man leicht zu Ergebnissen kommen, wie M. Fuhrmann sie im Blick auf Campano formuliert hat²⁵: Da wird dann die Tatsache, daß Campano seine antiken Quellen nicht namentlich erwähnt, mehr 'entschuldigt' als einleuchtend gemacht, nämlich mit dem Hinweis, dergleichen hätten sich auf einem Reichstag "recht sonderbar ausgenommen"—dabei hätte ein nur flüchtiger Blick in eine andere Reichstagrede zeigen können, daß Verweise auf antike Gewährsmänner so unüblich nicht waren, ja daß man von der Berufung auf eine antike Autorität sich für das eigene Argument größere Durchschlagskraft erhoffte²⁶; "Verzerrungen" in

²⁴ Außerhalb dieser Positionen dann noch jene Reihe pädagogisch und bildungsmäßig ernsthaft bemühter Humanisten, die ihre Aufgabe darin sahen, einem breiteren Publikum die Schätze der griechischen Literatur zu erschließen, indem sie sie ins Lateinische übersetzten ("latinitate" bzw. "latinitati donare" nannte man das) oder aber indem sie dieser Literatur in ihren eigengeformten lateinischen Schriften breiten Raum gaben—eine insgesamt verdienstvolle Aufgabe, der sich u.a. auch der gleich zu erwähnende Humanist Konrad Heresbach, seinerzeit der erste Professor für Griechisch in Freiburg, in seinen Werken unterzog.

²⁵ Vgl. oben Anm. *

²⁶ So etwa Enea Silvio Piccolomini in seiner auf dem Frankfurter Fürstentag von 1454 gehaltenen Türkenrede, in: *Opera quae extant omnia* (Basel, 1551; Nachdruck

der Art, wie Campano die *Germania* benutzt, erscheinen Fuhrmann "befremdlich"; und ebenfalls wird angemerkt, Campano habe an einer Stelle seine Vorlage "nicht verstanden".

Beginnen wir mit dem ersten Punkt. Warum nennt Campano seinen Gewährsmann nicht beim Namen²⁷? Um sich mit fremden Federn zu schmücken, wäre eine Antwort, die, wie sich zeigen wird, völlig an der Sache vorbeingehe. Außerdem: wissenschaftliche Redlichkeit war in Campanos Jahrhundert gewiß noch nicht das Gebot der Stunde. Daher will ich die Ausgangsfrage umformulieren: Warum verzichtet Campano auf einen Vorteil, den andere durchaus originelle Autoren seiner Zeit gern wahrgenommen haben, indem sie klangvolle Namen der Antike in den Dienst ihrer eigenen Sache stellten? Inwieweit hätte Campano dergleichen als etwas Unvorteilhaftes empfinden können? Die Antwort darauf kann uns ein Schriftsteller liefern, der 100 Jahre nach Campano—zu einer Zeit also, als man die Verpflichtung zu wissenschaftlicher Redlichkeit zu empfinden begann—schrieb und der in vollem Problembewußtsein darlegt, unter welchen Umständen und warum jene Verpflichtung auch zu einer Last werden konnte; ich meine den Humanisten Konrad Heresbach (1496-1576), insbesondere seine Landwirtschaftsschrift und seine sogenannte *Thereutik*, einen Traktat über Jagd, Vogelfang und Fischerei²⁸. In der beiden Werken geltenden Einleitung nennt Heresbach knapp 70 Autoren und Werke namentlich, die ihm nützlich gewesen seien. Daß viel fremdes Gut in sein Werk eingegangen ist, wird also von Anfang an klargestellt. Problematisch ist ihm lediglich, wie er im fortlaufenden Text seiner beiden Abhandlungen dieser Fülle von Quellschriftstellern Herr werden soll—ohne der Gefahr der Eintönigkeit zu erliegen. So kommt

Frankfurt, 1969), S. 678-689; er geht nicht nur mit den Namen der antiken Autoren, sondern auch mit den Textauszügen aus ihnen so sorgfältig um, daß z.B. seine Vergil-Zitate sogar metrisch in Ordnung sind; vgl. "Darstellungsprinzipien", 129-30.

²⁷ Jenes "proditum est memoriae" (§80) ist ein schwaches Eingeständnis—falls es überhaupt als ein solches gemeint ist, denn so ähnlich steht das ja schon bei Tacitus (8,1).

²⁸ Conradus Heresbachius, *Rei rusticae libri IV* (Speyer, 1594); Buch I (Vom Landbau): Nachdruck der Ausgabe Köln 1570 mit deutscher Übersetzung und kritischem Quellennachweis von H. Dreitzel, hrsg. von W. Abel (Meisenheim, 1970).—Konrad Heresbach, *Handbüchlein der Thereutik, das heißt über Jagd, Vogelfang und Fischerei* (*Thereutices Compendium*). Kritische Textausgabe und deutsche Übersetzung mit einer Einleitung und kommentierenden Anmerkungen von Jürgen Blusch, Veröffentlichungen zur Humanismusforschung, 2 (Boppard, 1977); letzteres im folgenden zitiert als: *Thereutik*.—Zu Leben und Werk des Konrad Heresbach siehe *Thereutik*, S. 1-22.

es zu einem Kompromiß: Heresbach nennt über die Abhandlungen verstreut dann und wann den einen oder anderen Quellschriftsteller mit Namen. Denn noch wichtiger als unentwegtes Verweisen auf die Herkunft seiner Äußerungen erscheint ihm etwas anderes, nämlich die Kunst, "fremdes Gut verständig dem eigenen Werk einzuschmelzen". Damit ist das Stichwort gefallen: Kunst. Heresbach geht es darum, sein Material zu gestalten, eine eigene Form zu finden, die neben seinen unterhaltsam-belehrenden Intentionen auch künstlerischen Ansprüchen genügen soll, und dies nicht zuletzt dadurch, daß er seine Abhandlungen in das Gewand des Dialogs kleidet. Von hier aus verstehen wir Heresbachs Schwierigkeiten: Hätte er sich entschlossen, ständig und immer wieder neu mit beinahe 70 Namen zu hantieren, dann wäre dies der mehr oder weniger ungezwungenen Form des Gesprächs und damit seinen künstlerischen Intentionen mehr als abträglich gewesen²⁹. Nun ist Konrad Heresbach aufs Ganze gesehen gleichwohl ein Mann von eher bescheidenem Kunstvermögen; er kann sich nicht recht entscheiden, was er eigentlich will, er ist skrupulös und ersetzt, was ihm an Kunstfertigkeit abgeht, am Ende doch wieder durch eine—nunmehr leicht reduzierte—redliche Gelehrsamkeit. In Anlehnung an seine eigenen Worte: die Einschmelzung fremden Gutes ist nur recht zögerlich durchgeführt, daneben dominiert das Zitat.

Wie steht es, um auf ihn zurückzukommen, in dieser Hinsicht nun mit Campano? Seine künstlerische Individualität, die seinem Na-

²⁹ Zu dem ganzen Komplex vgl. *Thereutik*, S. 17-8.—Am Rande bemerkt: was heutzutage im Wissenschaftsbereich eher als Selbstverständlichkeit gilt und einem jeden, der sich über diese Selbstverständlichkeit meint hinwegsetzen zu können, augenblicklich den Vorwurf des Plagiats einbringt, ist bei künstlerischer Produktion auch in unserem Jahrhundert offenbar immer noch diskussionsfähig. Um von häufiger erörterten Fällen abzusehen (Brecht u.a.), möchte ich hier auf Stefan Zweig verweisen: Man hat verschiedentlich fragend angemerkt, daß Zweig in seinem Erasmus-Buch nirgends auf seine 'Quelle', nämlich die Erasmus-Biographie von Johan Huizinga, hinweist. Gewiß, ein entsprechender Hinweis am Anfang oder am Ende des Buches (wie in Thomas Manns *Doktor Faustus*) hätte dem Werk insgesamt keinen bleibenden Schaden zugefügt. Andererseits geht es Zweig um alles andere als um eine wissenschaftliche Biographie—eine solche benutzt er lediglich, um seine Darstellung irrtumsfrei zu halten, was die mitgeteilten Daten und Fakten betrifft—; Zweigs dichterische Aufgabe und Stärke ist die Deutung, es geht ihm um die Typologie einer Person und eines Zeitalters, um die Typologie eines Europäers, als der er sich selber fühlte, in einem zeitbedingt fanatisierten Europa, das er in seiner eigenen Zeit gerade wieder unheilvoll Gestalt annehmen sah. Auf diese Weise gerät ihm die Erasmus-Biographie zur Selbstbiographie, einer Literaturgattung, die den Grad ihrer Wahrhaftigkeit normalerweise nicht bei anderen ausleiht.

turell eigentümlichen 'Darstellungsprinzipien' habe ich an anderer Stelle in einer ausführlichen Untersuchung behandelt³⁰; ich kann mich hier also mit einer kurzen Zusammenfassung der wichtigsten Untersuchungsergebnisse begnügen: Campano war ein Literat fast im modernen Sinn des Wortes; Literatur, neben der Poesie insbesondere die Eloquenz, war für ihn, der von Hause aus über kein anderes Kapital verfügte, die Grundlage seiner Existenz und Wegbereiter und -begleiter einer nicht unbeachtlichen Karriere; am gesprochenen Wort hing er ganz anders als einer, der neben sonstigen Aufgaben gelegentlich auch einmal — um irgendeiner Sache willen — eine vielleicht sogar exzellente Rede zu halten vermochte; ihm bedeutete die verhandelte Sache nichts oder wenig, die Sprache, seine Darstellung, eben seine Rede alles; von Rhetorik war er geradezu besessen; er vertraute auf die Macht des Wortes, eines Wortes jedoch, das nicht argumentativ eingesetzt wird, sondern überrumpeln, verblüffen, schockieren, erregen, neuralgische Punkte anrühren soll; sein rednerisches Ziel ist die 'Eindrucksverstärkung', die er anstrebt buchstäblich mit allen Mitteln der Kunst, die er als Erstherausgeber des Quintilian bei diesem antiken Autor, den er gelegentlich absichtsvoll mißzuverstehen scheint, gelernt hat; das von ihm virtuos beherrschte 'Übermaß an Kunst' (Hugo Friedrich) wird aber nach wie vor nicht um einer bestimmten Sache willen eingesetzt, sondern ist artistischer Selbstzweck; nicht ein breites Publikum, dem man zu irgendeiner Einsicht mit Handlungsperspektiven verhelfen will, ist der Adressat, sondern eine Handvoll Spezialisten auf stilistischem Gebiet, die allein dergleichen rhetorische Kraftakte zu würdigen verstehen und ihnen applaudieren; Campano ist literarisch — so das besagte Untersuchungsergebnis — in jeder Hinsicht als Mannerist anzusehen, als ein Mann mit einem übersteigerten Kunstwillen.

Wenn nun schon ein Autor wie Heresbach mit seinen eher bescheidenen künstlerischen Intentionen sich schwertut angesichts der von ihm im Prinzip bejahten Forderung, seine Quellschriftsteller namhaft zu machen, um wieviel mehr muß dies für einen 'Konzertredner' vom Schlage Campanos gelten. Nicht daß Namensnennung oder Zitat gleich jeglichem rhetorischen Kunstwillen abträglich sein müßte; hier könnte man sofort die Reden von Campanos Mentor, Enea Silvio Piccolomini, dem nachmaligen Pius II., dagegenhalten, bei dem sprachlich-stilistischer Aufwand und behandelte Sache nicht in Widerspruch zueinander ge-

³⁰ Siehe oben Anm. 2.

raten, dessen ebenmäßig-klassische Diktion das Zitat durchaus verträgt und auch noch—in sachlicher Hinsicht jedenfalls—Gewinn daraus zieht³¹. Für Campano wäre dergleichen alles andere als ein Gewinn gewesen—im Gegenteil: durch ‘gelehrte Anmerkungen’, also Belege oder Zitate, die ja stets den Charakter einer eingeschobenen, d.h. den Redeablauf unterbrechenden Fußnote haben, wäre seine überhitzt-manieristische Redeweise ins Schlingern gekommen, hätte sich dieser Autor um einen Teil oder gar das Ganze der von ihm angestrebten Wirkung gebracht; denn die Spannung, die Campano erzeugt und zäsurlos bis zum Ende seiner Rede hin steigert, verträgt keine gleichsam ernüchternden Einschübe, während etwa Enea Silvios Reden jeweils über mehrere Spannungsbögen und damit über eine entsprechende Anzahl von Ruhepunkten verfügen³². Es ist also nur allzu verständlich, wenn Campano seine Quellenschriftsteller nicht namentlich anführt, weder Tacitus noch die anderen antiken Autoren, bei denen er sich umgesehen hat. Im übrigen glaube ich, daß Campano—als kompromißloser Literat—Bedenken der Art, wie Heresbach sie sich gemacht hat, auch beim besten Willen nicht verstanden hätte.

Von Campanos Kunstwollen her lassen sich auch die anderen weiter oben festgestellten Merkwürdigkeiten seiner Tacitus-Benutzung mühelos erklären. Kommen wir zunächst auf den Punkt zu sprechen, von dem wir sagten, daß Campano Akzente verschiebt oder gar Aussagen, die er vorfindet, ins krasse Gegenteil verkehrt und auf diese Weise sich geradezu als Fälscher betätigt. Das Prinzip, das der Redekünstler Campano hier verfolgt, ist denkbar einfach: eine Rede hat so zu sein, daß der Inhalt die Form nicht stört; oder: es dürfen keine Aussagen, ob vorgefundene oder erfundene, vorkommen, die die angestrebte rednerische Wirkung beeinträchtigen könnten. Und wenn Campano bei Tacitus auf solche Aussagen stößt, dann gibt es für ihn drei Möglichkeiten: entschärfen, ins Gegenteil verkehren oder weglassen. Beispiel Mitgift (Text III): Hätte Campano mitgeteilt, was bei Tacitus steht, seine potentiellen Zuhörer wären nicht wenig verblüfft gewesen, etwas vorgesetzt zu bekommen, das in ihrer Zeit so ganz anders war; dergleichen Verblüffendes mußte Campano vermeiden, da es dem Redner bzw. seiner Kunst die Aufmerksamkeit entzieht. Er hätte diese Passage bei Tacitus auch weglassen können, auf der anderen Seite

³¹ Vgl. oben Anm. 26.

³² Vgl. “Darstellungsprinzipien”, 118-9.

paßte ihm der Gedanke gut ins Konzept, daß im alten Germanien sogar bei Familiengründungen Kriegswaffen eine Rolle spielten. Diesen Gedanken greift er auf, den Rest stützt er so zurecht, daß nichts 'Sperriges' mehr übrig bleibt. Eine ähnliche Anpassung an Gegenwartsverhältnisse findet statt, wenn Campano die alten Germanen Kirchen betreten läßt (Text IV), was sie ihrem vorbildlichen kriegerischen Geist entsprechend allerdings nur *armati* taten³³. Ferner: hätte Campano Merkur als den obersten germanischen Gott stehenlassen, dann hätte er die entsprechende Passage (Text V) entweder gleich ganz weglassen oder aber als Stoff für einen religionsgeschichtlichen Exkurs nutzen können; Exkurse, Einschübe, Digressionen wären seiner Art, rednerische Wirkung zu erzielen, indessen nicht gerade bekömmlich gewesen; so setzt er Mars an die Stelle des Merkur, und alles fügt sich in seinem Sinn zum Besten. Schließlich ein Beispiel für gezieltes Weglassen dessen, was Campano bei Tacitus gelesen (und ohne Zweifel sehr wohl verstanden) hat (Text III)³⁴: Campano hat ersichtlich *Germ.* 8,1 vor Augen, doch übergeht er das Textstück von *constantia precum* bis *captivitate* einschließlich der Worte *obiectu pectorum* und setzt dafür etwas ganz anderes ein; den Ersatz-Text (von *sumptis* bis *armis*) hält Fuhrmann für eine Interpretation der Tacitus-Worte *obiectu pectorum* vonseiten Campanos und kommt dann folgerichtig zu dem Schluß, Campano habe Tacitus nicht verstanden — ein richtiger Schluß aus einer falschen Annahme³⁵. Natürlich hat Campano genau verstanden, was Tacitus schreibt; nur gebrauchen konnte er es nicht! Man stelle sich vor, Campano hätte in seiner Rede mit den bloßen Brüsten der alten Germaninnen zu hantieren angefangen — Belustigung, Aufsehen, Befremden oder sonstige Reaktionen einer in der Zeit normalerweise 'hochgeschlossenen' Gesellschaft wären ihm sicher gewesen, Reaktionen jedenfalls, die einem sach- bzw. stilkundigen Genießen von Campanos rhetorischer Kunstübung nicht unbedingt entgegengekommen wären³⁶. Campano war, wie man vor allem seinen

³³ Gewiß, das ist ein Widerspruch zu Tac. *Germ.* 9,3 (siehe oben Besprechung von Text IV), aber eben nur ein Widerspruch zu einem anderen Autor; seinen eigenen Text hält Campano selbstverständlich widerspruchsfrei.

³⁴ Da Campano nicht die ganze *Germania* ausgeschrieben hat, hat er natürlich viel weggelassen; hier geht es jedoch um eine Tacitus-Stelle, auf die Campano deutlich Bezug nimmt — aber unter Weglassung eines ganz bestimmten Stückes innerhalb dieser Stelle.

³⁵ Fuhrmann, 43.

³⁶ Nach wie vor gehe ich nicht davon aus, daß Campano seine Rede wirklich gehalten hat (vgl. oben Anm. 4); jedoch: niemand schreibt in Anbetracht einer be-

Briefen entnehmen kann, nicht ohne ein gewisses eitles Selbstbewußtsein, und seine Liebe zur Antike ging nicht so tief, daß er sich etwa von einem Tacitus auch nur einen kleinen Teil seiner Schau hätte stehlen lassen.

Nun ganz kurz noch zur letzten der oben festgestellten Eigentümlichkeiten von Campanos Tacitus-Benutzung, jenem Punkt also, den ich mit dem Stichwort Übertrumpfung gekennzeichnet habe. Ein manieristischer Stilfanatiker wie Campano kann wohl kaum kommentarlos und gänzlich ungerührt an einem Könner wie Tacitus vorübergegangen sein; möglicherweise ist es ihm ein gewisser Trost gewesen, daß Tacitus eher den Historiographen als den Rednern zugerechnet wird, aber ganz beruhigen kann er sich angesichts dessen, was er bei Tacitus gelesen hat, offenbar doch nicht; er scheint gleichwohl eine gewisse Herausforderung verspürt zu haben: auf die von Tacitus mitgeteilten Tatsachen—also inhaltsseitig—reagiert er (Texte VI u. VII) in der gewohnten Weise, nämlich mit bemerkenswerter Unbekümmertheit, sprachlich-stilistisch aber nimmt er seine Quelle ernst, versucht er auf dem Wege der Multiplikation oder auch der Aufbauschung seine Vorlage zu übertreffen.

Fragen wir nun zum Abschluß dieses Campano betreffenden Abschnitts noch einmal nach der Art und Weise der hier sich abzeichnenden Antike-Rezeption, so läßt sich sagen: Der antike Autor ist Campano eher gleichgültig, jedenfalls inhaltlich; Campano schaltet frei, oft geradezu willkürlich mit dem von Tacitus an die Hand gegebenen Material; Tacitus ist ihm—nicht einmal auf der ganzen Linie—gut als Stofflieferant; ohne Tacitus hätte Campano seine Rede gleichwohl geschrieben, diese hätte gewiß einen adäquaten, wenn auch teilweise etwas anderen Inhalt gehabt und wäre womöglich nicht einmal kürzer ausgefallen. Demgegenüber scheint Campano sich an einigen Stellen in sprachlich-stilistischer Hinsicht von seiner Vorlage animiert gefühlt zu haben; man hat den Eindruck, daß er sich stilistisch auf eine Art Wettstreit einläßt, dies im Sinn der sogenannten Übertrumpfung. Aber das ist eben alles und insgesamt nicht gerade viel an

stimmten Situation (hier also der Regensburger Reichstag mit seinem Türkenproblem) mit jedem nur erdenklichen Aufwand eine Rede, von der er meint, daß sie—vor dem Publikum, das man bei der Abfassung zwangsläufig vor Augen hatte—nicht jedenfalls gehalten werden könnte; außerdem: wenn schon keine Zuhörer, so hatte er doch Leser zur Genüge (in Italien), und für die gilt im großen und ganzen dasselbe wie für Hörer.

wirklicher Rezeption. Wir haben also ein in wesentlichen Punkten negatives Ergebnis zu verzeichnen. Aber vielleicht ist bei Campano mit *seinem* rhetorischen Ehrgeiz gar nicht Tacitus der im eigentlichen Sinn rezipierte antike Autor, sondern—ohne daß dieser Theoretiker der Rede Erwähnung fände—eher Quintilian, dessen Erstherausgeber Campano war. Für eine Untersuchung in dieser Richtung glaube ich an anderer Stelle die Weichen gestellt zu haben³⁷.

* * *

Kommen wir nun auf Enea Silvio Piccolominis sogenannte *Germania*³⁸ zu sprechen. Hierbei handelt es sich um eine Art 'Brieftraktat' in drei Büchern, abgefaßt im Herbst und Winter 1457/58, gerichtet an Martin Mayer, den Kanzler des Erzbischofs von Mainz. Dieser hatte sich seinerseits in einem Brief der *gravamina* der deutschen Nation gegenüber der päpstlichen Kurie angenommen, u.a. auch die finanziellen Belastungen vonseiten der Kurie beklagt. Enea Silvio sucht diesen Klagen zu begegnen, im zweiten Buch insbesondere denen in finanzieller Hinsicht: Deutschland sei noch nie so reich gewesen wie zu seiner Zeit; und um dies zu beweisen, sucht er den Kontrast mit dem armseligen, primitiven Deutschland früherer Zeiten; als willkommene Helfer für seinen Nachweis bemüht er Caesar, Strabon und—im vierten Kapitel des zweiten Buches—Tacitus mit seiner jüngst wiederentdeckten *Germania*. Ich stelle zunächst die Texte, die für eine Vergleichung in Frage kommen, einander gegenüber (aus der *Germania* des Enea Silvio notiere ich II 4 in ungekürzter Form).

Enea Silvio

His sororia^a de Germania scribit Cornelius Tacitus, quem in Adriani tempora incurrisse perhibent. Parum quidem ea tempestate a feritate brutorum maiorum tuorum vita distabat: erant enim plerumque pastores, silvarum incole ac nemorum, cuiusmodi vitam inertem ac pigerrimam esse Aristoteles auctor est.

Tacitus

14,4 ... pigrum quin immo iners videtur sudore acquirere quod possis sanguine parare.

a) *Andere Lesart*: ferociora.

³⁷ "Darstellungsprinzipien", 122-129.

³⁸ Siehe oben Anm. 5.

Nec munite his urbes erant neque oppida
muro cincta, non arces altis innixe mon-
tibus,

non templa sectis structa lapidibus vise-
bantur.

Aberant ortorum ac villarum deliciae,
nulla viridaria, nulle consitiones, nulla
tempe, nulla vineta colebantur^b.

Praebebant largos flumina potus.

Lacus et stagna inserviebant lavacris
et si quas natura calentes produxerat
aque.

Rarum apud eos argentum^c, rarius au-
rum; margaritarum incognitus usus,
nulla gemmarum pompa,

nulla ex ostro vel serico vestimenta.

Nondum metallorum investigate mine-
re, nondum miseros in viscera terre
mortales truserat auri sitis.

Laudanda hec et nostris anteferenda
moribus. At in hoc vivendi ritu nulla
fuit litterarum cognitio, nulla legum
disciplina, nulla bonarum artium studia.
Ipsa quoque religio barbara, inepta,
idolorum cultrix atque adeo demoni-

16,1-3 Nullas Germanorum populis ur-
bes habitari satis notum est, ne pati
quidem inter se iunctas sedes. colunt
discreti ac diversi, ut fons, ut campus,
ut nemus placuit. vicos locant non in
nostrum morem conexas et cohaerenti-
bus aedificiis: suam quisque domum
spatio circumdat ... ne caementorum
quidem apud illos aut tegularum usus:
materia ad omnia utuntur ...

9,3 ceterum nec cohibere parietibus
deos ... ex magnitudine caelestium
arbitrantur ...

26,2 ... nec enim cum ubertate et am-
plitudine soli labore contendunt, ut
pomaria conserant, ut prata separent,
ut hortos rigent: sola terrae seges im-
peratur.

Vgl. **23,1**: agrestia poma.

Vgl. **5,1**: frugiferarum arborum impa-
tiens.

Vgl. **23,1**: Potui humor ex hordeo aut
frumento ...

22,1 Statim e somno ... lavantur, sae-
pius calida, ut apud quos plurimum
hiems occupat ...

5,3 argentum et aurum propitiis an
irati dii negaverint dubito. nec tamen
adfirmaverim nullam Germaniae venam
argentum aurumve gignere: quis enim
scrutatus est?

Vgl. **17,1-3**: sagum ... ferarum pelles
... lineis amictibus ...

6,1 Ne ferrum quidem superest ...

19,1 ... litterarum secreta viri pariter
ac feminae ignorant ...

b) *Vgl.* **II 7** (*über das Deutschland seiner Zeit*): ... agros ubique cultos videmus ...
pomaria rustica et suburbana ...

c) *Vgl.* **II 17**: Adde venas auri atque argenti, quas ignorare prisci, apud vos repertas.

orum illusionibus labefacta, ut humanis sepe hostiis litatum esse^d apud illos non sit ambiguum.

Latrocinia laudi fuerunt, omnia feda, omnia tetra, aspera, barbara et, ut propriis utamur vocabulis, ferina ac brutalia.

9,1 ... Mercurium colunt, cui certis diebus humanis quoque hostiis litare fas habent ...

Vgl. 39,2 (über die Semnonen): ... coeunt caesoque publice homine celebrant barbari ritus horrenda primordia.

Vgl. 2,2: Germaniam informem terris, asperam caelo, tristem aspectuque ...

Vgl. 5,1: Terra ... aut silvis horrida aut paludibus foeda ...

d) Vgl. II 27: ... Theutones ... qui et vana simulacra colebant liberos suos demoniis immolantes ...; ferner III 7: ... deorum magis monstra quam numina vestri maiores coluerunt, ita ut etiam filios, sicut dictum est, demoniis litarent.

Was Enea Silvio bei Tacitus erfahren hat, findet sich konzentriert in diesem Kapitel II 4, das ich nicht nur aus diesem Grunde hier ganz ausgeschrieben habe, sondern auch in der Absicht, die von Enea Silvio forcierte Tendenz seines Berichtes über das alte und das neue Deutschland deutlich hervortreten zu lassen³⁹. Sonstige Bezugnahmen auf Tacitus wiederholen (oder verschärfen) meist nur, was in II 4 bereits gesagt war; dergleichen habe ich in Anmerkungsform unter den abgedruckten Text gesetzt. Der Vollständigkeit halber sei hier noch auf das in gewisser Weise ebenfalls von Tacitus inspirierte Kapitel II 6 hingewiesen, in dem es um die Ausdehnung des alten im Vergleich zum neuen Deutschland geht: Hier begegnet eine Reihe von Stichworten, die auch im ersten Kapitel der *Germania* des Tacitus eine Rolle spielen (Rhein, Donau, Raetien usw.), aber eben nur Stichworte, die Enea Silvio hernimmt, um zu zeigen, daß Deutschland gewaltig über seine früheren Grenzen hinausgewachsen ist; eine Wiedergabe von II 6 dürfte sich von daher erübrigen. Ansonsten glaube ich, das für diese Untersuchung erforderliche Vergleichsmaterial vollständig erfaßt zu haben.

Zunächst einige Erläuterungen zu den einander gegenübergestellten Texten im einzelnen. Enea Silvio nennt seinen Gewährsmann Tacitus gleich zu Anfang; ohne diesen Fingerzeig wäre es—so wie er seine Vorlage benutzt—gar nicht einfach gewesen, in der Schrift des Enea Silvio die Bezugnahmen auf Tacitus wirklich sicher zu lokalisieren⁴⁰.

³⁹ Vgl. oben Anm. 6.

⁴⁰ Fuhrmann, S. 41, scheint solche Bezugnahmen seltsamerweise überhaupt nicht wahrgenommen zu haben: Enea Silvios Worte *Parum quidem ea tempestate* ... ganz am Anfang von II 4 (m.E. der allgemeine Einleitungssatz, der im folgenden dann frei

—Am Anfang seiner Ausführungen rückt Enea Silvio das Leben der alten Germanen—im Sinn seines Argumentationsziels—in die Nähe des Lebens von wilden Tieren; auffallend die Verwendung von *iners* und *pigerrimus*, Wörtern, die auch bei Tacitus begegnen, überraschend hingegen *Aristoteles auctor est* in eben diesem Zusammenhang. Eine Auflösung dieses Widerspruchs erscheint möglich: Tacitus sagt, bei den Germanen gelte es als schlapp und ungeschickt, bestimmte Dinge mit Schweiß zu erarbeiten; Enea Silvio übersieht nun absichtsvoll des Tacitus Worte *quod possis sanguine parare*, weil er auf etwas anderes hinauswill: Die Germanen waren—ohne schweißtreibende Bemühungen—eben keine (seßhaften) Ackerbauern, sondern *pastores*, Nomaden, von denen Aristoteles in seiner Politik⁴¹ sagt, sie seien wegen ihrer Lebensweise die trägsten, d.h. Enea Silvio kommt mit Hilfe des Aristoteles zu einer U m d e u t u n g der Tacitusstelle (anhand der gleichsinnigen Adjektive *piger* bei Tacitus und ἀργός bei Aristoteles)^{41a}; von dieser Deutung abgesehen, dürfte Tacitus aber gleichwohl die Stichworte geliefert haben.—Nach der allgemeinen Charakteristik der Germanen kommt Enea Silvio, angeregt durch Tacitus, auf das Fehlen von Städten zu sprechen; daß er so viel Wert auf den Aspekt der Befestigkeit legt, könnte—in einem gewissen Mißverständnis—durch die Worte *ne pati quidem inter se iunctas sedes* bei Tacitus veranlaßt sein. Von Burgen ist bei Tacitus nirgends die Rede, also zieht Enea Silvio *ex silentio* den Schluß, daß es sie nicht gegeben habe.—Sodann der Aspekt Tempel bzw. Kirchen: deren Fehlen wird als von Tacitus angeführtes Faktum, wenn auch ganz und gar nicht dem taciteischen Wortlaut entsprechend mitgeteilt. In den Worten *sectis structa lapidibus* dürfte sich die Bemerkung des Tacitus widerspiegeln, daß die Germanen keine (Bruch-)Steine, sondern ausschließlich Holz verwenden.—Eine ausgeprägte landwirtschaftliche Kultur wird man bei primitiven Völkern wohl kaum erwarten können, mag Enea Silvio sich gedacht und dann niedergeschrieben haben; aber auch dafür konnte er sich auf entsprechende Andeutungen des Tacitus stützen.—Angesichts des Stichwortes *potus* könnte man einen

nach Tacitus in Einzelheiten belegt wird) hält er bereits für das Resümee, woran im weiteren eine müßige Erörterung sich anknüpft, weshalb Tacitus so kurz abgetan werde (angeblich weil er damals "nur wenig angesehen und wenig bekannt" gewesen sei).

⁴¹ I 8, p. 1256a.

^{41a} Natürlich hat Enea Silvio Aristoteles nicht im Original gelesen, in seiner Übersetzung ist er gleich auf das Wort *piger* gestoßen.

gewissen Widerspruch zwischen Enea Silvio und Tacitus bemerken: Enea Silvio läßt die alten Germanen Wasser trinken, Tacitus wartet dagegen mit jenem 'bierähnlichen Getränk' auf—sicherlich ohne unterstellen zu wollen, daß die Germanen dieses rund um die Uhr zu sich nahmen; Wasser dürfte also nicht schlechthin ausgeschlossen sein. Warum Enea Silvio sich mit dem Getränk des Tacitus nicht recht anfreunden mag, liegt indessen klar auf der Hand: Er konnte nicht, selbst wenn es ihm als Italiener so erschienen sein sollte, jenen *humor ex hordeo aut frumento* als etwas Urzeitlich-Primitives ausgeben—vor einem Publikum, das zu seiner Zeit einem aus den gleichen Grundstoffen gebrauten Getränk nur allzu gern zugesprochen hat. Also beläßt er es bei Wasser, das die alten Germanen sicher auch getrunken haben.—Das nächste Textbeispiel scheint mir—in stärkerem Maße als die bisherigen—für Enea Silvios Art der Tacitus-Benutzung kennzeichnend zu sein: Bei Tacitus pflegen die Germanen sich zu waschen, häufiger sogar mit warmen Wasser; nicht gesagt wird, wie man zu Wasser kam, ob oder wie man es erwärmte. Letzteres macht Enea Silvio sich zunutze: auch bei ihm baden die Germanen, nämlich in Seen und Teichen, also in natürlichen Gegebenheiten, die man vorfindet; sogar Warmbäder läßt er sie genießen, aber wiederum nur *natura calentes*; daß primitive Völker sich Wasser in einem Topf erwärmen könnten, ist ihm, wie es scheint, unvorstellbar. Im Sinn seines Argumentationszieles operiert Enea Silvio wieder einmal *ex silentio*.—Zum Aspekt Gold und Silber und—etwas später—Metall bzw. Eisen braucht hier nichts weiter gesagt zu werden, inhaltliche (nicht wörtliche) Bezugnahmen auf Tacitus liegen wohl auf der Hand.—Interessant, weil bezeichnend, der Gesichtspunkt der germanischen Kleidung: Enea Silvio hat in dieser Hinsicht seinen Tacitus auf das hin durchgesehen, was die Alten offenbar noch nicht hatten; das Ergebnis ist nicht überraschend: den 'Wilden' fehlte es u.a. an Seidengewändern!—Wenn dann das Stichwort *litterae* aufblitzt, ist Enea Silvio hier wie auch sonst ganz in seinem Element⁴²—so sehr, daß er offenbar gar nicht mehr genau hinschaut auf das, was seine Vorlage damit wirklich meint: *litterarum secreta* = heimlicher Briefwechsel (zwischen Männern und Frauen); er spricht dagegen von *litterarum*

⁴² In seinem grenzenlosen Vertrauen auf die kultivierende Kraft der *litterae* sieht er in ihnen offenbar sogar etwas, das die notorische Grausamkeit der Türken mildern oder ihr womöglich ganz abhelfen könnte; vgl. "Darstellungsprinzipien", S. 114.

cognitio und meint damit die Grundlage für Rechtswesen und höhere Bildung. — Sodann der Aspekt Religion: Hier hat es Enea Silvio recht gut zur Tendenz seiner Schilderung gepaßt, daß Tacitus von Menschenopfern bei den Germanen spricht, für Enea Silvio offenkundig ein so eindrucksvoller Beweis für seine These von der Rückständigkeit der alten Germanen, daß er gleich noch zweimal darauf zurückkommt, um nunmehr sogar die Tatsache von Kinderopfern zu behaupten. Aber auch damit setzt er sich nicht eigentlich in Widerspruch zu Tacitus, der von Kinderopfern zwar nicht spricht, aber ebenso wenig davon, daß Erwachsene geopfert worden wären; Enea Silvio argumentiert wieder *ex silentio*. — Das letzte Textbeispiel habe ich notiert wegen der übereinstimmenden Stichworte *foedus* und *asper*, wobei anzumerken ist, daß es bei Tacitus um die Geographie Germaniens geht, bei Enea Silvio aber schlechthin um alles, was das alte Deutschland betrifft.

Kommen wir jetzt zur wertenden Abstraktion des in der Einzelbesprechung Festgestellten — dies am besten gleich auf dem Hintergrund von Campanos Tacitus-Benutzung. Campano nannte aus bestimmte Gründen, wie wir gesehen haben, seinen Gewährsmann nicht; er zitierte kaum wörtlich; dann und wann schien er sein Vorbild in stilistischer Hinsicht übertrumpfen zu wollen; um der erstrebten rednerischen Wirkung willen schreckte er nicht davor zurück, vorgefundene Aussagen ins Gegenteil zu verkehren. Mit Enea Silvios Tacitus-Benutzung sieht es in mehr als einer Hinsicht anders aus. Generell kann man wohl sagen, daß er sich, wenn er zu einem antiken Autor greift, gleichwohl ausschließlich von der von ihm, Enea Silvio, behandelten Sache leiten läßt⁴³, während Campano stets bestrebt ist, gleich bei welcher Sache seine Kunst in den Vordergrund zu rücken. Das hat zur Folge, daß Enea Silvio seinen Gewährsmann nennen kann, so wie er es ja auch tut, ja, daß es sich für ihn sogar ganz entschieden empfiehlt, eine antike Autorität bei Namen zu nennen, damit er auf diese Weise dem eigenen sachorientierten Argument noch zusätzliche Überzeugungskraft verleihen kann. Ferner: um der Sache willen kann Enea Silvio mehr noch als Campano auf wortwörtliches Zitieren verzichten; der gleiche Sachverhalt erfordert nicht notwendiger-

⁴³ In einem 'Traktat' wie der *Germania* des Enea Silvio ist das fast schon naturgemäß so; aber selbst in seinen sonstigen literarischen Produkten, die wie seine Reden deutlich künstlerischen Ansprüchen genügen wollen, ist das nicht anders; dazu "Darstellungsprinzipien", *passim*.

weise den gleichen Wortlaut. Und wenn Campano ab und zu eine Formulierung des Tacitus aufgreift, um sie rhetorisch aufzuputzen, dann kann auch das nicht Enea Silvios Ehrgeiz sein; kein Kunstwerk schwebt ihm vor, vielmehr hat er ausschließlich sein Argumentationsziel fest im Blick. Insoweit ist seine Art der Tacitus-Benutzung also deutlich unterschieden von der Campanos.

Indessen bleibt noch ein Punkt, den man auf den ersten Blick mit dem gleichen Mißtrauen betrachten könnte wie Campanos krasse Fälschungen: Enea Silvio teilt unter Berufung auf Tacitus manches mit, was dieser nicht sagt. Dennoch unterscheiden sich Enea Silvio und Campano auch in dieser Hinsicht durchaus: Campano sagt aus Gründen, die oben dargelegt wurden, unter Berufung auf Tacitus manchmal das Gegenteil des von Tacitus Mitgeteilten; demgegenüber liest Enea Silvio gleichsam zwischen den Zeilen der *Germania*, er deutet den Text des Tacitus, gibt Erläuterungen und Ergänzungen dort, wo Tacitus sich nicht näher äußert, zieht in analoger Form aus Gesagtem Schlüsse auf Nicht-Gesagtes—dies alles wenn bzw. weil es ihm um seines Argumentationszieles willen ins Konzept paßt, jedoch anders als Campano stets so, daß ein offener Widerspruch zu Tacitus vermieden wird; Tacitus hätte das alles notfalls so oder ähnlich sagen können, ohne zu sich selber in Widerspruch zu geraten. Enea Silvio geht also bei aller Freiheit, die er sich herausnimmt, doch ein wenig behutsamer als Campano mit seiner antiken Vorlage um.

Ob nun behutsam oder nicht, entscheidend—für eine abschließende Würdigung—ist dennoch das Stichwort Freiheit: Auch Enea Silvio geht es nicht um Tacitus als solchen, wenn er ihn heranzieht; er betrachtet ihn nicht mit den Augen eines Historikers oder eines klassischen Philologen, sondern eher mit denen eines Politikers, dem alles recht ist, wenn es nur halbwegs zu den eigenen an der tagespolitischen Aktualität ausgerichteten Intentionen paßt; Tacitus liefert ihm für seine in der Tat politische Schrift lediglich das Material, und dies, wie es scheint, nicht einmal in der gewünschten Vollständigkeit, so daß Enea Silvio, wenn er auch nicht gerade fälscht wie Campano, dennoch zwischen den Zeilen lesen bzw. *ex silentio* argumentieren zu müssen meint. Im übrigen: ohne Tacitus, ohne Caesar oder Strabon hätte die *Germania* des Enea Silvio gewiß nicht sehr viel anders ausgesehen.

So gilt im großen und ganzen für Enea Silvio dasselbe wie für

Campano. Betrachtet man die Art, wie sie ihre Vorlage im einzelnen behandeln, und berücksichtigt man zudem noch, daß sie es auf diese Weise fertig bringen, hinsichtlich des alten Germanien, gestützt auf eine und dieselbe Schrift, zu so extrem gegensätzlichen Positionen zu kommen, den Blick ausschließlich fixiert auf das jeweilige Darstellungsziel, dann dürfte die Antwort auf die Frage nach dem rezeptionsgeschichtlichen Stellenwert einer solchen Tacitus-Benutzung nicht schwerfallen. Wäre es allein ausschlaggebend, daß ein antiker Autor von Späteren benutzt wird — gleich mit welchem Blessuren dieser am Ende dasteht —, könnte man hier in einem sehr äußerlichen Sinn von Tacitus-Rezeption reden. Erwartet man indessen so etwas wie geistige Durchdringung und verständige Adaption, also Rezeption im eigentlichen Sinn, dann müssen wir uns in diesem Zusammenhang mit einem eher negativen Ergebnis abfinden. Statt von Rezeption zu reden, könnte man auf den Gedanken kommen, das harte Wort Mißbrauch einzusetzen. Jedenfalls handelt es sich hierbei um das Stichwort, das nach im Grunde noch harmlosen Anfängen bei Enea Silvio Piccolomini und Giannantonio Campano für die Behandlung insbesondere der taciteischen *Germania* bis in unsere Tage hinein bestimmend gewesen ist⁴⁴.

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⁴⁴ Dazu vgl. etwa K. von See, *Deutsche Germanen-Ideologie* (Frankfurt, 1970).

Susan NOAKES and Robert A. KASTER

TOMMASO SCHIFALDO'S
*LIBELLUS DE INDAGATIONIBUS GRAMMATICIS**

Introduction

The grammatical essay published here came to light when the Newberry Library (Chicago, USA) in 1975 acquired from a local bookseller a codex (Ms. 71.5) containing a miscellany of Renaissance works. In 1977, Paolo Cherchi published a previously unknown poem by the Sicilian humanist Tommaso Schifaldo found in the codex and mentioned that it also contained “una grammatica latina ... in tre libri”, previously unknown¹. At Cherchi's urging, I several years later transcribed the work and then, especially because of its heavy reliance upon Priscian, turned to Robert Kaster for assistance in emending the text. As Cherchi noted, the discovery of this work is of some interest for the history of Sicilian humanism, for it helps to explain Schifaldo's reputation among his contemporaries as “‘digrossatore’ delle lettere siciliane”. Moreover, the work sheds light on or raises questions about several topics in the history of humanism outside Sicily: the influence of the Dominican Bartolomeo Sulmonese, sometime teacher of rhetoric² at the court of Francesco Sforza; the early

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¹ “Uno smarrito carne bucolico di Tommaso Schifaldo”, *The Two Hesperias: Literary Studies in Honor of Joseph G. Fucilla* (Madrid, Toranzas, 1977), pp. 121-127. Cherchi provides a brief description of the codex and its contents.

² A grammatical work by Bartolomeo is discussed by W. Keith Percival, “The *Artis Grammaticae Opusculum* of Bartolomeo Sulmonese: A Newly Discovered Latin Grammar of the Quattrocento”, *Renaissance Quarterly* 31 (1978), 39-47. Professor Percival has recently informed me that he has uncovered evidence that Bartolomeo taught for a time at Naples. Special thanks are due Professor Percival for a great many suggestions which made it possible to begin to place this work in context.

reception of Lorenzo Valla's work generally and, in particular, the date by which his critique of the Vulgate began to receive serious consideration; and the continuing use in Italy, even by a scholar who claims to have studied with a student of Valla, of terms and definitions drawn from modistic grammar.

The author's life

We are fortunate in having available extended studies of Schifaldo's life and works by Giambattista Cozzuoli³, Giacomo Sammartano⁴, and Guglielmo Bottari⁵, in addition to the entry in *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*⁶: the biographical information which follows has been gathered from these sources. Schifaldo was born, probably at Marsala, probably around 1430. He began his education, still a layman, at the Siculorum Gymnasium in Catania, but soon joined the Dominican order at the convent of St. Zita, with an affiliation to the convent at Marsala. He became a priest in 1452. Like another famous Sicilian humanist of the previous generation, Antonio Beccadelli (Il Panormita), he then went on to the Studium in Siena, where Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (Pius II) had also studied. There he was influenced by the lessons of Francesco Patrizi the Elder. Schifaldo reportedly completed his studies in Siena in 1460. According to tradition, he then studied at other major Italian centers of learning, including, by his own testimony, Rome. Schifaldo began his teaching in Sicily at Messina, but was in 1469 named "lettore" at the public Studium in the Dominican convent at Palermo by the Palermitan Senate, acting with the encouragement of the Viceroy Ximenes de Urrea. He later taught at Marsala, apparently from 1478. Marsala was likely to have drawn him not only because of its associations with his early years but also because nearby Mazzara was the home of several noted humanists of the

³ *Tommaso Schifaldo: umanista siciliano del sec. XV*, Società Siciliana per la Storia Patria, *Documenti per servire alla storia di Sicilia*, ser. 4, vol. 6 (Palermo, Tipog. "Lo Statuto", 1897).

⁴ *Umanisti marsalesi: T. Schifaldo e V. Colocasio* (Marsala, Ediz. Vidyâ, 1969). I am grateful to Kathy Lima for obtaining a copy of this work for me.

⁵ "Tommaso Schifaldo e il suo commento all'*Arte Poetica* di Orazio", *Umanità e storia: Scritti in onore di Adelchi Attisani*, vol. I: *Letteratura e storia* (Messina, Giannini, 1971), pp. 221-259.

⁶ J. Quétif and R. P. F. Jacobus Echard, (Paris, 1719-23), rpt. Burt Franklin Bibliographical and Reference Series no. 16 (New York, s.d.), Tom. I, P. II, p. 882.

period, including Callimaco Monteverde, Ippolito di Ippolito, Paolo Ferro, and Schifaldo's own illustrious pupil Gian Giacomo Adria, later physician at the court of Charles V. In 1486 Schifaldo was named vicar general of the convent at Marsala. In 1489 he became Inquisitor General of all of Sicily. In 1491 he was still teaching at Marsala. He visited Mazzara in 1495, rallying to the support of King Alfonso II, who had fled there after Charles VIII invaded Naples. This is the year generally accepted as that of Schifaldo's death, though Bottari believes he was still alive in 1500. No documents have come to light which tell us he lived beyond that date.

Antonino Mongitore⁷ gives the following list of Schifaldo's works:

1. *Vita B. Petri Hieremiae Panormitani, Ordinis Praedicatorum*;
2. *De Viris Illustribus Ordinis Praedicatorum*;
3. *Bucolica in plures Eclogas distributa*;
4. *De adventu Caroli Magnanimi Regis Franciae, qui expulit ex Neapoli Regem Alphonsum, liber*;
5. *Ars metrica, de mensura pedum metri cujuscumque generis*;
6. *Commentaria in Psalmos*;
7. *Epigrammata in Albinum Regis Alphonsi Poetam*;
8. *Elegiae*;
9. *Commentaria in Iuvenalem Poetam*;
10. *Commentarioli in Persium Satyricorum Principem*;
11. *Commentum in Horatium*.

To this list must be added the short poems published by Sammartano and by Cherchi, as well as the grammatical work. The first two works and the last two on Mongitore's list, together with a part of the third, are extant.

Although the last three works listed by Mongitore suggest an interest in grammar, the recently discovered grammatical text provides a more adequate explanation for Schifaldo's illustrious reputation as a grammarian among his contemporaries. According to Mongitore, Adria attributed to Schifaldo a major impact on the use of Latin in Sicily: "Politioribus literis multos instruxit; inter quos idem claruit Adria qui addit, tempore Schifaldi, ejus opera linguae latinae nitorem in Sicilia mirifice effloruisse: omnesque illius aevi doctores et vates ab ipso humaniores literas didicisse, qui ex ejus schola doctissimi prodire".

⁷ *Bibliotheca sicula*, (Palermo, Typog. Angeli Felicella, 1714), vol. 2, pp. 262-263.

The Schifaldo canon has not been untouched by controversy. There has been disagreement about the attribution to Schifaldo of the first work on Mongitore's list⁸. On the other hand, Schifaldo himself complained of the misattribution of one of his works, a hymn to St. Catherine, to Pius II⁹. Such instances of confusion suggest that caution about the attribution of the grammatical work may be advisable, at least until other manuscripts of it are found¹⁰. Yet the presence in the text of clear echoes of the grammatical work of Bartolomeo Sulmonese, whom Schifaldo elsewhere claimed as his teacher, argues for the authenticity of the attribution to Schifaldo. Moreover, there can be no doubt that the Newberry manuscript was copied in a time and place very close to that in which Schifaldo lived, possibly by Cesare Zizzo, who describes himself elsewhere in the manuscript as a student of Schifaldo, in conjunction with his friend Francesco Palumbo, described as "librarius parthenopeus".

Contents of the work

Schifaldo's text is more correctly described as a grammatical essay than as a grammar *per se*. It opens with a lengthy prologue in a complex style not untypical of its time, dedicating the work "ad ... Aloysium Rocquisensem", a figure whose identity so far remains elusive. In the prologue, Schifaldo alludes to his teaching in Sicily:

quare cum saepe alias tum vel maxime hoc tempore, quom Messanae, quae nobilissima est Siciliae civitas, publico salario honestatus publice praeciperem <et> grammaticorum tum veterum tum recentium commentarios lectitarem, de grammaticis praeceptionibus quosdam recte locutos animadverti.... (fol. 2).

The eclectic character of the essay, whose sources range from the *modistae* to the most advanced humanists¹¹, is suggested by the following remark: "extant enim commentarioli cuiusdam boni quidem

⁸ Sammartano, pp. 14-15; Bottari, p. 229 n. 24.

⁹ Sammartano, p. 22.

¹⁰ A search of the standard inventories (Kristeller, Mazzatinti) has proved fruitless, and a letter (22/9/82) from Father Raimondo Creytens, O.P., Director of the Istituto Storico Domenicano (Rome), confirms that this work is otherwise unattested in the files there.

¹¹ That Schifaldo's reliance on both the *modistae* and Valla is not atypical of Renaissance grammarians is suggested by W. Keith Percival, "The Grammatical Tradition and the Rise of the Vernaculars", *Current Trends in Linguistics* 13, ed. T. A. Sebeok (The Hague/Paris, Mouton, 1975), pp. 231-275. After enumerating (pp. 240-241) the many attacks on the medieval modistic system by humanists, Percival remarks judi-

viri, quos insulsissime et Scythico potius quam Latino eloquio de orationis partibus scriptos reliquit. disserit enim acutissime partium orationes, significandi modos..." (fol. 3). Schifaldo also here indicates his particular concern with the defense of Priscian: "itaque ut nullum humeri onus refugiant, hanc quoque provinciam cepimus, ut Priscianum Latinae linguae cultorem, ne dicam parentem, contra obtrectatorum morsus pro exigua facultate nostra protegeremus" (fol. 4).

After the conclusion of the prologue, Schifaldo proceeds to a preliminary discussion of the letters of the alphabet, the word "grammatica", and the number of the parts of speech. In the course of this discussion, he refers to the early users of the language in which he writes as "Romani", adopting the usage established by Valla.

But most of Book I, nearly 300 lines, is devoted to a discussion of the noun. It is evident that much of this discussion takes its point of departure from modistic theory. Schifaldo makes a "divisio" on nouns ("substantivum" vs. "adiectivum"; "proprium" vs. "appellativum") and then treats their accidents ("species", "genus", "numerus", "figura", "casus"). He then examines the question: "... quor declinatio inter illa quinque nominum accidentia non connumeretur..." (fol. 24). He concludes with a discussion of the article.

Book II begins with a rather discursive prologue and a lengthy digression (more than 100 lines) defending Priscian against the criticisms of Valla. Schifaldo begins his treatment of the verb with a definition in which he emphasizes his use of "forma" to mean "conjugation": "forma igitur qua quidem verbum indiget ad hoc, ut sit actionis passionisque significativum, ea est quam nomine coniugationem Romani appellant" (fol. 36). This difference from antique usage may possibly derive from a modistic source. The most conspicuous feature of Schifaldo's treatment of the verb in Book II is the disproportionate length of his discussion of verbal *genera*. Though he follows Priscian in identifying eight "attributes" of the verb (*modus*, *tempus*, *forma/coniugatio*, *genus*, *species*, *figura*, *persona*, *numerus*), he omits formal treatment of several of these while devoting to the question of *genus* some eight folios, roughly twelve percent of the length of the entire treatise. His lengthy discussion of the verbal *genera*, strongly influenced

ciously (p. 245): "The abandonment of medieval syntax was, it seems, motivated chiefly by considerations of pedagogical effectiveness rather than by any deep-seated theoretical misgivings, and indeed much of the medieval system remained intact".

by Priscian, may be understood as but one late episode in the continuing struggle of Italian grammarians to deal with neutral verbs from a syntactic rather than simply a semantic point of view, a struggle which has been traced as far back as the thirteenth century¹².

In the third and final book Schifaldo goes on, after a brief introduction, to discuss the remaining parts of speech: the participle (considered a part of speech at the time), pronoun, preposition, adverb, interjection, and conjunction. The most interesting aspect of this book, however, is a section which follows the discussion of the conjunction. Some half dozen folios in length, it is titled "Contra Vallam" and constitutes a response to Valla's attacks on the usage of St. Jerome and of others. Schifaldo's strategy in this section is, so to speak, to outdo Valla at his own game, by adducing antique authority for usage which Valla has criticized as not antique and therefore incorrect. In one instance, having shown that what was attacked by Valla in Jerome actually came from Pliny's *Naturalis Historia*, Schifaldo asks:

quocirca si erratum est dicere Iopen ubi actitata sunt Iudaeae esse portum, cur Hieronymo et non Plinio, viro tantae auctoritatis quantam pauci a sua ad nostram usque aetatem consecuti videantur, tribuatur? fieri enim posset ut quae Laurentius scribit vera omnino sint, quom Ovidii auctoritate sit fretus. sed quor in hunc et non in illum pro-siluerit? nam inter ceteras auctoritates Latinae linguae quas Valla probat Plinius ipse in primis connumeratur, cuius dicta verbaque nusquam castigare ausus est. quare nulli mirum videri debet si de Prisciano obloquatur, cum hoc ipsum in alios clariores viros temptare non sit veritus (fol. 66).

Schifaldo extends the strategy employed in defending Jerome to others, thus producing a wide-ranging critique of Valla which is nonetheless dependent on Valla's own preferred method. In a brief conclusion to the entire treatise, however, he reasserts his respect for the author of the *Elegantiae*.

Digressions on Valla

Just what is Schifaldo's attitude, then, toward Valla and his works? What information can the *de Indagationibus grammaticis* provide as to Valla's reputation and the influence of his works at the very end

¹² This development is discussed by W. Keith Percival, "Textual Problems in the Latin Grammar of Guarino Veronese", *Res Publica Litterarum* I (1968), 241-254, at pp. 246-247.

of the Quattrocento? Caution is necessary in any attempt at evaluating his impact on a particular work or problem in the history of Renaissance grammar, for the temptation to see Valla as the source of nearly all that is new is not only great but also misleading¹³. A kind of inverse temptation exists as well, especially in discussing grammatical thought in southern Italy, for the Kingdom of Naples had harbored, since the period of Valla's service at Alfonso's court in the thirties and forties, a traditionalist current of resistance to the abrasive humanist Giuniano Maio, for example, in the prologue to his vocabulary *De priscorum proprietate verborum*, first published in 1475, criticized Valla for using an excessive number of examples which merely confused the reader¹⁴. Schifaldo's attitude toward Valla is in fact neither hostile nor adulatory. His treatise appears to date from a period in his life when his interest in Valla was high, perhaps higher than it was when he prepared his commentary on Horace. But he assessed Valla's contribution judiciously, showing both admiration for the man's accomplishments and reservations about some of his conclusions.

The first of Schifaldo's extended discussions of Valla occurs in Book II, following the prologue. Schifaldo introduces the name of Priscian in the context of some remarks on grammatical controversy, identifying him as "vir Graecus a patre tamen Romano oriundus" (fol. 27-28). The connection thus made between Priscian and Greek grammatical learning is to be brought up again later, reinforcing Priscian's claim to grammatical authority from a humanist perspective. In making this claim, Schifaldo is echoing Priscian's own prefatory remarks, pointing out that he had made use of the work of Apollonius and of Herodian¹⁵. Schifaldo cites Valla's criticism of Priscian's purported laxity with regard to the use of the comparative and superlative degrees and, once again turning Valla's own weapons against him, defends Priscian by arguing that Priscian was simply reporting

¹³ This point is made by Percival, "Grammatical Tradition", p. 232.

¹⁴ Carlo De Frede, *I Lettori di umanità nello studio di Napoli durante il Rinascimento*, Studi e documenti per la storia della Università degli Studi di Napoli, 2 (Naples, L'Arte Tipog. Napoli, 1960), p. 49, cites Maio on Valla and Tortelli as follows: "... la loro pedantesca censura e quel cumulo di esempi, il cui sfoggio spaventa piuttosto che attrarre [sic] il lettore, sono stati da me ... ristretti in giusta misura ...".

¹⁵ Priscian's own account of the importance of his reliance on his Greek predecessors appears in H. Keil, *Grammatici Latini* (rpt. Hildesheim, Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1961), Vol. II, pp. 1-3.

the usage of the best authors. Among these, Schifaldo cites Virgil, referring his reader to Priscian's own Book II for further examples of antique usage in the matter. He then goes on to disagree with Valla's criticism of Priscian's interpretation of inchoative (inceptive) verbs, again defending Priscian on the ground that his opinion is in conformity with that of a host of ancient authorities. Nonetheless, although Schifaldo's second Book thus opens with a detailed demonstration that Valla's dicta do not unfailingly reflect Roman usage, Schifaldo cites the *Elegantiae* favorably and very frequently throughout the entire Book. He even adopts Valla's characteristic taxonomic usage, using *lex* to mean "rule", for example. There can be no doubt that, for Schifaldo, Valla was a major authority: his imitation of the method which Valla had so successfully employed cannot be construed otherwise than as a sincere compliment.

The digression "Contra Vallam" in Book III is interesting because of both its content and its early date. Its tone is much more critical of Valla than that of earlier passages. Valla's name is no longer repeatedly qualified with favorable epithets and such adjectives as "disertissimus", as it was in Book II. Instead, Valla is reproached repeatedly for his poor memory of ancient usage.

The thoroughness with which Schifaldo treats passages in Jerome (fols. 65, 68) which Valla had criticized suggests that he had been studying Valla's work on Jerome, in detail, for some time: certainly the *Elegantiae* and perhaps also the *Collatio Novi Testamenti*. The substance of Valla's work on Jerome seems to have been sufficiently well known to him to permit research into it, including comparisons of Jerome's usage to that of his sources. That is, by the time Schifaldo wrote his *de Indagationibus*, Valla must already have, in southern Italy, stimulated further critical work on Jerome, in addition to his own. There may even by this time have been a tradition of research on the matter upon which Schifaldo was able to draw, for it is not possible at present to be certain that all of what Schifaldo has to say in defense of Jerome was entirely original with him.

The prominent position which Schifaldo gives to the defense of Jerome within the context of his overall critique of Valla reminds us that there was in the Kingdom of Naples, long before Erasmus' publication of Valla's New Testament commentary, considerable interest in Valla's work on the Vulgate. This interest has already been attested by the two Neapolitan manuscripts of the *Collatio Novi Testamenti*,

an earlier version of the work Erasmus was to publish, which were edited in 1970 by A. Perosa¹⁶. These manuscripts, one of them carefully corrected, were copied in 1477 and 1478, suggesting that Schifaldo was by no means unique in his awareness at an early date of the importance of Valla's critique of the Vulgate. This casts into a slightly different perspective an *idée reçue* about the progress of humanist critical work on Biblical texts. Although it remains true that Erasmus was responsible for the first printed edition of Valla's *In Novum Testamentum Adnotationes*, in 1505, the notion that it was this publication that opened the way to widespread textual criticism of the Bible and was among factors which led to the Reformation is necessarily qualified by the publication of the *Collatio* manuscripts and of the *de Indagationibus*. The contents of the digression "Contra Vallam" remind us that, in southern Italy, the particulars of Valla's critique of Jerome were sufficiently known to have permitted research into them before Erasmus had them printed. Valla's critique of Jerome was already an important focus of attention, for members of the Neapolitan court and for the Dominican Inquisitor General of Sicily, long before Erasmus discovered a manuscript of a late redaction of the *Collatio* near Louvain. This introduces a nuance into the assessment of Erasmus's role in stimulating textual criticism of the Bible. Whether Erasmus's diffusion in the North of the late redaction of Valla's critique may properly be counted among important impulses toward the Reformation is best left to experts; but certainly the claim of any direct causal link would be weakened by such evidence that Valla's critique had been studied and accommodated within southern Italian scholarly circles without leading to dramatic ecclesiastical consequences.

What is in any case clear about Schifaldo's relation to Valla is that it is complex. On the surface, it is even, perhaps, inconsistent, for Schifaldo both explicitly criticizes Valla and, in this very act of criticism, uses Valla's terminology and philological strategies. His response to Valla is one of moderate enthusiasm. Schifaldo neither slavishly follows Valla nor rejects his work out of hand. While taking a special interest in the defense of Priscian, Schifaldo relies upon a considerable number of post-antique sources, including but not limited to the *Ianua*, Francesco da Buti¹⁷, Bartolomeo Sulmonese, and Martin

¹⁶ Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento, *Studi e Testi*, I (Firenze, Sansoni).

¹⁷ Cited (fol. 50) as "Franciscus Brutius".

of Dacia¹⁸. He writes as a broadly informed teacher of grammar rather than as the partisan or opponent of a particular individual.

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Prefatory Note

N = Newberry Library MS 71.5; *N*² = the corrector(s) of *N*.

Readings noted in the *apparatus criticus* by the sign “(*)” were suggested by Charles E. Murgia; those noted by the sign “(**)” were suggested by Riccardo Ribuoli.

In the *testimonia* and *apparatus criticus* the ancient grammarians are cited by volume, page and line-number from the edition of H. Keil (*Grammatici Latini* 7 vols. [Leipzig, 1857-80], with the *Supplementum* [= *Anecdota Helvetica*] ed. H. Hagen [Leipzig, 1870]); the *Elegantiae* of Lorenzo Valla are cited from the Basel edition of 1540; and the abbreviation “Jeep, *LR*” = L. Jeep, *Zur Geschichte der Lehre von den Redentheilen bei den Lateinischen Grammatikern* (Leipzig, 1893).

The orthography of *N* is followed in the text or noted in the *apparatus*, with one exception: the variation between the forms *quom* (69 times) and *qum* (12 times) has tacitly been removed, in favor of the more common spelling. The form *cum*, however, has been retained wherever it appears in *N*.

¹⁸ Because limitations of space preclude point-by-point treatment of the sources of the Schifaldo treatise, a collection of *testimonia* has been provided which for the most part limits itself to indicating the author's reliance on the two sources most prominently named, Priscian and Valla; a full treatment of Schifaldo's post-antique sources is to be provided on another occasion.

Libellus cuius index est de indagationibus grammaticis per Magistrum Thomam Schifaldum, theologiae professorem et vatem laurea donatum, ad illustrem et generosum virum D(ominum) Aloysium Rocquisensem. Prologus.

Philistenes Atheniensis orator, Aloysi generose, etsi in nullo ferme 5
dicendi genere ceteris Graeciae oratoribus inferior felicioribus illis temporibus censebatur, quom bonarum artium studiis disciplinisque longe lateque Graecia ipsa effloret, eius tamen et auctoritas et famae propagatio extincta penitus videtur, quippe quom inertiae gulae titillantibusque voluptatibus quam lucubrationibus scriptionibusque eruditissimo homine dignis indulgere maluerit. nam si cogitationes suas ab illo suo 10
prope divino profectas ingenio litteris mandavisset, et posteris quidem gratum haud dubie fecisset et voluptuariae rei infamiam effugisset; sed immortalitati suae consulere aut abnuat insipienter aut imprudenter ignoravit: quocirca periisse funditus tot dicendi labores quis non videt? 15
nos autem, sapientiores imitati et | eos qui famae aeternitati consuluerunt, post longos edocendi praecipiendique labores hoc quicquid est quod possumus scriptis mandare decrevimus, ut exercitationibus nostris et quantulumcumque industria recte de nobis sentientibus prodesse valeamus. quare cum saepe alias tum vel maxime hoc tempore, quom 20
Messanae, quae nobilissima est Siciliae civitas, publico salario honestatus publice praeciperem <et> grammaticorum tum veterum tum recentium commentarios lectitarem, de grammaticis praeceptionibus quosdam recte locutos animadverti; verum tamen grammaticas illas sive diffinitiones sive descriptiones appellare mavis ita tenuiter exiliter 25
que degustant, ut explicandum ulterius nihil offerant et oblatum nihil explicant. credo equidem eos ad huiusmodi artis verecundiam spectare fuisse arbitratos, nihil ultra grammaticae sortem facultatemque exquirere, ne in alienas possessiones temere irrupisse censerentur. sed neminem fere latet philosophiam, quam merito quidem primam Peripatetica cohors appellat, omnium esse bonarum artium indagatricem, 30

17 possumus] pos-ssumus *N* 22 et *supplevi* 30f Peripatetica] peripathetica *N*
31 cohors] choors *N*

27-29 cf. Macrob. *Sat.* I.24.12-13

omnibus imperare et veluti de suo lumine ceteris offerre. qua ex re
 si quid in grammaticis institutionibus | praeceptisque <est> quod
 propter rei excellentiam attingere grammatici nequeant, habent profecto
 35 studiosi fontem redivivum, unde haec haurire penitus possint, non
 tamen ut hanc ipsam artem hoc pacto pueros edoceant, at ut artis
 abstrusa principia scire cupientibus Latine eleganterque edisserant.
 quod si a barbaris et Latinae linguae imperitis hoc munus exigendum
 sit, malo me ignorare quam male addiscere. extant enim commentarioli
 40 cuiusdam boni quidem viri quos insulsissime et Scythico potius quam
 Latino eloquio de orationis partibus scriptos reliquit. disserit enim
 acutissime partium orationes, significandi modos, sed eius oratio adeo
 sordet, adeo putet, ut perpolitos sane homines, quos orationis facundia
 ac comitate allicere debuit, veluti saxis atque ruderibus abegerit. igitur
 45 a nostro grege ea disputatio admittenda erit, quae a philosophorum
 fontibus emergit atque variis frondibus floribusque vernat, ut nec
 doctrinae verba egeant nec leporis oratio. quare meam hanc sententiam
 secutus id operis sum aggressus, ut quae ab aliis aut indicta <sunt
 aut dicta> perperam, quae ad acutam disserendi rationem de partibus
 50 | orationis spectant, liquido aperiamus. itaque ut nullum humeri onus
 refugiant, hanc quoque provinciam cepimus, ut Priscianum Latinae
 linguae cultorem, ne dicam parentem, contra obtrectatorum morsus
 pro exigua facultate nostra protegeremus. quod si tanto viro patrocinari
 non posse existimabimur, saltem pietatis officia homini de lingua Latina
 55 bene merenti offerre videbimur. tu vero, vir illustris atque ornatissime,
 munuscula nostra benigno animo suscipito, quippe qui his dignissimus
 in praesentia mihi censeris, cum propter cetera tum vel maxime quod
 tua in me collata beneficia nunc extant : quibus quidem nisi litterarum
 monumentis satisfacere nequeo. tuo igitur nomine libellus hic prae-
 60 scribitur, ut ore doctorum virorum versetur atque eruditas simul
 posteritatis aures circumsonare queat. pergamus igitur ad instituta
 et de indagationibus opusculum quod aggressi sumus in medium
 exponamus.

finis prologi.

32 ceteris] certis *N* 33 est *supplevi* 37 abstrusa] obstrusa *N* 39 addiscere]
 adiscere *N*² : ediscere *N*? 40 Scythico] scithico *N* 44 abegerit] abigerit *N* 46 vernat]
 vernet *N* 48 ut quae] utque *N* 48f sunt aut dicta *supplevi* 50 humeri (**)]
 Homeri *N*

| indagationes grammaticae per Magistrum Thomasum Schifaldum, 65
theologiae professorem et laureatum, ad Dominum Aloysium Rocqui-
senssem, virum illustrem et generosum, incipiunt feliciter.

artium scriptores tum Graeci tum Latini, quom de grammaticis
praeceptionibus dicere quicquam docereque aggressi sunt, a litteris
exorsi non temere videntur. quocirca grammaticen quadrifariam distri- 70
buisse videntur alii, alii vero alio ordine, prout quisque sibi persuaserit,
definientes omnes grammatices ipsius partes. nos autem praetermittere
huiusmodi diffinitiones, quae de litteris, syllabis, et dictionibus in
medium afferuntur, consulto duximus, quom manifestissimum esset
ex antiquorum recentiumque praeceptis intelligere quattuor esse partes 75
grammatices, quinque vocales Latinas et unam ad Graecas dictiones
conscribendas, sexdecim consonantes in semivocales et mutas distri-
butas, tali quidem lege ut semivocales a vocali incipiant et in se
desinant, <mutae autem a se incipiant et in vocali desinant,> quarum
profecto litterarum natura est ut in 'e' desinant praeter 'k', 'q' et 'x'. 80
vocales tamen | proprios habent nativosque sonos, adeo ut nisi unico
charactere et unico sono exprimi nequeant: quod quidem apud ceteras
gentium linguas fieri minime invenies. nam Graeci compluribus charac-
teribus vocales suas conscribere possunt: hoc idem barbari et ceterae
peregrinae linguae efficere posse videntur. ex vocalibus et Graeci et 85
Latini diphthongos conficiunt, sed alii alia de causa. nam Graeci ex
primordiis vernaculae linguae nativaeque hoc habent, Romani vero
tum ceteris de causis tum vel maxime ut alienae linguae, ut puta
Graecae, monumenta significant. quare Latinae diphthongi Graecam
vocabuli originem indicare solent, ut "Phoebus" nulla alia de causa 90
diphthongo scribitur, nisi ut diphthongos Graeca, quae 'oi' appellatur
et producta habetur, per Latinam diphthongum exprimatur. indicare

77 sexdecim] sedecim N 79 mutae autem...desinant] lacunam, quae sane propter
homoeoteleuton post desinant (1^o) se pandit, exempli gratia implevi 91 diphthongos
Graeca] diphthongon Graecam N

74f cf. Diom. I.426.32-427.1 (= Varr. frg. 110 Goetz-Schoell); Prisc. II.3.5-10 75f cf.
Diom. I.426.21-31 (= Varr. frg. 109 Goetz-Schoell; cf. frg. 107) 76f cf. Prisc. II.9.9-10
78-79 cf. Explan. in Don. IV.520.18-20 (= Varr. frg.43 Goetz-Schoell); Prisc. II.8.7-8
(cf. Varr. frg. 40 Goetz-Schoell) et ibid. 11-22 80 de mutarum et semivocalium
distributione et praesertim de "k", "q", "x" litteris alii aliter sentiunt: cf. Jeep, LR 112ff
et testimonia quae Goetz-Schoell ad Varr. frg. 43 congesserunt 81-82 de vocalium
sonis, ut dicit, propriis nativisque aliter censet Prisc., cf. II.7.6-14 92f cf. Prisc.
II.24.15-16 (de "ei" diphthongo)

- quoque videntur diphthongi nostrae linguae vetustissimam originem, interdum vero differentias quorundam vocabulorum, quae profecto
 95 eadem omnino non in sensu, sed voce et scriptis esse videntur, ut
 “quae” quom relationem infert, et “que” dictio quae coniunctionis
 habet vim. sed in praesentia mihi curae non est quid inter elementum
 et litteram interest dicere, quom neminem | fere lateat elementum in
 voce, litteram in scriptis appellari: unde a “lituris” videlicet litteram
 100 vel <quasi “legiteram” a legendi> itinere dando appellatam scriptores
 artium censent. brevitatis quoque gratia praeterire mihi consilio fuit
 cetera quae de quarundam litterarum peculiari natura disputare solent,
 quemadmodum de ‘s’ littera, quae vim litterae saepenumero amittit,
 ut “ponite spes sibi quisque”, et de ‘m’, quae quom sit semivocalis,
 105 persaepe mutae officio fungatur atque in metro penitus abiiciatur. sed
 omissis his quae merito disputari possent, de oratione Latina et ipsius
 eloquiis properemus: quarum quidem rerum iucundissima disputatio
 et gratissima lectio recte de nobis sentientibus, tum etiam addiscere
 volentibus, videri poterit.
- 110 partes igitur Latinae orationis, quae ex grammatica ratione habentur,
 esse octo tam apud Graecos quam apud Latinos quis dubitat? sed de
 vocabulo brevissime in primis quippiam disserere non gravabimur. nam
 Romani Graecas voces facile imitantur et quom propriis et vernaculis
 possint ipsi vocabulis uti, graecizare malunt quam linguae suae se
 115 dedere: artem litterariam “grammaticam” | Romani vocabulum aliunde
 mutuatum imitantes vocitarunt; qua quidem arte unius cuiusque ser-
 monis ratio tum scribendo tum loquendo recte percipitur.

De partium numero

- partes in quas oratio ipsa dividitur (ut ab initio diximus) octo ex
 120 pluribus denique conflantur. “ex pluribus” dixi, propterea quod vetus-
 tiores, Stoici praesertim, multo plures esse aiebant: quibus quidem

96 “que”] quae N 100 quasi “legiteram” a legendi *supplevi* (coll. Prisc. II.6.12f)
 108 addiscere] adiscere N graecizare] -tare N

97-99 cf. Prisc. II.6.23-7.1 99-101 cf. Prisc. II.6.12f, III.108.13-15 103-104 cf.
 Prisc. II.32.1-3 cum Verg. *Aen.* XI.309 104-105 cf. Prisc. II.29.15-30.3 111f cf.
 Varr. frg. 108 Goetz-Schoell, Suet. *de gramm.* 4.1-2 116f cf. Quintil. *Inst.* I.4.2-3 et
 Jeep, *LR* 105f 119-122 de Stoicorum sententia et partibus “pluribus”, cf. Quintil. *Inst.*
 I.4.19-20 (de “pluribus” cf. etiam Prisc. II.54.23-55.3; sed Stoicis quinque tantum partes
 tribuit Prisc., II.54.8ff, cf. Serv. IV.428.12f, Cledon. V.34.23)

recentiores non assentientes octo partibus contentissimi sunt; dialectici vero a nostro grammaticorum grege secernantur, hac in re duas dumtaxat orationis perfectas partes omnino asserentes. sed orationem Latinam eam intelligo quae a grammaticis, non quae a rhetoribus 125 habetur. illa enim in sex partes distributa est et alia peculiari indagatione eget, de quibus alias (si Deo placet) loquemur.

prima igitur grammatices orationis pars cui melius rectiusque quam nomini indita esse potuit? habet enim nomen inter ceteras partes quandam significationis praerogativam—ut mox disputabimus, non 130 prius quam descriptionem illius, sive diffinitionem appellare mavis, atque vocabuli originem | in medium afferamus.

De nomine

nomen ergo pars est orationis (ut supra) substantiam cum qualitate <propria> vel communi significans, quod quidem “nomen” quasi “nota- 135 men” dictum scriptores artium voluerunt.

sed significare substantiam philosophica ratione, quom sic dicitur, non caret; multa tamen dubitanda non immerito in hac ipsa descriptione produntur; et primo disserendum est de qua substantia grammatici loquuntur, quom significare substantiam nomen asserunt. philo- 140 sophiae quidem studiosi, Aristotelis summi viri sententiam secuti, duplicem substantiam—primam, ut puta, atque secundam—esse praedicant: nomen igitur de quo grammatici disserunt primam substantiam significare nulli fit dubium, quae profecto accidentibus primo praecipueque substet. quod si altius subtiliusque cuncta rimari vellem, 145 dicere non ab re possem de utraque substantia grammaticos, quantum ad grammaticos spectat, disserere omnino posse. sed in praesentia de eo quod nobis aptissimum est et huic opusculo convenit, sermonem | faciemus. significare igitur substantiam dicitur nomen, propterea quod nomen habet suum significandi modum determinare, ut, quom ab 150 intellectu nostro percipitur, perceptio ipsa et comprehensio in eo quiescat. quare a quibusdam grammaticis subtilius hoc speculantibus

124 asserentes *N*²: disserentes *N* 126 habetur] habet *N* 135 propria *supplevi* (*coll. Prisc. II.56.28ff, Don. IV.373.1f, et 179, 351f inf.*): an sua (*) (*cf. 175 inf.*)? 138f descriptione] discrepatione *N*: fort. discretionem (*cf. 170 inf.*) 145 vellem] velim *N* 151 perceptio] praeceptio *N* 152 hoc] habet (*i.e. ht*) *N* (*errore ex abbreviaturae hc confusione exorto*)

122-124 *cf. Prisc. II.54.5-7* 126 *cf. Quintil. Inst. III.3.1-9* 126f *cf. 149ff inf.*
134f. *cf. Prisc. II.55.6; 56.29-57.1* 135f *cf. Prisc. II.57.3-5*

- nomen per modum habitus atque quietis et determinatae apprehensionis significare dicitur. nihil tamen nobis obstat grammatice loquentibus quod a calumniatoribus obiici solet. aiunt enim accidentium nomina, ut puta “nigritudo”, “rub(r)itudo”, “pallor” et reliqua huiusmodi, quom nomina sint, non substantiam, sed accidens omnino significare, quae substantiae inesse et ab eadem abesse sine ulla corruptione subiecti omnino possunt. quibus nos sic respondemus, grammaticos nihil aliud nisi significandi modum considerare, prout per modum habitus et quietis (ut supra diximus) apprehenditur. sed est ratio subtilior quae profecto de philosophia disputantibus praesto est. nam cunctis accidentibus quidam conceptus substantialis inest, cuius gratia suam accidentia ipsa quiditatem habent (ut philosophorum verbis utar) : quo fit ut per eundem | conceptum diffinitionem suam sortiantur. cuius rei gratia accidentium nomina a ratione substantiae non abhorrent. accedit tandem ad acutam respondendi rationem illa tenuis, usitata et paene vulgaris plebeiorum grammaticorum responsio. sufficere enim inquit ad hoc, ut nomen significet substantiam, per sexum variari praepositis articularibus pronominibus, in quibus discretio sexus dignoscatur. tunc enim quom id fit, sive a re substantiali sive a re accidentali nomen deducatur, virtute illius significationis, qua quieto percipiendi modo comprehenditur, significare substantiam dici nomen merito potest.
- 175 cum qualitate sua vel communi nomen significare substantiam a grammaticis vulgo dicitur : substantia enim individuata sine qualitate et quantitate esse intelligi non potest; non individuata sine his esse omnino potest, cum principia rerum “impermixta” a philosophis dicantur. qualitas tamen ipsius substantiae propria vel communis nihil aliud est grammatice nisi ut proprium nomen aut appellativum intelligamus. nomen igitur proprium, quod individuum significat, substantiam propriam significare | videtur; nomen vero appellativum, quod quidem multorum est, qualitatem communem indicat. quocirca quom de nomine proprio grammatici loquuntur, significare substantiam illud dicunt, quam primam intelligi in medium afferre non veremur, et

153 habitus] habitusque N 154 dicitur] dicunt N 156 rub<r>itudo] rubitudo N
 164 quiditatem N² (in marg.): qualitatem N 169 sexum] sex N 170 discretio] discreptio N

169f de articularibus pronominibus, cf. ad 413-423 inf. 179f cf. Prisc. II.57.9-62.10
 180ff cf. Prisc. II.57.4-7; 58.14-18, 25-59.1 184 cf. 140-145 sup.

qualitatem propriam vel communem nulla alia ratione dici, nisi proprii nominis aut appellativi gratia. nam substantivum nomen, ut mox edisseram, aut proprium aut appellativum esse liquet.

prima igitur nominis divisio sit haec, ut eorum aliud substantivum, aliud adiectivum dicatur. substantivum a substantia ipsa denominatur, 190 adiectivum vero ab adiacentia. est enim adiectivum quod adiacet alteri, scilicet substantivo: quae quidem ratio adiacendi cunctis accidentibus convenit, ut philosophiae periti acute disputant. hinc enim rhetorum campus, ut puta, adiectivis longe lateque patet: demonstrativum quippe genus unde, nisi adiectivis nominibus adhibetur? laudes 195 enim atque vituperationes, in quibus demonstrativum ipsum positum est, nomina ferme adiectiva sunt. nam "pii", "fortes", "temperantes", "iusti", "modesti", "fideles", "docti", "verique tenaces" huiusmodi nominibus | adiectivis nuncupantur, atque omnia ea tandem quae mortalibus in hac humana mortalique vita accidunt adiectivis nomini- 200 bus complectimur.

secunda divisio nominis est ut nomen aut proprium aut appellativum esse dicatur. proprium enim ut sit, a sui materia sortitum est, unde indivisionis principium habetur. materia enim ex qua "Tullius" constat, ita sua propriaque est, quae disposita prius Tullii formam accepit, ut 205 in nullo alio in tota rerum natura eadem inveniri queat. quare optime definierunt individuum indivisum esse in se et divisum a quovis alio. recte igitur proprium nomen his de causis a grammaticis appellatum est.

De appellativis

appellativum quoque nomen dicitur, proptereaquod communem mul- 210 torum naturam appellat. nam quom dico "lapidem", universam lapidum naturam appello: <nam omnigeni> quidem lapides communi appellatione eodem nomine intelliguntur. possunt tamen haec eadem appellativa propria fieri, ut si quis "Cupidinem nostram Deum tibi gratum" hoc ut proprio nomine nuncupare velit. quare a communi 215 multorum nomine appellativum | a grammaticis vocitatum est.

210 communem] commune N 212 nam omnigeni] lacunam, quae post appello dignoscenda est, exempli gratia implevi

186f cf. 202ff inf 191f cf. Jeep, *LR* 159ff 191f "adiectivum" ab "adi(i)ciendo" non ab "adiacendo" profectum esse dicit Prisc., II.58.20-22, cf. II.60.6, 84.4-5
195f cf. Prisc. II.60.6-7 203ff cf. Prisc. II.58.25ff ("in rebus est individuus, quas philosophi atomos vocant") et II.553.26 210f cf. Prisc. II.57.4-5, 58.14-18 213f cf. Diom. I.320.30, 322.10ff, Prob. IV.51.36-52.3, Serv. IV.406.33-407.1.

nomen siquidem proprium subdivisionem quandam apud Romanos accepit: distribuitur enim in praenomen, nomen, cognomen et agnomen. praenomen enim propriis nominibus praeponi solebat; nomen
 220 vero quasi notamen dicitur, propterea quod notat extra quod mente concipitur, ut numerari queat. quo quidem nomine alterum ab altero secernitur: ut, quom dicitur "Cicero", non intelligitur Cato [alter]. aliter enim humanum genus confusione quadam urgeretur. cognomen est ad familiam significandam inventum: hoc autem inde emersit,
 225 quod diversi diversarum familiarum eodem nomine nuncupantur. quam ob rem cognomen familiam unam ab aliis secernit, ita ut confundi nequeant. agnomen ab eventu fuit deductum, ut M. Cato Porcius Censorius appellatur, unde fit ut a censura quam prae ceteris sapienter gesserit agnomen sibi adinvenerit. cognomina vero (ut nihil studiosis
 230 viris sub caligine relinquatur) causam saepenumero suae adinventionis habuere ab agricultura rebusque agrestibus praesertim, non nunquam vero a rebus ridiculis. primus enim ex familia Fabiorum (ut Plinius Secundus Historiae libro xviii locupletissimus | testis est) a fabis, quas sulcis mandaverat — aliosque agricolas illud idem facere edocuerat —,
 235 Fabius cognominatus dicitur. Cicero quoque qui primus cognominatus est, ab electis ciceribus, quae quidem in agello suo obruerat atque inde copiose legerat, cognomen adinvenit; Serranus Cincinnatus, summus vir, a serendo fuit nuncupatus; et hi quidem a re rustica, ut praediximus. Asinae cognomen Romae celeberrimum (ut Macrobius
 240 in Saturnaliis meminit) refert ab asina quam auro onustam in forum adduxit; Scrofae quin etiam cognomen a scrofa, quam villico suo surripuit et sub centone sui stratus abdidit, illius familiae primus nactus est; Murenæ a murena quam avide comesse solebat qui primus hoc cognomine nuncupatus est. Corvinus Valerius Messala cognomi-

218 nomen *add.* *N*² 221 quo quidem (**)] quod quidem (*i.e.* qđquid) *N* 222 secernitur] secernatur *N* alter *seclusi* (**) 223 aliter] alter *N* 227 Porcius] portius *N*
 236 quidem] quod *N* (*cf.* 289 *inf.*) atque] sevitque vel *N* (*hac lectione, ut puto, ex glossemate* [viz. sevit *aut* vel sevit] *ad verbum* obruerat *explicandum inserto exorta*)
 237 legerat] legerit *N* 240 onustam] honustam *N*

217-219 *cf.* Prisc. II.57.12-13 219 *cf.* Prisc. II.57.13 219f *cf.* 135-136 sup. 223-227 *cf.* Prisc. II.58.5 227 *cf.* Prisc. II.58.5-6 232f *cf.* Plin. *N.H.* XVIII.3.10
 235-237 *cf.* Plin. *ibid.* 237f de Serrano, *cf.* Plin. *N.H.* XVIII.4.20 (unde et Cincinnatus importune evocatus est) 239-243 *cf.* Macrobius. *Sat.* I.6.29f 243f *cf.* Macrobius. *Sat.* III.15.1-2 (e Varr. *R.R.* III.3.10) 244f *cf.* Gell. *N.A.* IX.11

natus est a corvo qui Gallum secum proeliantem oculis imminens 245
 infestabat, Scaurus a scauro pisce; sic Scipio a baculo, quoniam pater
 "nostrae senectae" veluti "baculus" videbatur, primus ex illa familia
 appellatus est. Caesar quoque, quod quidem cognomen silentio prae-
 teriri non debet, a caeso matris utero vel a caesarie | cum qua natus
 est vel ab elephante interempto primus ex ea familia appellatus est. 250
 et ne sim longior, omitto cetera quae in medium merito afferri possent.

reliquum nunc mihi esse videtur ut de his dicere pergamus quae
 a natura ipsorum nominum fluere videntur. ea enim a grammaticis
 nominum accidentia vocitantur, a nobis autem consequentia naturae
 nominum non ab re dici queunt: sic enim adhaerent naturae nominum, 255
 ut sine his nunquam fere nomen esse queat intelligi. quinque autem
 huiusmodi accidentia esse ab artium scriptoribus omnino dicuntur.

primum enim accidens "speciei" nomen habet; longe diversa tamen
 est ab ea specie quam philosophiae ac dialecticae periti in medium
 adducunt, quae quidem sub genere ponitur, et de ea longe lateque 260
 disputatur: cuius disputatio a proposito nostro longe abest. grammatici
 sed enim speciem vocitant primam aut secundariam cuiusque rei
 annotationem, quam primitivam et derivativam vicissim appellant. una
 quaeque profecto res a naturae primordiis nomen suum diversum a
 diversis nationibus sortita est: hoc enim nomen, quod <est> proprium 265
 ad significandam rem, primae sive prioris speciei | esse dicitur; quod
 autem ab hoc est profectum, adhortante natura rei sermonisque deri-
 vativam speciem complexum dicimus. nam "mons" ab initio a Latiis
 nuncupatus est, quod quidem nomen primo adinventum primitivae
 speciei esse dixerunt. inde "montanus" montis incolam appellarunt, 270
 quod quidem nomen derivativae speciei grammatico more esse voluere.
 omnia tamen haec ab arte Latia, quae naturam imitari vult, profecta
 esse liquido constant.

245 imminens] imminente *N* 252 reliquum] -qum *N* 254 consequentia] -quenti *N*
 265 est *supplevi* 269 adinventum] inad- *N*

246 cf. Plin. *N.H.* XI.105.254 ("pede") 247 cf. Vulg. *Tob.* 10.4 248-250 cf. Plin.
N.H. VII.7.47 (de caeso matris utero), Paul. Fest. Gl.Lat.IV.162 (de caesarie), Serv. ad
Aen. I.286 (de elephante): etymologias illas diversas uno loco congerit H.A. *Ael.* 2.3
 256 f cf. Prisc. II.57.8 (de accidentibus sex, vide e.g. Don. IV.373.4; de accidentibus octo,
 Prob. IV.51.21 ff) 262 ff cf. Prisc. II.57.9-11 ("primitiva" codd. Prisc. praeter P)

secundum nominis accidens genus a grammaticis peritis merito nuncupatur. longe tamen abest ab eo genere de quo philosophiae studiosi
 275 disputant. nanque grammaticum genus a sexus descriptione sumitur : quae quidem descriptio non posset liquido intelligi nisi per septem genera ratio nominis ad discernendum sexum distribueretur. sed ut huiusce rei medullam attingamus, dicere merito possum duo esse genera
 280 ipsorum nominum, quae quidem natura novit; quinque vero reliqua ab arte, quae naturae commoda speculatur et eam quoad potest imitatur, sunt profecta. natura enim masculinum femininumque genus recte intuetur : nam ex mare et femina sive | ex simillimis naturis quicquid est naturae rerum constare videtur. his igitur duabus naturis
 285 sexus discernitur. additur deinde a grammaticis genus tertium, quod "neutrum" vulgo dicitur : hoc enim masculinum femineumque negare videtur, quom sint quaedam nomina in rerum natura quae nec sexum masculinum nec sexum femininum recte significant. quom enim dicimus "saxum", nullum quidem aut maris aut feminae sexum discernimus.
 290 quocirca per utriusque abnegationem neutrum genus Latini vocitarunt. quartum genus "commune" appellant, quod quidem a ratione maris et feminae non discedit : est enim commune utrique, ut "homo", quod profecto nomen ad marem feminamve referri potest. quintum vero genus "omne" a nostratibus nuncupatur : id enim a discretionem masculini femineique generis non recedit, sed confusum illud quoque genus,
 295 quod "neutrum" nuncupatur, una amplectitur. sextum genus "promiscuum" a Latiis, "epicoenon" vero a Graecis appellatur : hoc enim masculinum femineumque naturae sexum non discrete, sed quasi una eademque voce utrumque connotat : quom dico "Aquilam", hac voce

274 grammaticis *N*: fort. grammaticae 276 descriptione] discriptione *N*: fort. discretionem (*cf.* 227 et 294 *inf.*, 170 *sup.*) 281f ab arte, quae...speculatur et...quod potest imitatur (*) (*v.* 272 *sup.* et 284ff, 805 *inf.*)] aperte, quae...speculantur et...quod possunt imitantur *N*: fort. ab arte, quia...speculantur et...quod possunt imitantur 289 quidem] quod *N* (*errore ex abbrev. qđ exorto, cf.* 369 *inf.*) 294 discretionem] discriptionem *N* 297 epicoenon] epichenos *N*

274ff *cf.* Prisc. II.141.4ff 279f *cf.* Prisc. II.141.4-5 et 308ff *inf.* 283f *cf.* Prisc. II.141.5-6 285-288 *cf.* Prisc. II.141.9-10 291f *cf.* Prisc. II.141.8-9 293ff *cf.* Prisc. II.141.19-21 (ubi inter "communia" hoc genus "omne" numeratur, sicut apud Diom. I.301.9-12; sed de genere "omni", vide sis I.534.6-7, Prob. IV.52.31ff, Serv. IV.408.7-8, Pomp. V.160.27-28, 32-161.3) 296-300 *cf.* Prisc. II.141.14-15; sed de "aquila" vocabulo (quod inter "dubia" numerari videtur apud Prisc. II.169.6ff), *cf.* Charis. I.17.14-15, 153.17-20 (= 15.17-20, 194.19-23B.). Diom. I.301.16-17, Don. IV.375.22-24, Serv. IV.408.13-14

feminea utrumque sexum significo. septimum | atque postremum deni- 300
que genus "dubium" a Latinis appellatur, non quod dubitanter hoc
septimum genus addiderint, sed quod propria et peculiari auctoritate
veteres Latini sub diverso genere protulerunt. Virgilius Maro "dama"
in masculino genere protulit in bucolico carmine, quom dixit, "cum
canibus timidi venient ad pocula damae"; Horatius vero Flaccus in 305
feminino proferre maluit, quom dixit in primo libro carminum, "et
superiecto pavidae natarunt aequore damae". quare quom septem
nominum genera ab artium scriptoribus in medium afferantur, duo
tamen sunt ea quae naturae ratio novit: ad quae quidem cetera
artificiosa quadam ratione referuntur, ut ars Latinae linguae diserta 310
undique ornatu suo esse videatur.

tertium nominis accidens (ut unde digressi sumus ad propositum
revertamur) numerus appellatur: de quo quidem numero multiplex
et varia est disputatio apud praestantes viros, praesertim apud arith-
metricos, quorum ratio disputandi hinc proficisci videtur. tanta enim 315
est huiusmodi numerorum vis atque veluti quaedam maiestas, ut
non puduerit Pythagoram Samium et sectatores illius dicere | tum
animum ipsum nominum tum ceterarum huiusce<modi> rerum naturam
atque compagem incorruptibilem ex numeris ipsis constare. quare non
temere grammatici nominibus ipsis numerum accidere tradidere, quippe 320
cum duobus numeris, singulari ut puta et plurativo, omnia huiusmodi
nomina penitus censentur. est enim omne quod nominatur aut unicum
aut multiplex: si unicum, singularis numeri dicitur, si multiplex vero,
plurativi; medium nullo pacto inveniri potest; et a "nutu mentis"
numerus nuncupatus est. 325

quartum nominis accidens figura ab artium scriptoribus appellatur,
quae quidem a fingendo nomen adinvenit. namque omne nomen
ratione grammatica aut simplex—hoc est, sine aliqua plica et concre-
tione plurium vocum—aut multis simul vocibus connexis esse videtur
in sua significandi ratione. quam ob rem si priore [loco] modo nomen 330
esse videatur, tunc simplicis figurae esse dicitur; si autem secundo

300 utrumque] virumque *N*
rerum *N* modi *supplevi*

312 digressi] digressi *N*

330 modo *N*²: loco modo *N*

318 ceterarum *N*²: ceterarum

300-303 cf. Prisc. II.141.16-17

304f Verg. *E*.8.28, cf. Prisc. II.144.15-16

306f Hor.

c.I.2.11f, cf. Prisc. II. II.144.17-19

315ff cf. Aristot. *Met.* 985b22ff

319-324 cf.

Prisc. II.172.2-4

324f Schifald. originem "numinis" non "numeri" adducere videtur:

cf. Varr. *L.L.* VII.85 (=p. 115.12f Goetz-Schoell, cum testt.), Lucr. III.144

327 cf.

Varr. *L.L.* VI.78, Gell. *N.A.* XIII.30.2

modo efferatur, tunc figurae compositae merito vocabitur. nam figura ipsa exprimit veluti imaginem quandam nominis, qua aut simplex, ut primo adinventum est, aut compositum, ut ab arte consti- tutum, 335 esse censeatur. quibus duabus rebus grammaticorum ratio tertiam figuram inde deductam addidit, quam "decompositam" quasi a composito compositam esse novimus. quom enim dicimus "animum", figuram et veluti imaginem huiusce nominis simpliem ostentamus; sed quom "magnanimum" vocitamus, figuram nominis non simplicem sed 340 duplicem offerimus, ut puta "animum magnum"; deinde quom "magnanimitatem" virtutem illam moralem nuncupamus, a "magnanimo", quod quidem compositum est nomen, ut praediximus, derivatam omnino videmus.

quintum accidens ipsorum nominum [est] casus supradicta ratione 345 dicitur, qui quidem a cadendo eo quod diversimode cadat quom nomen declinatur vocitatus est : aliter enim nomen ipsum in nominativo, aliter in genetivo et in reliquis cadere liquido videtur, quo fit ut merito ab artium scriptoribus casus appellatus sit. sed quom hic inter nomi- num accidentia connumeretur, alibi in diffinitionibus nominis differen- 350 tiae loco ponitur : quom enim dicitur quid nomen significet, a gram- maticis respondetur nomen significare substantiam cum qualitate pro- pria vel communi cum casu. | quocirca casus differre facit nomen ab ipso verbo et substantiva quaedam differentiam ipsius nominis <...> ratio videtur. nihil tamen refert unam eandem<que> rem diversi- 355 mode consideratam diversis inservire officiis diversisque rebus accom- modari, alia tamen atque alia, ut praediximus, ratione in medium adducta. casus enim, ut praefatus sum, secernit a verbo nomen et hoc peculiare in primis sibi vendicat : quocirca gerundiva nomina a nonnullis existimantur, proptereaquod inflexiones casuales habere vide- 360 antur, qua quidem ex re maxime non esse verba videntur. altera deinde ipsius casus vis est, ut diversa nominis officia secernantur. nam aliud

333 aut] ut *N* 344f est *seclusi* (**) (*de casu nihil adhuc dictum est; sed fort. elocutio supradicta ratione ad rationem "figurae" nominis iam redditam [327 sup.] spectat*): an est casus, supradicta ratione dictus, ... *legend.* (*)? 354 *lacuna post nominis haud dubie dignoscenda est* eandem <que> (*) (*cf. 298f sup.*)] eandem *N*

332-335 cf. Serv. IV.408.20-22 ("naturalis" vs. "quae ex arte fit"), unde Pomp. V. 169.2-5 (*cf. ibid.* 178.10-12) 335ff cf. Prisc. II.177.10-13 344-348 cf. Prisc. II. 184.1-5 350-352 cf. Don. IV.373.2-3 et praesertim Serv. IV.406.22-28 358-360 cf. Prisc. II.1410.7ff (*de "gerundivis", quae "nomina verbalia" appellat et a "gerundiis vel supinis" secernit*)

est eiusce officium et ratio quom in recto profertur : tunc enim cunctis fere verbis actionem significantibus praeponi in oratione solet in transitione quadam sui ipsius actus. quom vero cadit a recto, genetivam conficit rationem, quo quidem casu possessiones nostras omnium fere rerum nuncupamus : sic enim dicimus “regna regum”, “imperia imperatorum”, “divitias divitum”, “agros civium”, “uxores virorum”, “humanos artus hominum, ceteros ferarum animantiumque reliquorum”, quae quidem oratio in rerum natura | longe lateque patet. quom autem inde excidit id est genetivo, fit alia casus ratio : quam quidem dativam appellamus, unde dativus casus dicitur. hic enim in dandis rebus tantam vim habet, ut nomen inde sortiatur. sed inde excedens accusativa ratio emergit, unde accusativus casus habetur. hic enim accusativus <est> non quidem in foro iudiciali, a quo profecto nostra ratio longe abest; sed “accusamus” quasi vocamus quamvis rem ad illum actum, ut significet se complexam atque teneri, ut sub ea ratione exprimatur adesse volenti, videatur : ut gratia exempli, si me dicam amare virtutem, advoco ad meum amandi actum et amore meo complexam ostendo. abiens inde ratio vocativum casum constituit. hoc enim vocamus quae a nobis longe absunt, quando quidem ita res humanae comparatae sunt, ut quaedam adsint nobis, quaedam vero longe absint secundum plus minusve. sed hic casus dumtaxat vocandi adverbio aut impresso aut expresso eget. postremo casus ratio in ablativum emigravit. hic enim ablativus eo quod res cum a nobis tum a ceteris aufert appellatus est. sed maximam habet affinitatem cum | genetivo, unde Graeci supervacuum ablativum existimantes genetivo pro eo contenti sunt. sed tamen Latini non irrationabiliter et ablativum addiderunt et eo uti eleganter vulgo duxere. hac enim de causa pro genetivis primitivorum pronominum derivativis in ablativo casu et non in alio Romani usi videntur, ut “mea interest” et “sua refert”, ut planius suo loco, si Deo placet, disputabimus.

369 quidem] quod *N* (aut error ex qđ abbrev. exortus intellegend. [cf. 289 sup.] aut lacuna post natura dignoscend.) 370 id est genetivo (i.e., ·i· gto) fort. secludend. 374 est supplevi 376 illum *N*²: illius *N* (= “illius [sc. verbi]”? cf. 378 ad meum amandi actum), fort. recte 376f atque teneri...videatur] sub hac structura vix concinna aliqui error videtur latere et haud scio an verbum videatur secludendum sit 378 virtutem *N*: fort. virtutem, <virtutem>, cf. 1139 inf.

364-366 cf. Prisc. II.185.17-19 384f cf. Charis. I.154.11-12 (= 195.18B.), Pomp. V. 183.9-10, Prisc. II.186.2 385f cf. Diom. I.302.4-7, Pomp. V.171.12-20, 182.34ff, Prisc. II.190.16-191.13 388-391 cf. 866-910 inf.

quas ob res inanis et supervacanea illa nobis quaestio esse videtur,
 cui molesti interpellatores multum tribuunt. quaerunt enim quor decli-
 natio inter illa quinque nominum accidentia non connumeretur, quom
 395 accidere quoque nomini videatur. sed levis admodum responsio subi-
 ciatur et tali quidem quaestione digna. casus enim qui postremus
 inter illa quinque connumeratus est declinationem ipsam implicitam
 complectitur. nam declinatio fit per casus, quom ex altero in alterum
 et inde ad ceteros declinando procedimus. sed quom hoc ita sit,
 400 diceret quispiam, "quid dicendum est de his nominibus quae nullo
 pacto declinantur et aptota sunt?" nos vero iure respondere possumus,
 "si non declinantur, nobis favet ratio, quia | tunc non est opus ut
 declinatio ipsa inter accidentia nominis referatur. si vero intrinsecus
 et implicite saltem declinari habeant, tunc effecti sumus per respon-
 405 sionem nostram superiorem propositi compotes". eadem ratione quor
 non accidat nomini persona connumeranda inter haec quinque acci-
 dentia superius dicta quaerere calumniatores possent atque de pluribus
 aliis quae eandem afferrent dubitationem; breviter autem, ne verbosi
 videamur, omnia suis locis accommodanda sunt. quocirca quom de
 410 pronominibus sermonem faciemus, de personis ipsius nominis dissere-
 mus.

de articulo

articulus mihi videbatur dignus qui inter huiuscemodi accidentia
 connecteretur, quippe cum nominibus declinandis praeponatur. verum
 415 tamen Latina ratio hoc non exigit, proptereaquod Romani articulos
 non habent, ut Caesariensis grammaticus locupletissimus utriusque
 linguae testis est. sed utimur pro his quibusdam pronominibus quae
 articularia pronomina appellamus. a scriptura tamen Latina longe
 absunt et nullo utuntur officio: quod quidem Graecis contra accidit.
 420 nam et in declinando articulis utuntur et scripturae suae | ita inserunt
 ut sine his nihil fere explicatum haberent. quapropter inter octo
 orationis partes, ubi Latini interiectionem, inibi Graeci articulum
 collocant.

339 procedimus *N*²: proscedimus *N*? 401 aptota] optata *N* 422 ubi (*)] ob *N*

414-418 cf. Prisc. II.54.13-18, 581.21-582.2 (cf. Plin. dub. serm. frg. 101 della Casa)
 421 f cf. Iul. Roman. apud Charis. I.190.14-16 (= 246.26-247.3 B.), Don. IV.372.27-28,
 Pomp. V.135.3-24. Prisc. II.54.26-55.3

satis superque hactenus de nomine et nominis accidentibus dixisse videmur, et qua ratione grammatici nomen ipsum sua diffinitione 425 dignum existimaverint et unde <nomina casuum> obliquorum deducta sint et a diversis officiis nuncupata nec plura nec pauciora esse debere <accidentia nominis liquido aperuimus> profligantes calumniatorum argumentationes, et quid tandem de articulis tenendum esse existimaverim in hoc primo volumine brevi libamine contentus paucis 430 disserui. inde ad reliqua pergamus.

Prologus secundi libri

magna et consummata probitate persaepe viri modestiam gravitatemque suam ita fovere arbitrati sunt, si suarum cogitationum levioribus in rebus nihil prorsus scriptis relinquerent, ne in parva re gloriam 435 quaerere existimarentur. recte fortasse id quidem: nam quid est per Deum immortalem quod non recte a sapientibus fieri credatur? est tamen mortalibus inditum ut suum cuique et illud quidem diversum sit velle. unde illud tritum vetustate | proverbium est, quo et Cicero admiranda eloquentia vir est usus: "quot capita, tot sententiae". nos 440 enim aliorum sententiam modestiamque minime aspernantes nostram in praesentia sequi maluimus. quam ob rem, si perperam fortasse munus nostrum aggressi sumus, veniam petimus ab his qui secum sentiant si nullo livore perciti nulla subdola animi simultate lucubrationes nostras censere duxerint. quod si quispiam in tantam vesaniam 445 impellatur, ut studiosos doctosque viros mordere obtrectareque sibi persuaserit, ipse viderit. nos vero propositum munus pro ingenii facultate persequamur.

Prologi finis

multa sunt in Latinae linguae ratione quae etsi a grammaticis 450 passim disseruntur, tamen non inter eos ita convenit ut in controversia

424 superque *N*²: superque videmur *N* (sed fort. a verbo videmur primo manum abstinere melius est et verbum videmur alterum secludere [*]) 426 existimaverint] -vere *N* nomina casuum *supplevi* 427 debere] debuerint *N* 428 accidentia nominis liquido aperuimus *exempli gratia supplevi* 430 libamine (cf. 603 *inf.*)] limine *N* 433 consummata] consummata *N*

424-426 cf. 134-251 sup. (de nominis definitione) 426f cf. 360-391 sup. (de casuum nominibus officiisque) 427-429 cf. 392-408 sup. (de accidentium numero calumniatorumque argumentationibus) 429 cf. 413-423 sup. 439f. Cic. *de fin.* I.5.15 ("quot homines, tot sententiae" = Ter. *Phorm.* 454; cf. Hor. *serm.* II.1.27)

non relinquantur quae explicari liquido debuissent. de his sermonem
 facere omnino duxi brevius quam tanta res dici queat. sed loquar in
 primis de nominum speciebus tam primitivorum quam derivativorum,
 455 ut ea quae sunt in controversia, non ea quae constant apud omnes,
 explicare queam; et primo de comparativis nominibus, de quibus
 quidem Priscianus, vir Graecus a patre tamen Romano oriundus,
 | utriusque linguae peritissimus, eleganter elocutus est : cuius doctrinam
 qui carpunt a benignitate naturae atque ab humano commercio ab-
 460 horrere videntur. nam Romanae linguae praecepta undique dispersa
 in unum redegit librum in decem et octo volumina distributum, quamvis
 de constructione divisus a magno codice libellus videatur. hunc enim
 nostrae aetatis vir disertissimus Laurentius Vallensis Romanus tum
 sobole tum eloquio lacèssit, immo lacerat et mordicus interdum ita
 465 dilaniat, ut non hominem de lingua Latina bene merentem, sed Getas
 Romanum imperium invadentes carpere sibi persuaserit. revertar ad
 id quod proposui. Priscianus “fit” inquit “comparatio vel ad unum
 vel ad plures tam sui generis quam alieni” et reliqua. hoc enim
 eleganter dictum Valla reprehendit, inquiens comparativum non nisi
 470 inter duos locum habere, superlativum vero ad plura referri debere
 quotiens comparatio fiat ad ea quae sunt eius modi generis : quam
 quidem objectionem ut tueri possit, multas adducit in medium et
 rationes et auctoritates. nos vero non ut talem tantumque virum
 oppugnare decreverimus, sed ut linguae Latinae parenti | pro virili
 475 nostra opitulemur, pace Laurentii dicimus magnam habere vim et ius
 suum disserendi de grammatica Prisciani sententiam suis rationibus
 atque auctoritatibus confirmatam. illud tamen quod Prisciano obiicitur
 videri potius doctis viris superstitiosa curiositas quam nuda veritas
 omnino potest. nanque inter duos comparativum optime locum habet,
 480 ut “manuum fortior est dextera quam sinistra”, non tamen abducitur
 ne ad plures etiam sui generis referri queat. hoc enim quod dicimus,
 ne carere auctoritate videatur, clarissimorum Romanorum exemplis
 in re clarissima atque auctoritatibus utemur; sed quoniam compen-
 485 denti erimus, ceteras autem tute requirito ex bonorum auctorum

459 commercio] -tio N 461 distributum] -te N

456ff cf. Prisc. II.83.1-94.13 462-466 cf. 468ff et 493ff, 520ff, 1092ff inf. 467-
 468 Prisc. II.85.16-17 468ff cf. Vall. *Elegant.* I.13 (p. 16ff)

libris: "sic ego Sardoniis videar tibi amarior herbis". sed quoniam in hoc secundo libro patrociniū pro virili portione eidem Prisciano me praestare duxi contra obrectatores suos, non erit ab re sermonem facere de his quae diversis in locis et voluminibus mordetur tanquam malus linguae Latinae indagator. de comparativis pauca degustavimus, 490 de superlativis multo minora dicemus, propterea quod a plebeis | magistris in uno quoque fere puerorum ludo discuti quottidie solet. illud tamen non est silentio praetereundum quod Laurentius Vallensis contra eundem Priscianum ait: "Prisciano" inquit "videtur, si cetera paria navigia aliquod paulo antecelleret, dicendum maius ceteris; si 495 multo, maximum omnium. malim ego dicere per comparativum", et reliqua. haec ille. sed quid est per Deum hac calumnia calumniosius? vult enim videri tam acutus ut acumen suum infamia laedat. quocirca verbis credendum puto, confutata illa nova opinione in qua Valla dicit quasi gradus quosdam sive excellentiae sive defectus superlativum 500 ponere. quod si hoc aliquando accadat ut fiat, non a proposito auctorum bonorum, sed ab eventu accidisse docti viri existimant. quod autem superlativum hos quos dixi gradus non exigit, satis superque nobis sint quas ipse Priscianus auctoritates suum propositum probantes adducit: nos novas adducere profecto veremur. sed quoniam (ut 505 praefati sumus) Priscianum Marte nostro, ut aiunt, pro viribus defendimus aut, si minus defendimus propter ingenii tenuitatem, tutelam tamen nostram quantulumcumque tali tantoque viro obtulimus, idcirco | patrocinemur in ceteris quae illi obiiciuntur. Laurentius igitur Vallensis quom de quibusdam verborum formis, ut puta de inchoativis, desiderativis atque meditativis scriberet, Priscianum dilacerare non desinit, et primo de inchoativis in "sco" terminatis, ut "calesco", "frigesco" et similia, quae Priscianus inchoativa verba, quoniam inchoationem dicuntur significare, ostendit—illa vero quae in "so", ut "viso", desiderativa, quoniam desiderium significant, illa in "rio" meditativa, 515 quoniam meditationem significant, appellari voluit, clarorum virorum sectatus sententiam: nam Priscianus ipse ceteros praestantissimos

487 hoc N²: hoc loco N
significat] significant N

489 mordetur] morderetur

512 ut N²: et N

515 signi-

486 Verg. *E.7.41* ("immo ego..."; cf. *E.9.30*) 494-496 Vall. *Elegant. I.13* (p. 17) ("paululum antecederet"); cf. Prisc. II.85.16-86.13, 94.15-20 502-505 cf. 494-496 sup. 512-517 cf. Prisc. II.427.16-429.9 (de "inchoativis"), 431.10-18 (de "desiderativis"), 429.10-18 (de "meditativis")

grammaticos tum Graecos tum Latinos lectitaverat, quom ipse Latini-
 520 norum nuperrimus esset; quocirca Virgilio auctoritates passim adduxit,
 ut “aegrescitque tuendo” et reliqua. sed Laurentius Prisciano adver-
 satur, dicens non inchoationem sed vehementiam significare, adducens
 quasdam auctoritates quae, etsi opinioni suae suffragari videantur,
 Prisciano tamen non obstant, quom et mille aliae auctoritates ad
 Prisciani propositum ceterorumque Romanorum itidem sententium
 525 adduci queant. ego enim paucissimis controversiam, immo calumniam,
 huiusce acutissimi viri | diluere volo. nanque Laurentii rationes non
 ab re sunt neque a proposito suo longe abhorrent; verum tamen in
 hoc claris viris displicuisse videtur, quod eas dumtaxat rationes et
 auctoritates perquisivit quae sententiam clarorum auctorum aut infrin-
 530 gere aut laedere possent, infinitas tamen <tum> alias rationes tum
 auctoritates veterum et recentium quae ipsi suffragarentur penitus
 omisit. quare non singulatim cunctis Laurentii verbis respondere duxi
 quae Prisciano obiiciuntur, sed significare quid in tali tantaque Lau-
 rentii obtreptione tenendum non fuerit. quare verba terminata in
 535 “sco” inchoativa (ut Prisciano et vetustioribus placet) dicenda sunt,
 et quae in “so”, ut “viso”, desiderativa, quae vero in “rio”, ut
 “exurio”, meditativa, nihil Prisciano obstantibus Vallae rationibus
 quibus ingeniosas clarorum virorum lucubrationes obtreptare carpe-
 reque nititur. haec autem perquam brevissime disputata in praesentia
 540 sufficiant, quom non a proposito sed nacti occasionem in huius rei
 mentionem inciderimus. pergamus igitur ad instituta et, quemadmodum
 in primo volumine de nomine eiusque accidentibus disseruimus, ita
 in hoc secundo de verbis simplicibus eorumque accidentibus | quoad
 possumus disputabimus. in tertio vero volumine quod quidem nostro
 545 labori (si Deo placet) finem imponet multis aliis de rebus, quo mor-
 dacibus parem gratiam referam, disputare non verebimur. idque hac-
 tenus.

De verbis

de verbis cuiusvis generis formaeque atque naturae scripturo se
 550 mihi obtulerunt forte fortuna praeter intentionem quaedam quae in-

528 eas *N*²: eos *N* 530 tum *supplevi* 544 possumus] posse *N* in tertio...
 volumine] interiectio...volumini *N*

520 cf. *Aen.*XII.46 (“aegrescitque medendo”: quem versum Prisc. inter “frequentativa”
 adducit, II.430.25-431.1, cf. etiam Vall. *Elegant.* I.22 [p. 29]) et *Aen.*I.713 (“ardescitque
 tuendo”) 520f cf. Vall. *Elegant.* I.22 (p. 29) 545-546 cf. 1082-1205 inf.

praesentiarum a quibusdam recentioribus disputabantur : quibus quidem paucis respondisse videbimur, longius tamen prolixiusque quantum ad rem pertinet et libelli compendium patitur postremo respondemus. ut autem propositum persequamur, a definitione ipsius verbi exordiamur. est igitur verbum orationis Latinae pars quae actionem passionemque vicissim adhibitis modis, formis temporibusque significat. sed quoniam verbum suapte natura actionem vel passionem significare docuimus, urgent rustice quidam dicentes omne verbum aut activum aut passivum dumtaxat dici debere, seclulis ceterorum verborum naturis generibusque, | adeo ut nec neutra nec deponentia nec communia nec neutra passiva nec neutropassiva inter illa connumeranda sint. nos autem priusquam incepta persequamur ad unguem, huic objectioni, ne nobis sit ad cetera disserenda impedimento, breviter respondeamus. omne enim verbum actionem aut passionem, cuiuscumque generis sit, omnino significat, sed non omne verbum idcirco activum est aut passivum, nisi ampliore modo de actione et passione loqui ducimus. nam et neutra et deponentia atque communia actionem significant, et tamen activa verba a grammaticis non appellantur; praeterea ipsa communia, neutra passiva et neutropassiva et quaedam alia passionem significant, verum tamen passiva verba a grammaticis non vocitantur. quocirca significare actionem non est dumtaxat eorum verborum quae appellantur activa, sed reliquorum etiam quae commemoravimus; et rursum significare passionem non est eorum verborum solummodo quae appellantur passiva, sed etiam eorum quae paulo superius commemoravimus. unde fit ut verborum genera plura esse recte artium scriptores existiment, ut suo loco disputabimus. | verbo igitur unum quodque patimur, ex quo Quintilianus eleganter de nomine atque verbo sermonem faciens et de eorundem officiis "aliud est" inquit "quo loquimur, aliud de quo loquimur", innuens verbum ipsum esse quo loquamur, nomen vero de quo loquamur: quo quidem eloquio aut agere quid aut pati significamus, rem quoque ipsam agentem atque patientem commemoramus.

sed ut ipsius diffinitionis partes explicemus atque quam habeant

562, unguem] ungem *N* 575 ut] et *N* 581 rem quoque] remque (*i.e.* -q₃) *N* (*errore ex q₃ exorto*)

555-556 cf. Prisc. II.369.2-4 (ubi "forma", id est coniugatio, se inter definitionis elementa non insinuat; cf. autem II.405.6-7) 562 ff cf. 634-781 et praesertim 647-659 inf. 575-579 cf. Quintil. *Inst.* I.4.18 ("alterum...quod...alterum")

vim in medium afferamus, quid sit modus, forma et tempus in verbis
 585 ipsis disserere non gravabimur. est igitur in verbis ipsis, quae actionem
 passionemque significant, modus quidam adhibendus, quo profecto
 indicamus nos quippiam aut facere aut fecisse aut facturos esse. hinc
 enim modus quinquifariam distribui a grammaticis solet. nanque aut
 nos quicquam indicare explicareque aliis ducimus, aut imperamus
 590 quicquam, aut optamus quae bona sunt sive mala simplici oratione,
 aut voluntatem nostram duplici oratione, adhibita aliqua disiunctione
 aut rei condicione, abducimus, seu tandem confuso quodam modo
 atque indeterminato infinitoque aliquid nos aut agere aut pati | vicissim
 explanamus. his igitur quinque modis quicquid est verborum agendi
 595 patiendique significativum est. verum tamen horum modorum quilibet
 temporibus suis inditus est.

forma igitur qua quidem verbum indiget ad hoc, ut sit actionis
 passionisque significativum, ea est quam alio nomine coniugationem
 Romani appellant: quas quidem sive dicas formas sive coniugationes,
 600 quattuor apud Latinos sunt, plures apud Graecos. quocirca si quaerere
 audeamus quanam forma, substantialisne an accidentalis verborum
 coniugatio sit, grammaticae artis principia liminaque transgrediemur;
 attamen non <ab re> erit extremis labris, ut aiunt, haec libare. forma
 igitur verbi de qua loquimur est ea qua quidem verbum est id quod
 605 est, sine qua nec sibi quidem constare posset. quapropter substantialis
 sibi videri omnino potest, tametsi non omnes, ut aiunt, numeros
 substantialis formae haberi obiici merito posset: nam et accidentia
 quoque ipsa sua quiditate, qua accidentia sunt, minime exuuntur,
 quamvis ipsius accidentis esse sit in alio omnino esse, ut ab Aristotele
 610 Metaphysicorum libro quinto acutissime | disputatur. quare quom
 omne fere verbum aut suapte natura aut reductively in aliqua harum
 coniugationum quae quattuor numero sunt inveniatur, consequens
 esse videtur ut quattuor huiusmodi formis quicquid est ubique ver-
 borum Latinorum complectamur.

590 simplici oratione] supponi ratione *N* 592 condicione] -tione *N* abducimus]
 abducimur *N* 597 igitur *N*²: igiturve *N* 603 ab re *supplevi* 607 haberi] habere
N: fort. substantialis formas habere 610 Metaphysicorum] methaphisico *N* 611 re-
 ductive] reductive *N*

588 cf. Prisc. II.421.18-19 599f cf. Prisc. II.442.23 606f cf. Aristot. *Met.*
 1001b26ff, 1080a12ff 607f cf. 154-167 sup. 609f cf. Aristot. *Met.* 1025a28f
 (γέγονε μὲν δὴ ἢ ἔστι τὸ συμβεβηκός, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἢ αὐτὸ ἀλλ' ἢ ἕτερον; cf. 1017a8ff)

De temporibus

615

tempore omne fere verbum ad significandum, ut supra, indiget. actiones quidem humanae aut in praesentia fieri aut in praeterito fuisse aut fore intelliguntur. quare tria nobis tempora satis superque esse viderentur, ni maioribus nostris acutissime illis quidem hominibus visum fuisset omne praeteritum trifariam dividi iure debere. nam quod praeteriit aut nondum penitus concessit et sic imperfectum habetur, aut penitus antehac evasit et sic praeteritum censetur, aut perquam longe exiit discessitque et sic plusquam praeteritum appellamus. quibus quidem temporibus quinque verbum ut praefati sumus omnino vicissim eget, ut actiones suas perficere queat. sine casu agit verbum aut patitur quicquam: hoc enim a participio <et nomine et pronomine differt>, quae quidem per quosdam casus variari habent; praepositio vero, etsi illi casus | accidit, non tamen per casus de more aliarum partium supradictarum variari potest. quare rectissime ab artium scriptoribus verbum ipsum non habere casum praedicatur.

630

haec profecto sunt accidentia, cum et ipsum suapte natura accidens significare a philosophiae peritis dicatur: ea siquidem octo sunt, quae ipsius verbi naturam consequuntur, e quibus nullum fere verbum exuitur. primum ergo verbi accidens genus a grammaticis vario diversoque modo quam a dialecticis perceptum nuncupatur. genus in verbo dicitur ea actionis passionisque proprietas, qua unum quodque aut agere aut pati verbum videtur. hoc enim nomen generis non ab illa indeterminatione naturae quae nullis adhibitis differentiis nullam speciem sortita est deducatur, quin immo a diversitate quadam, ut ita dixerim, et peculiari consuetudine humanarum rerum. quod quidem verbum Virgilii versum intuenti liquido patere potest: "quod genus hoc hominum" inquit, et reliqua. unde septem genera eorundem a grammaticis esse dicuntur. obiiciunt quidam nobis septem genera prae-

640

619 viderentur] videntur *N* ni *N*²: nisi *N* acutissime *N*: fort. acutissimis (*) (i.e., maioribus nostris, acutissimis illis quidem hominibus, visum fuisset) 626 patitur] partitur *N* hoc] hac *N* 626f et nomine et pronomine differt *supplevi* 631 sunt] sua *N* 635 perceptum *N*: fort. praeceptum

616 cf. 555-556 sup. 617f cf. Diom. I.335.22-23 618-620 cf. Prisc. II.405.8-10 620-624 cf. Prisc. II.406.1-6 ("praeteritum imperfectum", "praeteritum perfectum", "praeteritum plus quam perfectum"; cf. II.414.7-416.20) 631-634 cf. Prisc. II.369.16 635-637 cf. Prisc. II.373.10-11 637-639 cf. Cic. *Top.* 7.30-31 641f Verg. *Aen.* I.539 642f cf. 662-756 inf. 643-656 cf. 557-561 sup.

dicantibus plebei grammatices magistri nomen, verbum scilicet, actio-
 645 nem aut passionem dumtaxat significare: qua ex re omne verbum
 aut activum esse | aut passivum dumtaxat aiunt. simillima fit huic illa
 obiectiuncula quam primo de nomine adduximus. quibus quidem
 breviter respondemus nullius momenti fieri consequens, cum alio id
 quod antecedit et alio id quod sequitur omnino tendat: non enim
 650 sequitur recte omne verbum aut activum esse aut passivum dumtaxat.
 nanque et verba quoque neutra atque deponentia et saepe communia
 actionem de qua loquimur significant, et contra omne verbum neutrum
 passivum et neutropassivum persaepe et neutrum effectivum passionem
 significare dicuntur: quae tamen verba diversorum sunt generum, ut
 655 intuenti liquet. quas ob res septem eleganter esse verborum genera,
 quom septem habeant varietates singulares, a Latinis praedicantur.
 quare illa distributio superius nobis obiecta, quae duplex fieri esseque
 videbatur, triplex esse verius ostenditur. nam omne verbum aut actio-
 nem aut passionem aut utrumque significare omnino ostenditur.

660 verbum igitur de quo hactenus locuti sumus septem generibus
 undique refocillatur. ratio tamen generis unde sumatur imprimis
 edisserendum est: deinde ad cetera gradatim pergemus. ratio | desinendi
 in 'o' efficit ut aliquod verbum activum dicatur, dummodo assumpta
 'r' passivam rationem inire queat atque eandem litteram sic acceptam
 665 possit dimittere et in pristinam naturam redire, hac tamen lege servata
 ut possit quoque in animal rationale transitionem facere, adeo ut
 sermo atque locutio converti et in prima et in secunda persona possit.
 quod si in prima persona fieri semper conversio repugnante aliqua
 verbi lege atque natura nequit—ita accidit in quibusdam verbis, ut
 670 "dor" a "do", "das" non invenitur—"daris" tamen inveniri habet—haec
 enim littera est quae verbum activum a neutro differre facit atque ab
 omni eo quod activum non sit. in secunda saltem persona conver-
 sionem fieri et non in tertia diximus, propterea quod quaedam neutra
 verba, quae transitiva dicuntur, possunt in tertia persona, quom volunt,
 675 sermonem convertere atque accipere 'r' et in naturam passivorum
 migrare, ut "aro" "aratur". id genus multa, quocirca illa ratio desi-
 nendi, ut praediximus, genus verbi activum conficit et inde a gram-

650 esse] est *N* 662 edisserendum *N*²: disserendum *N* 663 aliquod] aliud *N*

662 ff cf. Prisc. II.374.13-14 (et, e.g., Pomp. V.227.15-23) 665-667 cf. Prisc. II.375.12-19, III.269.10-23, et 685 ff inf. 672-676 Prisc. II.375.20-376.13, 378.2-10

maticis ratio generis elicitur. verbum activum quandam significandi
 praerogativam suapte natura | habet. quae quidem natura compluribus
 aliis verborum generibus communis esse videtur, ut scilicet transitionem 680
 ad hominem efficiat; a natura sui tamen habet verbum activum ut
 ad animalia quoque irrationabilia et ea denique quae sine sensu sunt
 transitionem faciat. nanque amare nos agros, montes, silvas dicimus
 et cetera huiusmodi quae sensu careant : castaneas Amaryllis Virgiliana
 amabat et cerea pruna. quare si verbum activum transitionem ad 685
 animal rationale facere potest, non est tamen suae naturae proprium
 hoc, ut ad rationalia tantum transeat et cetera respuat, sed habet
 hoc inter cetera privilegia (ut ita loqui audeam), ut supradictam
 transitionem ad rationalia facere queat, unde converti locutio ex activa
 in passivam rationem omnino possit. percepta ratione praefata de 690
 activis verbis, passivorum quoque ratio intelligi liquido iam potuit.

ratio generis neutri verbi ex eo ab artium scriptoribus accipitur,
 quod, quom desinat in 'o' in more activorum, tamen non potest sui
 natura repugnante assumere 'r' atque converti in passivam significa-
 tionem nec potest ad hominem habere aditum transitionemque unde 695
 fiat locutionis | conversio in prima vel saltem in secunda persona.
 sunt tamen quaedam verba neutra, quae transitiva dicuntur, quae
 quidem in tertia persona dumtaxat possunt sermonem convertere ex
 neutra ratione in passivam: dicimus enim "aro meum agellum" et
 "meus agellus aratur". illa tamen obiectio, quae non iniuria obiici 700
 solet, silentio praeteriri non debet. dicimus enim vulgo "servio tibi":
 quam ratione "servior a te" dici nequit, quom natura hoc patiatur
 et a consuetudine mortalium non abhorreat? serviunt enim homines
 in vicem omniumque rerum officiorumque vicissitudo solet esse. huic
 enim obiectioni sic respondendum existimavi: quam quidem respon- 705
 sionem meam, ni quidam docti clarique viri, quorum auctoritas apud
 omnes valet plurimum, collaudassent propemodum atque in primis
 extulissent, scriptis meis non insererem. neutra igitur verba (ut ad
 rem veniam) aut a natura aut ab arte sive a consuetudine animique
 sententia veterum Latinorum profecta sunt. nam vetustissimorum 710
 voluntas atque indigenum pro lege cuiusque linguae habita est. quo-

693 desinat] -nit *N* in more] m morem *N* 695 aditum] additum *N* 706 quidam]
 quidem a *N* (ut vid.): quidem *N*² (ut vid.)

684f cf. Verg. *E*.2.51-53 692-696 cf. Prisc. II.375.9-10, 13-14 697-700 cf. ad 672-
 676 sup.; de "neutris transitivis" cf. etiam Prisc. III.267.19-268.8

circa ita constans, firma perpetuaque <est> loquendi ratio vetustissimorum sancta, ut eloquendi | qua nos utimur ratio pro rogatione, pro plebiscito, pro senatus consulto, pro prudentium dictis omnino
 715 habeatur. quam ob rem quaedam neutra a natura, quam ducem sequimur, profecta videntur et haec sunt ea quae absoluta suapte natura vocitantur, ut “vivo”, “ambulo”, “incedo” et similia his. mutuus igitur hominum usus et communicandi ratio discedere ab hac ratione neutrali non posse videtur: quocirca recte neutrorum lex atque numen
 720 in his cernitur. quaedam vero neutra dicuntur ab artium scriptoribus, non quod naturae ratio ita penitus iubeat nec quod ab usu naturae abhorreant, sed quod priscis illis temporibus artium scriptoribus ita loqui commodius visum est, quom praesertim vetustissimos poetas oratoresque sic protulisse animadverterent. quare non a naturae ratione,
 725 ut praediximus, sed a veterum existimatione voluntateque haec neutra, ut “servio”, “placeo” et similia, dicuntur. illa vero naturae congruentia magna aptioraque videntur, ut “ambulo” et id genus cetera.

communis igitur ratio a desinendo in ‘or’ sub activa scilicet et passiva significatione sumitur; sed apud veteres a deponentibus sive
 730 deponentia ab his non distinguebantur. nam et apud bonos auctores ita repe-riebantur prolata. cuius rei ratio constans perpetuaque nulla alia assignari posse videtur, nisi quod priscis illis auctoribus ita visum est. sed interdum Graecorum ratio, quorum linguam vetustiores imitati sunt, nostratibus grammaticis persuasit ut illorum quoque genera
 735 sectarentur. de deponentibus quidem pauca dicenda sunt, quom nullam aliam disputandi maiestatem habeant, nisi quod sub [ea] illa litteratura passiva, quam prae se ferunt, activam retineant significandi rationem. [sub ea tamen litteratura passiva] horum tamen verborum complura activa fuisse apud veteres vulgo legimus, quorum auctoritates Priscianus linguae Latinae pater libro viii^o in medium adduxit.
 740

712 est *supplevi* 714 plebiscito] -ssito *N* 722 abhorreant] -eat *N* temporibus
 del. *N*², *haud scio an recte* (cf. 732 *inf.* priscis illis auctoribus) 736 illa *N*² (*ut vid.*)
 (cf. 741 *inf.*): ea illa *N* (cf. 738 *inf.*) 738 sub ea tamen litteratura passiva *seclusi*

715-720 cf. Prisc. II.375.9-19, 377.19-378.2 728 f cf. Prisc. II.378.18-22 729-731 cf.
 Explan. in Don. IV.507.8f (“nam nihil difficilius quam discernere commune verbum a
 deponenti”) et Prisc. II.379.2-15 (et sqq. usque ad 388.12) 735-737 cf. Prisc. II.
 378.22-24 738-740 cf. Prisc. II.392.6-393.10 (cf. Diom. I.400.1-401.9)

neutri passivi genus ab ea ratione sumitur, quod <sub> illa neutrali quam prae se fert litteratura significationem passivam quae a neutro abhorret omnino retinet: quae quidem verba quinque esse numero a grammaticis praedicantur, ut “vapulo”, “exulo”, “veneo”, “nubo” et “liceo”. sed “veneo” plerosque cum per tempora et modos inflectitur 745 decipere solet: quod evitemus, praecipio ne ab inflexione huius verbi “eo” “is” praeterquam in supino discedatur. “nubo” vero peculiaris est naturae, | ut non ineleganter dicant qui femininum verbum appellant, quippe quod feminis dumtaxat aptum sit; et “liceo”, ut “licitor”, ad licitandas res venalis [et] pretio (ut ita dicam) augendo in auctionibus 750 spectat.

neutropassivum dixerunt quaedam verba quae, quom neutra suapte natura essent, a passivis abhorreere penitus noluerunt. nanque et in participiis perfectis et in derivativis ab his, ut puta coniunctivo modo, passivorum litteraturam retinent, in ceteris vero modis atque tem- 755 poribus neutra omnino sunt et neutrorum naturam sectantur.

haec igitur quae hactenus disseruimus illa septem genera verborum famosissima sunt, quibus oratio Latina decoratur, unde suam formam accipit. est tamen unum verbum invenire quod quidem significare substantiam non temere ab eruditissimis viris iactatum <est>, quom 760 sit verborum naturae contrarium. nam “sum” “es” “est” neutrum substantivum a grammaticis vocitatur et copulativam vim complectitur. quare non facile hereticis respondetur, quom obiiciunt inveniri verba quae non accidens, ut cetera verba, at substantiam, ut nomina, significant, adducentes in medium hoc quod dixi verbum “sum” “es” 765 “est”. nos autem ita esse ire infitias non possumus, quom res | ipsa hoc indicet, si ad philosophicam rationem grammatica ratio traducatur.

741 sub *supplevi* (cf. 736 *sup.*) 747 in supino *N*²: in supino in *N* 749 ut] et *N*
750 et *seclusi* (*) 760 est *supplevi* 762 copulativam] copp- *N* 766 infitias]
-cias *N*

741-745 cf. Prisc. II.377.14-18 (ubi Prisc. “vapulo” “fio” “exulo” “veneo” “nubo” adducit et de verbo “liceo” silet) 746f cf. Prisc. II.476.8-13, 543.18-19 (similiter Charis. I.173.8-10, 247.13-19 [= 222.10-12, 321.25-322.8B.]) 748 cf. Prisc. II.556.10-14 et eiusdem *Partit.* III.473.12-20, 486.32-487.4 750 cf. ὑπερθεματίζω, quo verbo usus est Prisc. (*Partit.* III.486.6, cf. Dosith. VII.433.3), ut verbum “liceo” explicet (de “licitor”, cf. praesertim *Gloss. Lat.* II.226 LI 33 et *ibid.* III.53 LI 14-17) 752ff cf. Prisc. II.420.7-11, 566.21-27 (de appellatione ipsa “neutropassivorum”, cf. Serv. IV.437.13-15 cum Prob. IV.187.16-10, Consent. V.368.14-19) 759-762 de “verbo substantivo”, cf. Prisc. II.414.14-16, III.152.7-14, 20-25

si autem grammatici de grammatica loqui maluimus, a natura ceterorum verborum “sum” “es” “est” non discedit, quippe quom verbum
 770 in primis sit, et verborum naturam quoad modos et tempora undique sectetur, atque ita inflectetur, ut personas utriusque numeri et cetera quae ad naturam verbi attinent non abdicet, et, quod horum praecipuum est, casus ante et post exigat, quos complectitur † ut forma ad omnem rationis perfectionem † : quo fit ut et cunctis fere passivis
 775 verbis adhibeatur. quocirca verbum esse “sum” “es” “est” [est] et omnem verbi naturam undique habere liquet, tametsi quandam substantiae vim in sui natura concludere non negabimus. habet tamen hoc verbum sua composita quae nullius generis esse dicuntur ab artium scriptoribus, propterea quod nec in ‘o’ nec in ‘or’, unde genus
 780 verbi sumitur, desinant, ut “possum” et “praesum” et reliqua huiusmodi.

inter cetera verborum accidentia (ut eo unde profecta est reducatur oratio) connumeratur species: quod quidem accidens et nomini et pronomini atque participio famulatur, diversa tamen variaque ratione.
 785 sed in verbo species primitiva aut derivativa | ea dicitur quae inventa primum aut deducta ab ipsa prima intelligitur. nam ab hoc verbo “amo”, quod ab indigenis ad significandam amandi actionem inventum est, “amasco” et cetera huiusmodi derivata sunt. quare duas verborum species Latini in medium afferunt.

790 figura accidit verbo et quibusdam quoque aliis orationis partibus, sed diversimode (ut de specie praediximus). quid autem sit figura apud grammaticos satis superque dixisse videmur, quom de nomine sermonem haberemus, sed quantum ad hanc rem pertinet, alia simplicem, alia compositam, decompositam alia habere figuram dicuntur.
 795 nam “venio” cum hac figura simplici sine alicuius rei concretione

773 exigat... complectitur] exigat... complectatur *N* 773f † ut forma ad omnem rationis perfectionem †] *fort. lacuna post perfectionem agnosci potest* 775 est (2°) *seclusi* 780 desinant] -nat *N* 785 aut] et *N* 787 ab *N*²: ad *N* significandam] -dum *N* 793f alia... alia... alia] aliam... aliam... aliam *N* 794 compositam *N*²: decompositam *N*

773 de casibus, cf. Prisc. II.550.4-9, 582.9-13, III.212.1-5, 213.13-15, 215.8-11 774f de passivis verbis, cf. Prisc. II.414.16-19 (“passivorum... vel similium passivis”, sc. communium deponentium: cf. II.419.21f, III.154.1-4, 305.6-8) 777ff cf. Prisc. II.568.8 (“anomalum”) et praesertim Pomp. V.229.29f (ad Don. IV.383.6-9) 782-786 cf. Prisc. II.427.11-15 786-788 “amo”/“amasco”: cf. Prisc. II.428.12 792f cf. 326-343 sup. 793f cf. Prisc. II.434.21-24

inventum est ad significandum quod significat; deinde facta est compositio ab arte profecta quae aliam sortita est figuram, quam compositam vocaverunt; postremo in aliam figuram migravit atque decomposita nuncupata est. quam ob rem tres figuras verborum esse artium scriptores protulerunt.

800

coniugationem vocant grammatici formam inflectendi variam, quae tum ab infinitivis modis tum ab aliis percipi omnino potest.

alicuius esse personae loquendi ratio quae a verbis habetur | percipitur. nam tres esse verbi personas recte dicunt, quom non modo ars, quae semper naturam quoad potest imitatur, sed commoditas, quae consuetudini subservit, sic omnino exigat: qua profecto de re, quoniam per se patet, paucis loqui contenti sumus.

805

aggressi de verbis eloqui pro viribus quae personalia a Latinis appellantur duximus atque existimavimus disputationi nostrae profuturum esse ut de his quoque verbis quae impersonalia vocitantur sermonem faceremus. verbum igitur impersonale duplex a Romanis esse merito dicitur. est enim activae vocis alterum, alterum passivae. sed a passivis exordiemur, quom ita fert disserendi commoditas; verum tamen refutanda erit in primis eorum sententia de impersonalibus huiusmodi, qui aliter atque doctissimi viri sentiunt, non priusquam diffinitionem in medium afferamus.

810

815

est enim impersonale verbum communi omnium sententia quod numeris atque personis caret. quod quidem ego sic intelligi oportere censeo: impersonale licet verbum esse quod numerorum et personarum distinctione careat. nam tertia [qua] utuntur omnium temporum atque modorum persona, et singulari super. | qua ex re conflatur non simpliciter impersonale carere numeris et personis, sed distinctione, ut diximus, numerorum personarumque: a qua quidem re impersonalis

820

806 exigat] -git *N* 812 alterum (1°) *del. N*² 820 tertia [qua] utuntur...persona, et singulari semper (*)] tertia qua utuntur...persona est singulari super *N* (*coniunctione* et *in est mutata pronomen qua immissum est*): *an* tertia qua utuntur...persona est singularis semper (**)?

801 de coniugatione sive forma, cf. 597-614 sup. 805 cf. Prisc. II.448.11 811 cf. Prisc. II.432.14-17, *Partit.* III.485.35-486.4 (cf. Diom. I.337.34, Consent. V.370.34-371.2) 817f cf. Prisc. II.450.1-2, 596.22-24 (cf. Charis. I.166.16-18 [= 212.18-21B.], Explan. in Don. IV.554.13-16, Cledon. V.19.29-31) 818-820 cf. Cledon. V.54.16-17, Consent. V.371.3-7 820f cf. Prisc. III.230.19-21 (cf. Charis. I.253.13-15 [= 331.16-18B.])

nomen sortitur. non valet autem mea quidem sententia quod obiiciunt
 825 quidam dicentes tertiam impersonalis personam et rursum numerum
 impersonalis singularem voce tantum sed <non> re dici: "nam quom
 'amatur' aut 'legitur' [aut] dicitur" inquiunt "impersonaliter, etsi tertia
 verbi persona et singularis numerus videatur, non tamen tertia est
 persona nec singularis est numerus re vera, sed voce dumtaxat". quid
 830 ego respondeam, quom non videam posthabitis vocibus et neglectis
 quid grammaticis relinquatur? quare quom voces praecipue gram-
 maticis subserviant, eo modo quo dudum exposui definiendum puto.

summa tamen grammaticae litis, quom de impersonalibus vocis
 passivae fit sermo, in eo mihi esse videtur et in hoc versari, an
 835 impersonalia huiusmodi sint sine aliquo casu tam ex parte ante quam
 ex parte post, ut plerisque doctis viris videtur, an obliquis a parte
 ante iungantur, sive obliquos ante exigant et post illos asciscant
 casus quos perfectum verbum, unde | fit impersonale, desiderat, ut
 "a Laelio amatur Scipionem" et "ab Antonio servitur Caesari". hanc
 840 equidem controversiam pro ingenio meo dirimere aggrediar seclulis
 tamen de nostro certamine quibusdam barbaris, qui nullum ius dispu-
 tandi de Romana lingua habere videntur, propterea quod nihil Romane
 loquuntur, et si quid recte fortasse disputant, tot tantisque linguae
 suae sordibus involvuntur ut non ad Latinos sed Gothos illa disputatio
 845 attinere videatur: ut ille Franciscus Brutius, barbarorum signifer et
 primipilus, fecisse videtur, qui Latinae linguae numen penitus laesit
 et quibusdam praeceptorum suorum fetoribus polluit, ut in perpetuam
 ignominiam sectatores illius ipse ignominiosus detruserit; ceteri vero,
 quom sint Latinae linguae periti, in utramque partem disputandi ius
 850 suum habent. sed ut paucis me expediam, impersonale de quo loqui-
 mur recte eleganterque vim suam habebit, si absque obliquorum om-
 nium commercio atque comitatu enuntiabitur, ut "curritur", "statur"
 et reliqua: quod quidem in neutris absolutis magis enitet. verum si
 activa verba impersonalia ipsa pariant, a parte ante obliquos asciscant,

826 non *supplevi* 827 aut (2^o) *seclusi* 830 videam] audeam *N* 834 fit sermo,
 ... *distinxi*: fit: sermo... *dist.* *N* 837 asciscant] ass- *N* 852 commercio] -tio *N*
 enuntiabitur] enuntiabitur *N* 854 asciscant] as- *N*

824ff cf. Diom. I.337.36-338.4 (≈ 397.12) (qui impersonalibus "personae tertiae formam"
 tantum tribuit) et [Macrob.] Exc. Bob. VII.646.18-20 833ff de impersonalium vocis
 passivae constructione, cf. Prisc. III.231.10-232.23 (cf., e.g., Diom. I.398.31-399.32, Don.
 IV.384.22-23) 853-855 cf. ad 833ff sup. 859 cf. 701ff sup.

nihil vero post, ut "a me legitur". | quod si "a me legitur Tusculanas 855
quaestiones" dixeris, meo iudicio minus Romane loqueris, propterea-
quod nihil obstat quin suo verbo passivo perfecte utamur, ut "Tuscu-
lanae quaestiones a me leguntur". sed de neutris diversa habenda est
ratio. dicimus enim "a servo servitur domino", proptereaquod "do-
minus servitur a servo" repugnante neutrorum natura dici non potest. 860
quare huiusmodi impersonalia, si vim suam habere volunt, nihil ante
nihil post sibi asciscent. quod si quid obliquorum exigendum erit,
ante potius quam post adhibeatur, ut "curritur a me, a te, ab illo".
et si post exhibere casum volueris, neutralibus omnino et non activis
adhibeto. 865

impersonalia verba quae activae vocis vocitantur a perfectis verbis
impersonalibus omnino exoriuntur, quae late patent. sed nostra inda-
gatione illa dumtaxat digna videntur quae a "sum" "es" "est" dedu-
cuntur, quoniam "interest Ciceronis" Romani dixere et "interest mea"
non "mei" dici voluerunt et denique "mea" "tua" "sua" "nostra" 870
et "vestra" genere feminino et in ablativo dici praecipiunt, in ceteris
vero genetivis uti iusserunt: adducti siquidem scriptores artium ut
sic dicerent omnino | videntur, ut in ablativo femineo derivatorum
pronominum uterentur, ut possessio et utilitas sine ambiguitate signi-
ficaretur: nam si "mei interest" diceretur, lateret nos a primitivone 875
an a derivativo pronomine oriretur. namque genetivus casus huius
pronominis "meus, -a, -um", quod est derivativum, "mei" facit et
sic de aliis quinque dicendum est. sed quom sit in promptu posses-
sionem non significari nisi per derivativum pronomen, consequens
esse videtur ut discretionem facere omnino debeamus. verum quoniam 880
in genetivo fieri non potuit (ut patet), in ablativo commodius fieri
visum est propter maximam naturae affinitatem quae inter genetivum
et ablativum respicitur. hac de causa in feminino genere utimur
ablativo huiusmodi, proptereaquod de possessione rei et utilitate
agitur: quom enim dico "mea interest", utilitatem significo meam, 885
quasi "in mea re est", id est "in utilitate". quare eleganter satis

862 asciscent] ass- N 872 genetivis N: an genetivo legend. (*)? 872 ut] et N
877 pronominis "meus, -a, -um" N²: pronominis ego "meus, -a, -um" N 880 discre-
tionem] descriptionem N

867ff cf. Prisc. II.595.5-10 et praesertim III.159.1-14 873-875 cf. Prisc. III.159.4-8
880-883 cf. 385-391 sup. 885f cf. Prisc. III.159.5-6

superque “mea interest” a Latine loquentibus dicitur, tametsi quidam nostrae aetatis vir doctus et praestans incuria quadam loquendi “meum est” inquit et non “mea interest” Latinius dicendum putat, quom
 890 (pace sua loquar) aliud “meum est”, aliud “mea interest” significare videatur. nam aliquid est meum quod <...> | interest mea : mercaturam exercere interest mea quom utilitatem assequi possim, sed non est meum mercari. sed subtilissimum censetur, proptereaquod a summa religionis probitate abhorrere non videtur : unde Syrus Terentianus
 895 “non est meum” inquit “mentiri”, referens illud ad aequam bonamque servorum naturam in suos heros; sed potuisset tamen sua interesse, quom mentiretur in utilitate sua, aut ne pulsaretur aut ne ventris ieiunio mulctaretur. sed Cicero Romanae facundiae facile princeps in oratione pro Cluentio eleganter his verbis nos uti posse ostendit,
 900 quom dicit : “hic putat sua interesse si re ipsa et gesto negotio non lege defendat; ego mea existimo interesse me nulla in disputatione ab Accio videri superatum esse”. habeo quoque quas in medium adducere possum mille fere et Ciceronis et clarorum virorum auctoritates, quibus brevitatis gratia abstineo ne nostri libelli angustias prolixitas ipsa laederet.

905

Secundi libri finis.

Tertius incipit

de ceteris orationis partibus.

constitui ab initio, quom id opusculi aggrededer, de nomine et
 910 verbo et de accidentibus | grammatico more praeceptis pro virili mea disserere. de ceteris orationis partibus sermonem quoque facere decrevi, sed tanta profecto brevitate atque compendio ut vix extremis labris (ut aiunt) attingerentur. functi igitur proposito munere paene videmur, quom ea quae de nomine et verbo iam pridem exceperam explicata
 915 scriptis mandaverim. nunc ad reliqua properemus atque in hoc tertio volumine reliquas simul partes complectamur : et primo de participio, quod quidem cum nominis tum verbi particeps, ut nomen indicat, esse praedicatur.

891 *lacuna post quod haud dubie intellegend. (ut puta, ...quod < non interest mea [exemplo sequente, deinde] aliquid non est meum quod > interest mea...[*])* 892 possim] possem
N 901 me *Cic.*: ne *N* 902 Accio *Cic.*: Acto *N* 914 exceperam] *fort. excerpseram*: excẽpam *N*

895 Ter. *Heaut.* 549 900-902 Cic. *pro Cluent.* 54.149 (“sua putat...se...defendi...esse superatum”)

est igitur participium quod quidem a nominis verbique natura proficiscitur atque utriusque partem sibi vendicat. hoc enim tantam habet vim tantamque commoditatem loquendi affert, ut sermonem multo compendiosorem aptioremque reddat et verborum circuitus propulsis relationibus abdicet. quare ad hanc quam diximus commoditatem loquendi perpolitamque brevitatem scriptores artium participium asci-verunt : unde breviter eleganterque dicitur “Cicero rem publicam gerens orationes scripsit”, quom absque participio longior productiorque fieret oratio et ad relativum praesertim confugiendum | foret sive ad alias huiusmodi dictiones; tum etiam temporis determinatione participium praesens non omnino eget : quae quidem commoditates praefatae efficiunt ut participium suam dignitatis praerogativam sortiatur. habet siquidem participium sex accidentia quae sui naturam consequantur, et in primis illi genus accidit, quod verbi originem illi inesse arguit. accidit enim quoque casus, qui a nominis natura effluit; tempus quoque illi evenit, quod quidem verbi munus esse quis dubitat? significatio illi etiam contingit, quae aut actionem verbi aut passionem ostendit; numerum et figuram ab utroque, nomine scilicet et verbo, recipit. quid autem sit genus, quid casus, quid tempus, quid accidentia reliqua in participio dicere non opus esse existimavi tum propter cetera tum etiam quod easdem rationes admittunt quae de nomine et verbo superius adducuntur.

De pronomine

properemus ad reliqua quae constituimus et de pronomine quaedam eadem brevitate disseramus. est igitur pronomen quod extraordinariam dignitatem nominis sibi vendicat, | ut “proconsul”, “propraetor”, “proquaestor”. sed videamus amabo an ita “pronomen” sicuti “proconsul” et “proquaestor” dici iure queat. nam proconsul <aut proquaestor> apud Romanos dicebatur non qui nomine consulis aut quaestoris in provincia eo magistratu fungeretur, sed qui eam dignitatem extraordinariam sortitus fuerat, tanta quidem auctoritate magistratuque praeditus quanta ipse consul aut quaestor esse soleret, hoc

935 quae] qua *N* 940 adducunt] adducunt *N* 943 disseramus *N*: disseremus *N*²
946f aut proquaestor *supplevi* (cf. 952ff) 949 extraordinariam] exordinariam *N*

919f cf. Prisc. II.548.3-4, 551.4-10 931f cf. Prisc. II.555.21 932f cf. Prisc. II.555.25-556.1 (sed cf. II.551.5-8, 552.19-20) 933 cf. Prisc. II.563.18 936 cf. Prisc. II.568.16 (ubi figura participii naturae verbi tribuitur; cf. autem Don. IV.387.20)

dumtaxat discrimine, quod ipse consul servato temporis ordine mori-
 busque comitorum in ipsis comitiis creabatur, proconsul autem aliqua
 urgente necessitate rerum ex comitio creari solebat. quocirca pro-
 consul erat paene [pro] consul, sed pronomen nescio an sit paene
 955 nomen. mea quidem sententia pronomen proprio nomini [non] dedi-
 catur, diversa tamen orationis pars quae inter octo connumeratur
 omnino ponitur, proptereaquod suum nativumque et illum peculiarem
 habet significandi modum. quare pronomen appellatur proptereaquod
 proprii nominis locum (ut praediximus) in oratione subit. accidentia
 960 eiusce ea esse omnino videntur quae sunt et nominis, nisi quod
 pronomen personas, ut puta primam, | secundam et tertiam, sibi
 ascivit. quare nihil opus esse reor de his longiorem habere sermonem.
 unum tamen hoc moneo, ne cum pronomine nomen ipsum contexatur,
 ni barbare loqui quispiam maluerit quam Latinis oraculis uti: quom
 965 dicitur "ego Cicero", quid sibi velit haec loquendi ratio non video.
 nam si proprium nomen adest, quor pronomen, quod proprii nominis
 locum subiit, adiicitur? sin pronomen, quor proprium nomen, quod
 quidem vicarium suum obtulit, deducitur? quam ob rem alterum
 <non> omnino admittendum fuit. sunt tandem apud Romanos indu-
 970 bitata quindecim, quorum octo ad significandum individua ipsa et
 quasi ipsorum substantiam adinventae linguae nostrae primordia fue-
 runt, septem vero reliqua ab his octo derivata haud dubie videntur:
 quae quidem omnia hoc numero digesta quattuor declinandi modos
 sortita sunt, tali quidem lege ut tria prima sub primo modo, quinque
 975 et ipsa profecto primitiva sub secundo, derivata ab his quinque sint
 sub tertio, duo tandem reliqua et ipsa derivativa sub quarto modo
 contineantur. quibus rite praeceptis nihil est quod Romanam orationem
 suis filis contexere non valeamus. |

954 pro *seclusi* (cf. 959f paene nomen) 955 non *seclusi* (cf. 963f) 955f *dedicatur*
-cetur N 962 quare N²: quasi N 963 *contexatur* -etur N 965 quid sibi velit]
 quod si valet N 966 non *supplevi* (cf. 929 sup. non omnino eget) (an fort. omnino
 omittendum legend. [**]?) 971f fuerunt] -rint N 975 sint] sunt N 977 Ro-
 manam suppl. N² in marg.: om. N

955f cf. Prisc. II.557.2 964-967 cf. 256ff sup. et Prisc. II.577.3-5 969-972 cf.
 Prisc. II.577.6-12 973-977 viz. "ego" "tu" "sui" sub primo, "ille" "ipse" "iste" "hic"
 "is" sub secundo, "meus" "tuus" "suus" "noster" "vester" sub tertio, "nostras"
 "vestras" sub quarto, cf. Prisc. II.577.8-12 et III.2.25-30, 5.17-19, 11.2-4, 15-16

De praepositione

praepositio [quae] non parum habet inter orationis partes momenti 980
 et [quae] profecto [a] quibusdam verbis opitulatur, quae, veluti incedendi gradus repugnante natura amiserant, quasi suae imbecillitatis bacillo praepositione utuntur ut incedere queant. est igitur praepositio quod quibusdam partibus orationis Latinae praeponat appellata: quocirca quaedam inveniuntur certo numero definita, quae nisi in 985
 compositione inveniri non habent. haec enim illa non sunt per quae verba ipsa incedant atque transitionem faciant, sed alia sibi officia vendicant. et sex numero sunt: "di", "dis", "re", "se", "an", "con". "di" enim diversitatem significat, ut "dinumero", "dis" disiunctionem ostendit, ut "distinguo", "distribuo" et similia, quasi "disgregando 990
 haec facio"; "re" iterari quippiam vult, ut "reduco" et "rescribo", "se" quasi "seorsum aliud ab alio eliceo" et "secrevit ab aethere caelum"; "am" circuitum undique ostendit et ambitus, quasi "omnes ambiendo circuit", "con" ex multis unum fieri arguit, ut "committere" et "congregare" quasi multa simul mittere et aggregare. sed quoniam 995
 quaedam verba sunt quae Romani | absoluta vocitant, propterea quod perfecta in se consistant et transitione suapte natura non egeant, necesse fuit his transire volentibus opitulari, ut transitionem facere possent. quom enim dico "vado", transitio ex natura verbi fieri nequiret, ni auxilium praepositionis illi suffragaretur: quam ob rem recte dicitur 1000
 "eo ad divae Mariae templum". quare praepositiones adinventae videntur ut haec ipsa verba transitionem recte facere queant et ab aliis † ad eadem verba † confluere possimus, ut "ab aede divi Dominici ad te veni". qua ex re conflatur ut tum praesentiam tum absentiam verbi praepositiones ipsae innuant. quare non immerito accusativum 1005
 et ablativum sive utrumque praepositioni accidere Latini prodiderunt et his casibus qui sibi accidunt praepositio servire a grammaticis dicitur, quom sit proprium atque peculiare huius dumtaxat orationis partis.

980 quae *seclusi* (an fort. quidem *legend.* [**]? cf. ad 1011) 981 quae *seclusi* (quae pronomina non nisi sententiam in *anacolouthon lapsam putas retineri possunt*) a *seclusi* 994 circuit] -at *N* 998 ut] et *N* 999 transitio] transeo *N* 1002f ab aliis † ad eadem verba†] fort. ab aliis ad < alia > eodem verbo 1003 Dominici] -ti *N*

983f cf. Prisc. II.551.15-16, III.24.13-14 985ff cf. Prisc. III.56.10-57.20 992f cf. Ov. *Met.* I.23 ("aere") 1011 cf. Prisc. III.60.1-5

1010

De adverbio

adverbium [quod] adiectivi fungitur officio circa verbum ipsum :
 complura eleganter quae ad hanc rem pertinent dici possent, sed
 nos brevitatem sectantes quae proposito nostro conducunt aperiemus.
 est igitur adverbium (ut Donato | magna auctoritate viro placet) quod
 1015 stat iuxta verbum et semper eodem nititur : quibus verbis liquido
 intelligitur adverbium verbo quasi adiacere, unde merito eius adiecti-
 vum esse diximus. determinant enim aut excellentiam aut defectus
 ipsius verbi, ut “scribo eleganter”, “scribo barbare” et similia. inter-
 dum vero eo lice<...> quare quom haec sint, omnem splendorem suum
 1020 a verbo ipso emanare satis probavimus. idcirco recte dicitur quod
 adverbium vires suas et quasi potentiam a verbo ipso accipit : nititur
 enim, id est conatur, et conatus suos assumit a verbo. cuius quidem
 adverbii qualitates late patent et oratoribus in demonstrativo, delibera-
 tivo et iudiciali genere satis superque serviunt, ut ad laudem et vitu-
 1025 perationem his sit aditus. habet enim adverbium tria accidentia quae
 naturam suam consequantur, ut puta speciem, significationem atque
 figuram. speciem quidem et figuram cum verbo et quibusdam aliis
 partibus communes habet, suis tamen rationibus; significationem illi
 accidere dicunt, proptereaquod et tempora et loca et confirmationes
 1030 et abnegationes et reliqua id genus significet. cetera autem quae de
 adverbio dici | possent, consulto ratione supradicta praetermittenda
 duximus.

De interiectione

interiectio, quae inter adverbia a vetustioribus connumerari solebat,
 1035 paenultimam sedem in ipsis orationis partibus sibi delegit, cuius loco
 Graeci articulum collocaverunt; sed Latini melius rectiusque diversam
 orationis partem existimavere, refutatis quorundam veterum rationibus.
 nam quom ceterae orationis partes mentis conceptum significare vide-

1011 quod *seclusi* (cf. ad 980f): *fort.* quidem (*errore ex qđ abbrev. exorto, cf. 289 sup.*)

1013 quae proposito *N*²: quae profecto proposito *N* (*fort. recte*) 1019 *post lice lacuna non parva agnoscend.* 1024 iudiciali] -tiali *N* 1025 aditus] additus *N*

1014-1015 nullam huiusmodi sententiam apud eas artes quae ad nos sub nomine Donati manaverunt invenies; cf. autem Serv. IV.405.1-406.1 (“adverbium dictum est quia numquam recedit a verbo: sive enim dicam ‘cras facio’ ‘hodie dico’, invenies adverbia verbis cohaerentia”) 1015-1017 cf. 191f sup. 1022-1025 cf. 193ff sup. 1030-1032 cf. Prisc. III.63.6 1033-1035 cf. Prisc. III.80.30ff 1034 a vetustioribus sc. Graecis, cf. Prisc. III.90.6 1035f cf. ad 421f sup.

antur, haec unica mentis affectum nobis aperit. quattuor enim illas
 animi perturbationes de quibus M. Cicero in tertio et quarto Tuscu- 1040
 lanarum quaestionum libro diffuse disputat haec una pars explicat.
 nam ea gaudemus, id est gaudere nos significamus, ea timemus, ea
 speramus, ea dolemus et si quid est quod ab his quattuor exoriatur
 interiectione ipsa patefacimus. huic enim significatio tantum a Latinis
 accidere praedicatur, proptereaquod (ut praediximus) aut gaudere aut 1045
 tristari nos significat. est tamen quando aut dativum aut accusativum
 casum post asciscit, ut "vae mihi" et "hei mihi qualis erat" et "heu
 me | miserum" et cetera huiusmodi: quod quidem equidem praeter
 naturam interiectionis fieri reor; sed veterum auctoritate ducti eosdem 1050
 casus interiectionem saepe exigere non temere dicimus. nihil tamen 1050
 aliud est in praesentia cognitu perdignum, quod nos disserere compellat.

De coniunctione

coniunctionem quae postrema partium habetur magnam habere in
 oratione vim quis negat? in utramque partem sive ad coniungendum
 sive ad disiungendum officium suum maxime ostendit, quom multas 1055
 alias habeat potestates. huius accidentia tria numero a Latinis assign-
 nantur. est enim illi potestas et figura et ordo. potestas igitur illius
 tunc ostenditur quom alia cum aliis copulat et alias simul connectit,
 veluti concordia quadam quae desciverant coniungit, ut Scipio et
 Laelius nullo alio vinculo ad unum actum nisi hac coniunctione 1060
 accedere intelligantur. hinc rerum nostrarum paene infinitus in suis
 partibus ordo proficiscitur: sine qua coniunctione confusio rerum
 maxima exoriretur. figura communis est huic parti cum ceteris, | habita
 tamen certa cuiusque ratione. ordo tertium accidens eius dicitur: qui
 quidem ordo trifariam a grammaticis distinguitur, ut praepositivus, 1065
 subiunctivus et communis dicatur. praepositivus ordo huius partis
 dicitur quom ipsa coniunctio praeponitur, subiunctivus vero quom
 postponitur, communis quom utroque officio fungitur. quare conflari

1040 Cicero] C. N 1047 asciscit] ass- N 1058 copulat] copp- N 1059 con-
 cordia N²: cordia N 1062 proficiscitur] -catur N 1063 ceteris N: partibus add. N²
 in marg.

1039 cf. Prisc. III.90.10-12 1039-1049 de laetitia ("ea gaudemus"), metu ("ea ti-
 memus"), libidine ("ea speramus"), aegritudine ("ea dolemus"), cf. praesertim Cic.
*T.D.*IV.6.11ff (et, e.g., Don. IV.391.27-28) 1044f cf. Diom. I.419.3, Don. IV.366.14
 1047 Verg. *Aen.* II.274 (cf. Prisc. III.90.15-18) 1057 cf. Prisc. III.93.9-10 1062-
 1072 cf. Prisc. III.104.14-105.4 (qui appellationibus ipsis "subiunctivo" vel "communi"
 non utitur; sed cf., e.g., Don IV. 365.8, 389.11-12)

ex his verbis videtur coniunctionem ipsam praeter potestatem suam
 1070 atque figuram quendam ordinem sortiri, quo quaedam semper prae-
 ponantur, quaedam semper postponantur, quaedam tandem tum prae-
 poni tum postponi vicissim queant. quae autem sint huiusmodi officia
 non est propositi nostri in praesentia in hac libelli angustia disputare.
 nam satis superque hactenus de omnibus orationis partibus disse-
 1075 ruisse videmur, quom illa dicere aggressi videamur, quae ceteri doc-
 tiores olim omiserunt, recentiores penitus siluerunt qui Latinis litteris
 illustrari videntur. sed quoniam Prisciano Caesariensi grammatico
 nos obsecuturos eumque contra obtrectatorum morsus tutari polliciti
 sumus, decrevimus omnino errata Laurentii Vallensis, summi viri
 1080 acutissimique, in medium afferre: | non quidem ad tanti viri contu-
 meliam, at ad Prisciani tutelam id aggrediemur, ut hominem eum
 fuisse et oberrare ut ceteri mortales omnino potuisse posteritas cog-
 noscat, ut quom ceteri ceteros mordeant, morderi se posse intelligant
 atque neminem esse tam perspicuum ut ea ignoratio quam a naturae
 1085 imbecillitate contrahimus non eum lacessat. hic sit huius disputationis
 finis.

Contra Vallam incidenter

sed quoniam opitulari Prisciano nos velle diximus paulo superius,
 quom de obtrectatoribus eius fieret sermo, convenientissime profecto
 1090 videtur ut animi rationem nostri explicantes quod patrociniū excogi-
 tavimus in medium afferamus. non enim volo veritatem eorum ver-
 borum in quibus ipse carpitur exquirere, quod quidem longissimum
 esset huius opusculi limina excedere, sed par pari referre Laurentio
 duxi. ostendemus enim eum temere et nulla recta ratione ductum
 1095 scriptores perpolitos persaepe reprehendere, quorum auctoritas apud
 omnes valeat plurimum: quare quemadmodum non recte ceteros, ita
 non recte Priscianum | calumnia sua persecutus est.

carpit imprimis Valla noster divinum Hieronymum, virum quidem
 omni fere doctrinarum genere praeditum, sed in primis facundissimum
 1100 et antiquitatis peritissimum. nam quom de Andromada Persei et
 Cephei filia sermonem haberet, his verbis usus est: "ex Iope Iudaeae
 portu Andromada a Perseo est liberata"; in quo, inquit Valla, inco-

1076 qui] quae (i.e., q) N 1090 patrociniū]-cimum N 1095 reprehendere N²:
 app- N 1097 est] sit N 1101 Iope] Iopen N

1100-1102 cf. Hier. *Comment. in Ion.* 1.3 (PL 25.1123A) (cf. *epist.* 108.9), Vall. *Elegant.*
 V.6 (p. 163) 1102ff ≈ Vall. loc. cit.

larum est manifestus error, qui quom legant quod Ionas surrexit ut
 fugeret in Tarsis et venit Iopen, opinantur hanc esse Andromadae
 urbem, quom sit in India civitas Tarsis unde illa fuit, ut Ovidii versus 1105
 ostendit et cetera. sed Valla vir facili memoria non fuit recordatus
 unde haec Hieronymus ad verbum accepit. nam illa Plinii, non Hiero-
 nymi, verba sunt, libro quinto Naturalis Historiae ita dicentis: "in
 Phoenicio" inquit "deinde mari est ante Iopen Paria, tota oppidum,
 in quo obiectam belluae Andromadam ferunt". item in eodem, quom 1110
 de Idumea Syria loqueretur, "altera" inquit "intus; Iope Phoenicum,
 antiquior terrarum inundatione, ut ferunt, insidet colli proiacente
 saxo, in quo vinculorum Andromadae vestigia ostendunt. colitur illic
 fabulosa Ceto". | idem in [eodem] libro viii^o "belluae" inquit "cui
 dicebatur exposita fuisse Andromada, ossa Romae apportata ex oppido 1115
 Iudaeae Iope ostendit". quocirca si erratum est dicere Iopen ubi
 actitata sunt Iudaeae esse portum, cur Hieronymo et non Plinio, viro
 tantae auctoritatis quantam pauci a sua ad nostram usque aetatem
 consecuti videantur, tribuatur? fieri enim posset ut quae Laurentius
 scribit vera omnino sint, quom Ovidii auctoritate sit fretus. sed quor 1120
 in hunc et non in illum prosiluerit? nam inter ceteras auctoritates
 Latinae linguae quas Valla probat Plinius ipse in primis connumeratur,
 cuius dicta verbaque nusquam castigare ausus est. quare nulli mirum
 videri debet si de Prisciano obloquatur, cum hoc ipsum in alios
 clariores viros tentare non sit veritus. 1125

mordet quoque Valla quendam virum elegantissimum, cuius nomen
 ipse reticet sed verba prodit: "quidam" enim inquit "nuper librum
 sic inchoavit, 'Phaonius civis meus' et reliqua, quom dicere debuisset
 'concivis meus'; dominus enim civitatis civem suum vocat, quia non
 potest appellare <con>civem". haec ille. sed non fuit Valla recordatus 1130
 | verborum M. Ciceronis, e cuius fonte omnes agelli rigantur, qui in

1109 Phoenicio] Phaenitio *N* Iopen] -pem *N* 1111 Iope] -pae *N* 1114 idem *N*:
fort. item eodem *seclusi* (cf. 1110 *sup.*) 1125 clariores] calariores *N* 1129 do-
 minus *Vall.*: dicens *N* (*errore ex dns abbrev. haud dubie exorto*) 1130 convicem *Vall.*:
 civem *N*

1103f cf. *Vulg. Ion.* 1.3 1105f *Vall.* (loc. cit. ad 1105-1107 *sup.*) *Ov. A.A.* 1.53 et
Her. XV.35-36 adducit 1108-1110 *Plin. N.H.V.* 31.128 ("qua") 1111-1114 *Plin.*
N.H.V. 14.69 ("collem praeiacente") (vide sis Schifald. incisum illud "alter intus" quasi
 eiusdem sententiae participem laudare) 1114-1116 *Plin. N.H.* IX.4.11 1127-
 1130 *Vall. Elegant.* IV.83 (p. 149) ("librum nuper... Favonius")

iii^o Tusculanarum quaestionum libro “legimus” inquit “librum Clitomachi, quem ille eversa Carthagine misit consultationis causa ad captivos, cives suos”. <“cives suos”> dixit, non “concives”. debuit
 1135 igitur Ciceronem non Laurentium imitari quicumque dixit “Phaonius civis meus”. aequo animo igitur maledicta in Priscianum feramus, si clari viri ab eo carpuntur.

Valla inquit “desiderio tui” et non “tuo” dici Latine oportere, cum haec diversa sint significationis. sed Terentius, comicus elegantissimus
 1140 et Romanae linguae apprime sciens, non esse Laurentio credendum liquido ostendit. nanque in Heautontimorumenos Syrus servus non infacetus, quom de Antiphila apud Cliniam loqueretur, “ut facile” inquit “scires desiderio id fieri tuo”. haec enim auctoritas ita Laurentii sententiae obstat examussum, ut nihil magis illi obstare queat. nam
 1145 si “tui” et non “tuo”, ut ipse praecipit, semper dicendum foret, ubinam aptius rectiusque quam hic a poeta dici poterat. igitur utroque dici modo interdum posse omnino videtur.

non est igitur mirum si ceteros verbo | laedat mordaci recte loquentes, quom dicta veterum in mentem illi semper venire non potuerint.
 1150 “quanti” et “tanti” genetivum non mutari inquit Valla. sed Plinius Naturalis Historiae libro xii^o hanc non esse aeternam legem et quae sic se semper habeat manifeste ostendit: “tanto” inquit “nobis deliciae et feminae constant” et reliqua. “tanto” dixit et non “tanti”. igitur non omnia lectitare et lectitata meminisse Laurentius is potuit,
 1155 qui de omnibus facile disputavit.

in divum Hieronymum praeterea verbum Pauli e Graeco in Latinam linguam convertentem Valla invehitur. dicit enim Hieronymus “eratis aliquando oleastri, nunc inserti” et reliqua. “insitos” et non “insertos” dicere debuisse quibusdam Latinorum auctoritatibus nixus optime

1133 eversa *Cic.* : cursa *N* (*ex eusa scriptura*) 1134 cives suos *supplevi* (*cf. ad 378 sup.*)
 1141 Heautontimorumenos] -timerumenon *N* 1150 inquit Valla *N*² : inquit Priscianus
 Valla *N* 1152 deliciae] -tiae *N* 1159 debuisse] debuisset et *N*

1132-1134 *Cic. T.D.* III.22.54 (“consolandi causa”) (quem locum contra Vallam adducit et Ioannes Despauteus grammaticus, cf. “Annotationem” ad *Elegant.* IV.83, p. 357 ed. Coloniae 1539) 1138-1139 Vall. *Elegant.* II.1 (p. 43): quo autem loco Schifald. sententiam Vallae vel parum intellexit vel in malam partem detorsit 1142f Ter. *Heaut.* 307 (“scias”) (eundem versum adducit Valla ipse, *Elegant.* II.1 [p. 44]) 1150 Vall. *Elegant.* III.1 (p. 81) 1150-1153 Plin. *N.H.* XII 18.84 (“tanti nobis...”) 1156ff Vall. *Elegant.* II.11 (p. 53) 1157f cf. Vulg. *Rom.* 11.17

probat; verum tamen non sine Romanorum auctoritate Hieronymus 1160
hoc verbo usus est. nam et Columellae verba in medium non affero;
sed Macrobiani, reconditissimae doctrinae viri (ut Valla ipse fatetur),
verba haec sunt, quae Hieronymo suffragentur: “huic” inquit “deo
Saturno insertiores Siculorum pomorum educationes et omnium fer-
tilium tribuunt [tribuunt] disciplinas”. “insertiores” dixit | et non 1165
“insitiones”. his enim verbis persuasi utrumque nos posse dicere non
ignoramus: quod si Macrobianum quoque oberravisse quis dixerit, satis
superque nobis erit si Hieronymum clarissimi viri auctoritate compro-
batum communire possimus.

non enim Vallae verba atque sententiae [e] xii tabularum leges, 1170
quae ab Atheniensibus acceptae inviolatissime servatae sunt, omnino
erunt, reliquorum autem Romanorum sententiae Gracchorum leges
agrariae, quae de medio sublatae <sunt>, habebuntur, tametsi pro-
banti credi solet. sed qui ad propositum suum reliquas auctoritates
adducit quae sibi faveant, ceteras vero respuit quae sibi obstant, non 1175
veritatem inquirat, sed calumnias aggerit. quom enim alibi Valla diceret
“quisque” superlativum sibi asciscere et quosdam aliter loquentes
reprehenderet, in eadem oratione ipse in castigatum errorem incidit.
nam quom quod dixerat exemplo probaret, post longiusculum ser-
monem suae sententiae immemor “et quisque” inquit “sibi amicus 1180
est”. “amicissimus” non “amicus” dici debuit. “maior Dionysius” et
“minor Dionysius” quemadmodum “Scipio maior” et “Scipio minor”
nullo pacto” ait Valla “dici a bonis auctoribus invenitur”. | sed
Plinii viri excellentissimi auctoritas Naturalis Historiae libro iii^o mani-
feste talia dicentem coarguit, cuius verba haec sunt: “itaque Dionysius 1185
maior intercisam eo loco adiicere Siciliae voluit” et reliqua.

1161 non] nunc N 1164 Saturno N: *om. Macrobiani*. 1165 tribuunt (2^o) *seclusi*
1169 communire] cōmun* *N*²: *quid N, non liquet* 1170 e *seclusi*: exii¹ (= exii-arum)
N 1173 sunt *supplevi* (cf. 1171 *sup.*) 1173f probanti *sc. Vallae* (i.e., *tametsi Vallae,*
cum suum propositum probare aggreditur, credi solet) 1175 respuit...obstant] *respuat...*
obstant N 1177 asciscere] *ass-* N loquentes] -ter N

1161 cf. Col. *de arb.* 8.3 1162 cf. Vall. *Elegant.* II *praef.* (p. 41) 1163-
1165 Macrobiani. *Sat.* I.7.25 (“insertiones surculorum pomorumque educationes et omnium
eiuscemodi fertillium”) 1176ff Vall. *Elegant.* I.14 (p. 19): ubi profecto libido illa
remordendi Schifald. praecipitem in refutationem parum accuratam egit 1180f Vall.
Elegant. II.1 (p. 44) 1181-1183 Vall. *Elegant.* I.13 (p. 17)

Conclusio totius libelli

haec habui et plura profecto alia quae adducere in Vallam virum
acutissimum potui, non ut tali tantoque viro detraherem, cuius fama
1190 longe lateque patet, sed ut eum saepe oblitum, quom Priscianum et
ceteros carperet, auctoritatum quae castigatis suffragarentur osten-
derem. quocirca si quis fortasse inventus erit qui nostras inventiones
aegre ferat, meminerit nos clarissimis sanctissimisque viris quos com-
mordet debere quam is qui aegre ferat Laurentio debet. quare patiantur
1195 aequo animo supradicta ratione necesse est. poterit tamen si velit me
doctrinamque meam confutare: quod quidem mihi iucundissimum
fore sibi persuadeat, ut parem gratiam eidem aliquando veluti stimulis
agitatus referre queam. quod si ipse calcaribus compunctus scriptioni
indulgere cogatur, maiora fortasse animo concipiam ut mordentem
1200 remordere queam. et hic nostri sit libelli finis.

Carlo VECCE

JEAN CALVET E LA SILLOGE EPIGRAFICA DI BARTOLOMEO FONZIO

Ciò che rende appassionante la lettura del *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* è proprio la possibilità di cogliere nella insuperata costruzione del Mommsen, aldilà dell'interesse epigrafico, brani preziosi di storia della cultura, allorché ci si avvicina alla complessa costellazione di sillogi e raccolte che nel corso dei secoli hanno tramandato la scienza antiquaria. Questo vale soprattutto al riguardo dell'umanesimo. Sarebbe un grave errore tralasciare il nome di Ciriaco d'Ancona accanto a quelli di Poggio, Niccoli, Traversari: la religiosa conservazione di un'iscrizione classica ha lo stesso valore delle incursioni umanistiche nelle biblioteche abbaziali per disseppellirvi Quintiliano e Valerio Flacco. L'epigrafia diventa allora strumento principe per la riscoperta dell'antichità¹. Già nella seconda metà del XV secolo la sua diffusione è tale da influenzare profondamente le stesse arti figurative: basti pensare all'esempio di Mantegna, alle epigrafi classiche 'incastonate' come gioielli nello sfondo di racconti cristiani².

Ci soffermeremo su un episodio estremamente significativo della trasmissione dell'interesse epigrafico fuori d'Italia, all'alba del XVI secolo. La civiltà rinascimentale italiana, la civiltà delle corti, vive momenti drammatici, e stenta a ritrovare una propria identità. Ma

* Un ringraziamento a Godelieve e Gilbert Tournoy, che mi hanno avvicinato al manoscritto di Barcellona fornendomele le riproduzioni: ma varrà come ricordo di questi mesi trascorsi nella *Belgica Tellus*.

¹ R. Weiss, *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 145-166; I. Calabi Limentani, *Epigrafia latina* (Milano-Varese, 1968), pp. 42-51; A. Calderini, *Epigrafia* (Torino, 1974), pp. 7-9.

² A. Moschetti, "Le iscrizioni lapidarie negli affreschi del Mantegna", *Atti R. Istituto Veneto*, 91 (1931-32), 227-239. Ma cfr. l'esempio illuminante di S. Giustina di Padova, M. P. Billanovich, "Epigrafi e antichità a S. Giustina di Padova", *Italia Medioevale ed Umanistica*, 12 (1969), 197-294.

la particolare congiunzione degli eventi storici fa sì che quella civiltà cominci a diffondersi in Europa, a trovare nuovi, fecondi sviluppi. La corte di Francia è polo d'attrazione d'intellettuali ed artisti italiani: e pochi anni bastano a trasformare il volto di un'epoca.

Ne è documento tra i più interessanti una miscellanea umanistica dei primi anni del secolo, legata al nome di un Jean Calvet, familiare dei potenti Robertet. Il manoscritto Barcelona, *Biblioteca de Catalunya* 1010 (= B)³, presenta, accanto ad un importante florilegio poetico (pp. 164-225) e a due incunaboli (entrambi da Venezia, 1498 e 1499, inseriti nel florilegio tra p. 222 e p. 223)⁴, una nutrita silloge epigrafica (pp. 1-163), composta probabilmente negli stessi anni del florilegio⁵. Di due lettere di Jean Calvet a Gonsalvo di Toledo, medico a Lione in ottimi rapporti con Symphorien Champier, la seconda (9/8/1506) ci dà il *terminus ante quem* per l'intero manoscritto, mentre l'analisi attenta del florilegio ci rimanda direttamente all'ambiente di corte, tra Lione e Blois, negli anni tra il 1500 e il 1506, rivelandovi la presenza di umanisti come Fausto Andrelini, Bernardino Dardano, Ludovico Eliano, lo stesso Sannazaro.

In questa cerchia, quindi, Jean Calvet matura anche la propria silloge epigrafica, in modo quasi del tutto naturale, se pensiamo che Sannazaro era appassionato ricercatore e collezionista d'iscrizioni antiche⁶. Uno dei due incunaboli, come abbiamo visto, non era altro

³ Il ms., recentemente scoperto, è stato illustrato sulle pagine di questa rivista da Godelieve Tournoy-Thoen, che ne ha procurato l'edizione del florilegio poetico. A quegli studi si rimanda per ulteriori approfondimenti: "Le manuscrit 1010 de la Biblioteca de Catalunya et l'humanisme italien à la cour de France vers 1500", *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 24 (1975), 70-101; 26 (1977), 1-81; 27 (1978), 52-85; "À propos de quelques épitaphes latines pour la mort de Charles le Téméraire", *Lias*, 5 (1978), 1-11; "Les premiers épithalames humanistes en France", in *Mélanges à la mémoire de Franco Simone*, I (Genève, 1980), pp. 199-224; P.F. Andrelini "Amores sive Livia" met een bio-bibliografie van de auteur (Brussel, 1982), pp. xxxviii, 159, 177, 181. Inoltre: J. IJsewijn - F. Huysentruyt, "Übersehene Juvenalzitate um 1500", *Wolfenbütteler Renaissance Mitteilungen*, 7 (1983), in corso di stampa.

⁴ *Auctores vetustissimi nuper in lucem editi* (Venetiis, Bern. Venetus, 1498 = Hain 12527); *Valerii Probi grammatici de interpretandis Romanorum litteris* (Venetiis, Ioann. Tacuinus de Tridino, 1499 = Hain 13378). Su Probo, Th. Mommsen in H. Keil, *Grammatici Latini*, IV (Lipsiae, 1864), 265-352; si tratta di un testo frequentemente inserito nelle sillogi epigrafiche.

⁵ Tournoy-Thoen, "Le manuscrit 1010", I, 100-101.

⁶ CIL, X, 1965; E. Percopo, "Nuovi documenti su gli scrittori e gli artisti dei tempi aragonesi", *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane*, 19 (1894), 376-382; E. Ziebarth, "De antiquissimis inscriptionum syllogis", *Ephemeris epigraphica*, 9 (1905), 232-233; F. Nicolini, "Pietro Summonte, Marcantonio Michiel e l'arte napoletana del

che il *De interpretandis Romanorum litteris* di Valerio Probo, edito a Venezia dal Tacuino nel 1499, un'edizioncina che costituiva l'indispensabile *vademecum* dell'epigrafista alle prime armi.

Nel suo insieme, la raccolta si richiama alle più importanti collezioni di provenienza italiana⁷: all'inizio le epigrafi urbane *Ex monumentis Romanae Urbis et aliorum locorum sumpta* (pp. 1-83), un intermezzo di epitaffi letterari (pp. 84-91), poi i *Monumenta per Italiam collecta* (pp. 92-136), *Monumenta extra Italiam collecta* (pp. 137-148), un'appendix per Lione (pp. 149-157). Un collegamento immediato, per evidenti analogie di ordinazione e contenuto, s'instaura con la cosiddetta silloge pandolfiniana, risalente a Francesco Pandolfini, e contenuta principalmente in Laur. Ashburn. Libri 1174, copiato dopo il 1489 (= *Pand*)⁸. Il legame si fa ancora più stretto quando, a pp. 147-148 di B, leggiamo l'*inscriptio* di tre epigrafi provenienti da Buda: "In vetustis marmoribus e Transilvania adverso Danubio advectis iussu Mathiae Corvini regis hec tria epitaphia ad ripam Danubii iuxta Budam *legi* Calendis Iulii anno 1489". Le tre epigrafi infatti sono testimoniate da *Pand*, che le inserisce tra materiale di generalizzata provenienza ciriacana⁹: l'*inscriptio* è esattamente la stessa, con una sola variante, *Fontius legit* contro il *legi* di B. Calvet copiava direttamente da una raccolta di Bartolomeo Fonzio?

Quella raccolta, seppur mutila, esiste ancora in un manoscritto già nella collezione Ashmole (*Font*), che era servito di base per la stessa silloge del Pandolfini, allievo del Fonzio dopo il ritorno di questi dall'Ungheria¹⁰; ed è certo che, attraverso Cosimo Sacchetti, con-

Rinascimento", *Napoli Nobilissima*, 18 (1922), 58. Su Sannazaro in Francia spero di tornare presto più diffusamente; cfr. per ora "Iacopo Sannazaro in Francia ed alcune opere dell'atelier di Bourdichon", *Revue des Archéologues et Historiens d'Art de Louvain*, 16 (1983) (in corso di stampa).

⁷ Cfr. per un quadro d'insieme Ziebarth, "De antiquissimis", pp. 187-332.

⁸ *Pand* contiene nell'ordine *Monumenta romanae urbis et aliorum locorum*, *Carmina quaedam*, *Monumenta per Italiam collecta*, *Monumenta extra Italiam collecta*, *Graeca epitaphia*; CIL, X, p. xxxvii; S. Caroti-S. Zamponi, *Lo scrittoio di Bartolomeo Fonzio* (Milano, 1974), n° 86, pp. 117-118.

⁹ CIL, III, 1460, 6265, 7979. Furono edite da Mommsen in *Archäologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich*, 1 (1877), p. 126; cfr. *Ephemeris epigraphica*, 4 (1881), n° 182; CIL, III, p. 1373; CIL, X, p. xxxvii. B conserva la stessa variante di *Pand*, *Libertus* contro *librarius*.

¹⁰ L'attuale Oxford, Bodl. Libr., Lat. Misc. d. 85: Caroti-Zamponi, *Lo scrittoio*, n° 39, pp. 84-90; F. Saxl, "The Classical Inscription in Renaissance Art and Politics", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute*, 4 (1940-41), 19-46.

giunto del più noto Francesco e residente allora a Lione, il Fonzio avrebbe inviato al Cancelliere di Francia, patrono dell'umanesimo francese, Guillaume de Rochefort († 1492), una copia della sua *collectio*¹¹. Era questa, quindi, la raccolta che circolava a Lione alla fine del secolo, e che poteva risultare maggiormente accessibile a Calvet.

Ma in verità, alla parte finale di B, riguardante Lione, viene dato maggior risalto, anche con l'aggiunta di un breve *spicilegium* d'autori classici (pp. 157-163)¹²; e stavolta Calvet raccoglie le epigrafi di casa propria. Che si trattasse di un primo approccio all'epigrafia è indicato dalle postille interlineari che affollano quest'ultima sezione: si tratta di abbreviazioni sciolte (anche le più ovvie!), e di glosse a termini particolari, glosse legate ad una letteratura del tipo di Valerio Probo. Si presentano, nell'ordine, le seguenti epigrafi:

(p. 149)	CIL.XIII.1709
	1940
(p. 150)	2270
	1676a
	2209
(p. 151)	2277
	1895
	1852
(p. 152)	2178
	2188
(p. 153)	1916
	1676ab
(p. 154)	1921
(p. 155)	1918
	1686
(p. 156)	1695
	1674

(le ultime cinque epigrafi sono assenti in *Font/Pand*).

Dal confronto con le altre raccolte epigrafiche¹³, possiamo innan-

¹¹ Saxl, "The Classical", pp. 37-41; Caroti-Zamponi, *Lo scrittoio*, pp. 20-21, 76. Sul Fonzio, C. Marchesi, *Bartolomeo Della Fonte* (Catania, 1900); A. C. De La Mare, "The Library of Francesco Sassetti", in *Cultural Aspects of the Italian Renaissance. Essays in Honour of Paul Oscar Kristeller* (Manchester, 1976), pp. 160-202 (per i rapporti con i Sassetti).

¹² Tournoy-Thoen, "Le manuscrit 1010", I, 101.

¹³ Ad esempio, *Font*, *Pand*, l'*appendix* del cod. Marciano lat. XIV.171 (4665) di fra' Giocondo, il codice Veronese di Marin Sanuto, scritto dopo il 1500 (CIL, II, p. vi; III, p. xxxii; V, p. xxxi, 6, 321; IX, p. lxi; XIII, p. 257) (= *San*), la raccolta epigrafica pubblicata da Symphorien Champier nel 1537 (*Ch*), il codice *Regiensi* di Michele Ferrarini († 1488/93).

zitutto, per ovvie discordanze, scartare quella di Michele Ferrarini¹⁴. B si lega direttamente con *Font/Pand* (per CIL.XIII.1940, B sente il bisogno di annotare *Vrbice hic deest*, come *Pand*, pur accogliendo una congettura di Giocondo; per CIL.XIII.2178, B ha *PILARGVRI* di *Pand*, contro il *PILAGVRI* di altre sillogi), ma presenta alla fine cinque titoli sconosciuti. Nell'ordine in cui sono presentate le iscrizioni, B concorda con *Pand*, e non con *Font*; ed essendo B e *Pand* tratti da copie di *Font*, bisognerà supporre che quelle copie, esemplate dal Fonzio per Guillaume de Rochefort e Francesco Pandolfini, fossero in linea di massima identiche.

Evidente il rapporto con *San* e *Ch*: entrambi hanno la raccolta completa dei diciassette titoli di Lione (anche quelli mancanti in *Font/Pand*, e nello stesso ordine). E B non dipende né dall'uno né dall'altro (CIL.XIII.2178, *Pilarguri B*, *Pilaguri San/Ch*; CIL.XIII.1916, *Graeca om. San*).

La questione più interessante si può porre a proposito dell'autore dell'originale raccolta lionese, che, come abbiamo visto, compare parzialmente in *Font/Pand* (fine XV s.), e poi completa in *San* (post 1500) e *Ch* (1537). Otto Hirschfeld, nel compilare il XIII volume del CIL, dopo l'osservazione che *Pand* è il codice migliore e che *San* e *Ch* sono da considerarsi insieme, arrivava alla conclusione che Symphorien Champier (nato ca. 1472) è il vero compilatore dell'*appendix*; alla fine del XV secolo, dall'umanista di Lione essa sarebbe stata trasmessa a Pandolfini, poi, con qualche aggiunta, al Sanuto, per essere pubblicata solo molto più tardi¹⁵.

In realtà, già parte dell'*appendix* era in *Font*; ed inoltre scoprirne in B una redazione completa, in un testo più vicino a *Pand* (per le prime 12 epigrafi) che a *San/Ch*, ci permette di modificare l'assunto di Hirschfeld: B è il vero intermediario tra una *recensio* fonziano-pandolfiniana e Sanuto, ed in un secondo momento lo stesso Champier.

Soccorrerà qualche dato esterno dalla storia del manoscritto: B passerà a Gonsalvo di Toledo (*ex-libris*, f. 1 r° "Gondisalvi Toledo et amicorum"), grande amico di Symphorien Champier, che gli dedica

¹⁴ Possiede un numero limitato delle epigrafi di B, con diverse significative varianti. CIL, III, p. xxv; IX, p. xxxix; XIII, p. 256; Ziebarth, "De antiquissimis", pp. 219-221. L. Tassano Olivieri, "Notizie su Michele Fabrizio Ferrarini e sulle vicende del codice autografo di Reggio Emilia C.398", *Italia Medioevale ed Umanistica*, 22 (1979), 513-24; M. Billanovich, "Michele Ferrarini, Aldo Manuzio, Marin Sanudo", *Italia Medioevale ed Umanistica*, 22 (1979), 525-29.

¹⁵ CIL, XIII, p. 257.

sue importanti edizioni: ed è testimoniato anche un fecondo scambio di libri e manoscritti tra i due medici-umanisti¹⁶. Nel 1537, infine, le diciassette epigrafi vengono edite in margine ad una pubblicazione di Champier, ed in lettera minuscola¹⁷.

Quanto al Sanuto, incontriamo a Lione nel 1501 un corrispondente veneziano, Pietro Aleandro, del quale vengono riportati alcuni dispacci nei *Diarii*¹⁸. Aleandro sarebbe ritornato in Italia entro la fine del 1502: ed i suoi interessi epigrafici sono pienamente confermati dai contatti avuti a Brescia con Taddeo Solazio, antiquario ed epigrafista bresciano¹⁹, e dall'edizione del *De temporibus* di Beda e del *De regionibus Urbis Romae* di P. Vittore (curata nel 1505 presso il Tacuino a Venezia)²⁰. Ecco un brano illuminante dalla lettera dedicatoria a Giovanni Battista Baldo, anch'egli appassionato di epigrafia²¹: "Habes non tam quae in Italia, verum etiam quae extra, in antiquis exculpta marmoribus tam recondita apud te, ut merito sis antiquarius nuncupandus".

Se facciamo il nome di Aleandro, è anche per giungere all'altro ben più noto di fra' Giocondo, che noi avvertiamo come presenza insistente nella composizione della raccolta epigrafica di Calvet. Pietro aveva infatti collaborato con Giocondo alla scoperta del famoso

¹⁶ Tournoy-Thoen, "Le manuscrit 1010", I, 74-77.

¹⁷ *Galliae Celticae ac antiquitatis Lugdunensis civitatis, quae caput est Celtarum, campus* (Lugduni, M. e G. Trechsel, 1537), fol. Dd4v^o: "Epitaphia ex vetustissimis monumentis urbis Lugduni in Gallia Comata sumpta". H. Baudrier, *Bibliographie Lyonnaise*, XII (Paris, 1921 = rist. anastat. 1964), pp. 249-250.

¹⁸ M. Sanuto, *Diarii*, IV (Venezia, 1880), pp. 62 e 89. P. Sambin, "Di una ignorata fonte dei *Diarii* di Marin Sanudo", *Atti dell'Ist. Veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti*, 104-2 (1944/45), 21-53; G. Cozzi, "Marin Sanudo il Giovane: dalla cronaca alla storia", in *La storiografia veneziana fino al secolo XVI* (Firenze, 1970), pp. 333-58; D.S. Chambers, "Marin Sanudo camerlengo of Verona (1501-1502)", *Archivio Veneto*, s. V, 109 (1977), 37-66.

¹⁹ Piacenza, Biblioteca Comunale, Pallastrelli 116, fol. 2r^o-v^o. Sul Solazio, V. Peroni, *Biblioteca Bresciana*, III (Brescia, 1823), p. 226; P. Guerrini, *Le cronache bresciane inedite dei sec. XV-XIX*, II (Brescia, 1963), pp. 482, n. 9, e 540, n. 4; L. Valla, *De vero bono*, ed. M. De Panizza Lorch (Bari, 1970), pp. xviii-xxii, 149. Le sue epigrafi in London, British Library, Add. 49370 (già Holkham Hall 416): S. De Ricci, *A Hand-list of Manuscripts of the Earl of Leicester at Holkham Hall* (Oxford, 1932), p. 36.

²⁰ *Venerabilis Bedae presbyteri de temporibus sive de sex aetatibus huius seculi liber incipit, P. Victoris de regionibus urbis Rome libellus aureus* (Venetiis, I. Tacuinus de Tridino, 28.5.1505).

²¹ La lettera è data "Patavii Id.Mart.MCCCCCV". Baldo, un veronese, sembra legato ad umanisti come Matteo Rufo, Antonio Panteo, Girolamo Avanzio, Bartolomeo Merula.

codice *Parisinus* di Plinio il Giovane, che conservava integro l'epistolario con Traiano²²: e poteva essere intervenuto precedentemente nella composizione dell'*appendix* lionese del già ricordato codice Marciano di Giocondo²³. La maggior parte delle epigrafi dell'*appendix* proviene da Lione, mentre altre erano state comunicate dall'Italia. Il Marciano, mutilo della fine, è supplito nella parte mancante da un'ottima copia, Venezia, Museo Civico Correr, Cicogna 2704, dove leggiamo appunto epigrafi che nel 1502 erano appena state scoperte a Santa Giustina di Padova; ed alla stessa data veniva probabilmente completata la raccolta²⁴. Inoltre, nel Marciano il fascicolo che contiene l'*appendix*²⁵ mostra chiaramente d'essere stato aggiunto alla silloge antecedente, e reca la filigrana Briquet 13490, propria dell'area di Tours e Blois nei primi anni del 1500. Per quanto siano stati avanzati dei dubbi sull'autografia di Giocondo²⁶, credo che ora potremmo con una certa sicurezza attribuire questo fascicolo alla sua mano²⁷.

Certo, Calvet dipende soprattutto da Fonzio, e non dalle sillogi di Giocondo, ma accetta una congettura del Marciano (CIL.XIII.1940:

²² G. Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e della critica del testo* (Firenze, 1952), pp. 57-58.

²³ Su Giocondo epigrafista, oltre a n. 6, De Rossi, *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae*, II-i (Romae, 1888), pp. 395-401; CIL, II, p. vi; III, p. xxvii; V, pp. xviii-xix, 264, 413, 771; VI, p. xlv; IX, pp. xlv-xlvii; X, pp. xlv-xlvii; XI, pp. 2-3; XIII, pp. 256-257; I. Carini, "Sul codice epigrafico di fra Giocondo recentemente acquistato dalla Biblioteca Vaticana", *Dissertationi della Pontificia Accademia di Archeologia*, s. II, 5 (1894), 219-282; A. Silvagni, *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae*, NS, I (Romae, 1922), pp. xxxv-xxxviii.

²⁴ CIL, V, p. 264.

²⁵ L'*appendix* comincia a fol. 191, utilizzando fino a fol. 195 la parte finale del quaderno precedente (ancora con filigrana napoletana); seguono un quaternione (196-204) e un senione (205-215: manca l'ultimo foglio) con fil. Briquet 13490. La silloge si arresta proprio a fol. 215 v°.

²⁶ Mommsen era incerto sull'*Appendix* del Marciano, "scripta a manu simili neque tamen eadem" (CIL, III, p. xxvii). Wardrop identifica giustamente una parte del Cicogna con la scrittura di Bartolomeo Sanvito, ma non dà giudizi sul resto: J. Wardrop, *The Script of Humanism* (Oxford, 1963), pp. 27-29. Inespiegabilmente, la tav. 24 pubblicata da Wardrop come riproduzione del Cicogna riproduce invece un foglio del Marciano, fol. 211 r°!

²⁷ Sulla base del confronto, ad esempio, con Vat. lat. 4104, fol. 50, lettera di Giocondo (1514): L. A. Ciapponi, "A Fragmentary Treatise on Epigraphic Alphabets by Fra Giocondo da Verona", *Renaissance Quarterly*, 32 (1979), 23, n.; pl. I-III. Per fra Giocondo in Francia, cfr. L. Ciapponi, "Appunti per una biografia di Giovanni Giocondo da Verona", *Italia Medioevale ed Umanistica*, 4 (1961), 145-147. L'autografia di questa sezione del Marciano (190-215 v°) mi è inoltre gentilmente confermata da Lucia Ciapponi Stadter (lettera dell'8/2/1983).

Vrbicae), e gli si avvicina nel testo per le ultime cinque epigrafi assenti in *Font/Pand.* Purtroppo, la scarsità di elementi testuali ci impedisce di stabilire rapporti di dipendenza. Più suggestiva un'ipotesi di formazione parallela delle sezioni relative a Lione per Calvet e Giocondo: del resto, chi meglio di Giocondo poteva inculcare in un umanista d'oltralpe la passione per la riscoperta dell'antichità attraverso il ricupero e l'esegesi di testimonianze apparentemente così avere come le epigrafi? Jean Calvet conserverà allora, con i suoi limiti, una luce pionieristica nel quadro più ampio dell'umanesimo francese: quelle epigrafi trasmesse da una scrittura che ancora oscilla tra la bastarda e l'umanistica sono il documento più vivo di un'età che cambia.

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CURIO LANCILLOTTO PASIO E LA
"BUCOLICORUM MIMISIS"
DEDICATA A NICCOLÒ DA CORREGGIO*

Le egloghe del Pasio sono testimoniate dal solo Vaticano latino 2866¹, redatto dal poeta nel 1506 e dedicato a Niccolò da Correggio, nel seguente ordine²:

1. *Mopsus ad argutae pinus se tristior umbras ...*
(Mopsus, Condus; 79 vv.)

Prima mimisis peculiares principis Nicolai de Corrigha laudes substringit,
inibique pauperes seu vates seu amantes esse infortunatos praeludit.

* Il presente lavoro, che si riallaccia alle ricerche sulla poesia pastorale nel secolo XV condotte sotto la guida di Antonia Tissoni Benvenuti, è pure debitore di preziosi suggerimenti al prof. Giuseppe Velli, che qui si ringrazia.

¹ Di Curio Lancillotto Pasio, ferrarese, noto soprattutto come autore della grammatica *De litteratura non vulgari* (stampata per la prima volta a Reggio Emilia, presso Francesco Mazzali, nel 1504 col titolo *De rebus non vulgaribus* e poi più volte reimpressa fra il 1511 e il 1525) non conosciamo la data di nascita né di morte. La sua attività letteraria, testimoniata da una vasta quanto variegata produzione (opere filologico-grammaticali, opere letterarie originali, oltre a orazioni ed epistole), si svolse tra Ferrara e Reggio Emilia in un arco di tempo che copre l'ultimo ventennio del Quattrocento e il primo del Cinquecento. Sul carattere provinciale dell'umanesimo del Pasio — del resto tipico di quell'età — ci illumina in particolare il commento inerente la prefazione di Plinio alla *Naturalis historia* (*Lectiones Plinianae*, Regii Lepidi, Franciscus Mazalis, 1504), in cui l'interesse per la ricostruzione del testo è decisamente secondario: la scelta stessa del Perotti quale bersaglio polemico (e quindi del Vitelli come serbatoio di critiche) e gli attacchi, in sede di discussione testuale, alle *Castigationes* del Barbaro rivelano la sostanziale estraneità del Pasio alle più recenti svolte della filologia umanistica e, al tempo stesso, la sua strenua adesione al vecchio tipo di commento, rivolto sostanzialmente all'esegesi. Per un catalogo completo delle opere del Pasio cfr. G. Pinotti, "Un umanista a Reggio fra Quattro e Cinquecento: Curio Lancillotto Pasio", *Contributi. Rivista Semestrale della Biblioteca "A. Panizzi"*, Reggio E. a. V, n. 10 (Luglio-Dicembre 1981), 103-143 (a tale contributo si rimanda anche per la descrizione del Vat. lat. 2866).

² Ogni *incipit* è seguito, oltre che dal titolo, dall'indicazione degli interlocutori e del numero dei versi, dall'*argumentum* fornito dallo stesso autore ai ff. 4^v-5^v.

2. *Formosum Curius vates ardere Philexim ...*
Philexis
 (egloga monodica; 99 vv.)
 Secunda mimisis florem iuvenilis aetatis, inconstantiam pariter et brevitatem, ex arte docet, imitatione per Philexim Maroniani Alexis.
3. *Dic mihi nunc, Corydon, quae te dementia cepit?*
 (Corydon, Thyrsis; 121 vv.)
 Tertia mimisis est de scrinio cubiculari in penetralibus principis Nicolai, non sine quoque laudibus eius.
4. *Dicite, Libetrides, paulo maiora canendum est.*
Alphonsini Herculis genethliacon
 (egloga monodica; 116 vv.)
 Quarta mimisis genethliacon Alphonsini Herculis.
5. *Quo pecus hinc ducis? Macies quod sicca sub umbra ...*
 (Moelibaeus, Chryseus, Phlisius, Philomusus; 77 vv.)
 Quinta mimisis ex pastoralis disputatione³ ethicon habet egregium; de paupere superbo, divite avaro, sene luxurioso.
6. *Carre, vides resonant nunc quantum arbusta cicadis.*
 (Dorotheus, Carrus, Alexis; 88 vv.)
 Sexta mimisis ex pastoralis disertatione quomodo amoris infortunium vincitur toleranti atque duranti ad finem.
7. *Astacus et Mopsus cyrrhati et Parrhius ardens ...*
Faunus deus
 (Astacus, Mopsus, Parrhius; 93 vv.)
 Septima mimisis laudes agriculturae continet, in quibus omnia paene eius opera recenset Faunus deus. Aemulatio est Sylleni Virgiliani.
8. *Haedum praepinguem video : tibi gestas, amice ...*
 (Lycidas, Menalcas, Tonnulus; 73 vv.)
 Octava laudes mimisis habet peculiaris praelibati principis Nicolai de Corrigia.
9. *Quo te nunc profers, Magire, aut qua nunc petis urbem?*
Lamia
 (Caldius, Magirus; 80 vv.)
 Nona mimisis Lamia ex Apuleiana inventionione.
10. *Forte sub aerea iuvenis consederat ulmo.*
Metamorphosis excogitatum

³ Nel margine destro si legge: "al. contentione".

(Lucius, Simulus; 94 vv.)

Decima *mimisis excogitatum pro pharmaceutria*, in quo libido cognoscitur mulierum, *Metamorphosis dictabitur pro titulo a doctis*.

L'intento di rigida *imitatio* cui sembra alludere il titolo *Bucolicorum mimisis* trova dunque una prima conferma nel numero delle egloghe, che assume qui valore programmatico, denunciando la scelta di Virgilio come modello principe, almeno a livello strutturale. Non sembra inoltre casuale che la seconda egloga, *Philexis*, sia esemplata sulla seconda virgiliana (si noti la pressoché totale identità degli *incipit*: "Formosum Curius vates ardere Philexim" da "Formosum pastor Corydon ardebat Alexim") e che la quarta, *Alphonsini Herculis genethliacon*, tragga materia dalla quarta delle *Bucoliche* (anche in questo caso il debito è dichiarato dall'*incipit*: "Dicite, Libetrides, paulo maiora canendum est" da "Sicelides Musae, paulo maiora canamus"; e si noti che anche l'epiteto *Libetrides* è di derivazione virgiliana: cfr. *Ecl.* 7, 21).

Tale fruizione delle *Bucoliche* (come modello, cioè, eminentemente strutturale) trova il suo necessario presupposto nel restauro umanistico dell'egloga e in particolare nei *Pastoralia* boiardeschi⁴: come nel Boiardo, del resto, l'imitazione di Virgilio non esclude l'apporto di altri autori, consentendo anzi di incastonare in preordinati moduli narrativi e situazionali nuclei tematici di provenienza eterodossa. Esemplare, nel Pasio, è il caso delle due ultime egloghe, che celano dietro *incipit* ortodossamente virgiliani e bucolici motivi desunti dalle *Metamorfosi* di Apuleio.

Il titolo *Bucolicorum mimisis* rispecchierà allora non solo la consapevolezza di compiere un'operazione centonaria e imitativa, ma anche, e soprattutto, l'esigenza di cautelarsi, collocando sotto il segno dell'*auctoritas* virgiliana un'eterodossia spinta sino alla deliberata infrazione dei canoni strettamente pastorali:

⁴ Sull'argomento cfr. E. Bigi, "La poesia latina del Boiardo", in *Il Boiardo e la critica contemporanea. Atti del convegno di studi su Matteo Maria Boiardo, Scandiano-Reggio Emilia, 25-27 aprile 1969* (Firenze, 1969), pp. 81-96 (in particolare pp. 93-95). Sulla scelta da parte del Boiardo di un numero fisso di versi per ogni egloga, cfr. A. Tissoni Benvenuti, "Schede per una storia della poesia pastorale nel Secolo XV: la scuola Guariniana a Ferrara", in *"In ricordo di Cesare Angelini". Studi di Letteratura e Filologia* (Milano, 1979), pp. 102-103 (in particolare p. 109 n. 29). Le egloghe latine del Boiardo si leggono in M. M. Boiardo, *Tutte le opere*, a cura di A. Zottoli (Milano, 1936-1937).

Ea ratione, imitatione vel proposito, dicitur mimisis a Curio isto poeta, o lector illustris qui dominus es libelli, qua Pythagoras voluit se philosophum non sophum appellari, sive id modestiae causa fecerit, sive quod nomen cuique non satisfaceret. Ita vates hoc titulo sperat sibi excusationis agere causam, qua et altiora interim possit complecti, vel obscuriora investigare, vel asperiora subtexere (f. 4^v).

Le egloghe del Pasio si presentano dunque come il composito prodotto di diversi generi letterari (che interagiscono tanto a livello strutturale che stilematico), consentendoci di ripercorrere le tappe della formazione e dell'attività più propriamente filologica dell'umanista.

Sotto il profilo tematico sono riconoscibili tre nuclei fondamentali: la I, la II e l'VIII egloga, esplicitamente dedicate al Correggio, hanno intonazione encomiastico-cortigiana (ad esse andrà aggiunta la IV, intesa a celebrare la stirpe estense); la IX e la X, interamente ispirate ad Apuleio, rispondono ad un gusto soprattutto narrativo; le restanti quattro (II, V, VI, VII) costituiscono il gruppo più strettamente pastorale (ma vi confluiscono, come vedremo, anche motivi satirici e georgici)⁵.

I. Egloghe encomiastiche e cortigiane

1. Ecloga I.

In preda allo sconforto, il cantore Mopsus (con ogni probabilità il Pasio stesso) si è rifugiato all'ombra di un pino: infatti (vv. 3-4)

ter conatus erat calamos inflare⁶, tuboque
defuit immissus bucca qui spiritus...

Inutilmente Conduus lo invita ad intonare dolci canzoni (vv. 10-14):

Dicere te gentes in sylvis Orphea, Mopse,
audivi; similem raucis quid forte cicadis
te praebes? Stipula stridenti carmina fundis
quid miser⁸? O, te oculis quis nunc defascinat ater⁹?
Eiia age, blanda mihi nunc profer carmina laetus.

⁵ Nel presentare la struttura delle egloghe e il loro rapporto con la tradizione pastorale si seguirà tale ripartizione. All'interno di ogni singola sezione la seriazione dei componimenti descritti è quella del ms.

⁶ Verg., *Ecl.* 5,2: tu calamos inflare levis....

⁷ Verg., *Ecl.* 2,12-13: ... raucis ... / sole sub ardenti resonant arbusta cicadis.

⁸ Verg., *Ecl.* 3,27: stridenti miserum stipula disperdere carmen?

⁹ Verg., *Ecl.* 3,103: nescio quis teneros oculus mihi fascinat agnos.

Soltanto l'animo sereno induce al canto (vv. 15-18). Diversi elementi esercitano la loro influenza sul cuore dell'uomo: l'amore, le alterne vicende della conduzione dei campi (vv. 19-44); ma più violento ancora è il sentimento di abbandono provato da Mopsus, respinto dal signore che un tempo gli fu amico (vv. 45-47):

Illum ego, qui facie vires ad carmina¹⁰ laetus
praestitit, aversum vidi, nec fronte serena
in me acres volitare oculos...

Se i doni hanno potere sul cuore degli uomini, l'offerta di due caprioli¹¹ potrà forse riconciliare a Mopsus l'animo del signore (vv. 45-56). Tale offerta, a parere di Condu, non sortirà alcun risultato (vv. 57-60):

Vana paras, aulis non curae est doctus Apollo;
capreoli placuere, putem, quos ipse sagitta
Nicolaus fixit. Tua munera lividus aulae
Argus ridebit, captans tunc aera sanna¹².

L'ambiente della corte è dominato dall'invidia, che finisce coll'offuscare anche la generosità del signore: Condu stesso ne ha fatto esperienza e i suoi umili doni sono stati derisi (vv. 57-73). Alle amare conclusioni di Condu (vv. 72-73):

Nulla potest vates: sequitur nam munus et aulae
princeps...

Mopsus contrappone la sua fiducia nella generosità del Correggio, sempre pronto a favorire i poeti (v. 74):

nam Musis gratos mitis fovet...

Accanto ai prelievi dalle *Bucoliche*, nel complesso scarsamente significativi, andrà rilevata la presenza di nuclei tematici desunti dalle *Georgiche*: basterà citare, a titolo di esempio, i vv. 6-8:

stringere tum quernas glandes oleasque rubentis
Condu ut aspexit conantem, fronte rigenti
suspiciere et patulis captare hic naribus auras,

che derivano dal montaggio di *Georg.* 1, 305:

¹⁰ Lucan. 1,66: tu satis ad vires Romana in carmina dandas.

¹¹ 'Sunt mihi nunc gemini, variis qui pellibus albo, / capreoli e summis quos olim montibus ipsi / eduxi: hos statui pro munere ferre...' da Verg., *Ecl.* 2,40-42: Praeterea duo, nec tuta mihi valle reperta, / capreoli, sparsis etiam nunc pellibus albo: / bina die siccant ovis ubera; quos tibi servo.

¹² Iuv. 6,306-307: I nunc et dubita, qua sorbeat aera sanna / Tullia....

Sed tamen et quernas glandes tum stringere tempus
e *Georg.* 1, 375-376:

... aut bucula caelum
suspiciens patulis captavit naribus auras

mentre motivi prettamente georgici svolgono i vv. 25-35, dedicati alle alterne vicende della conduzione dei campi.

Qualche affinità è poi rilevabile, a livello strutturale e tematico, con la III egloga di Gaspere Tribraco¹³, in cui Damon confida all'amico Lycidas di aver perso il favore del suo signore, Phileros (vv. 76-83):

... Arrectas praestabat talibus aures
et multum Phileros, Phileros meus hic quoque risit.
Nunc quasi somniferum, Sterope immiscente, papaver
hauserit, haud meminit Damonis tanta canentis...

...
Huic, Lycida—tibi credet enim qui plurima nosti—
commendare tuum, Lycida, Damona memento.

La prossimità dei due testi sembra comunque riconducibile alla comune appartenenza al filone politico-cortigiano e quindi all'influenza esercitata sul Pasio dall'accademia bucolica fiorita a Ferrara intorno agli anni '50¹⁴: basterà ricordare al riguardo i nomi di Battista Guarini, di Tito Vespasiano Strozzi, del Tribraco e del Boiardo, ai quali si deve il restauro umanistico dell'egloga.

2. Ecloga III.

Di ritorno dalla città, dove si è recato a vendere del formaggio (vv. 4-5):

... Caseus urbem
visere te fecit; lanugine summa virebat;

il pastore Corydon si mostra del tutto indifferente alle cure del gregge e pieno di una gioia che a Thyrasis pare immotivata (vv. 29-31):

... Videris
nunc similis canibus, laeto dum murmure caudas
iactant garritu...

¹³ Si cita da G. Venturini, "Il '*Bucolicum Carmen*' di G. Tribraco. Egloga III", *Giornale filologico ferrarese*, 2 (giugno 1979), 59-63 (la citazione a p. 62). Sull'argomento si veda anche la sezione relativa al Tribraco in Tissoni Benvenuti, "Schede", pp. 120-123.

¹⁴ Tissoni Benvenuti, "Schede", p. 101.

All'amico che gli chiede le ragioni del suo improvviso cambiamento, Corydon risponde descrivendo la sua visita alla dimora del Correggio, dove ha avvertito per la prima volta l'insanabile contrasto fra la misera vita dei campi e lo splendore della corte (vv. 53-58):

... O Thyrsis, quis tum deus egerit ima?
 Sordebant nam rura mihi, quis stercora odore
 stant tetrico, atque bovi similis stat rusticus, estque
 quas colit arboribus par. †Miseri† o porticus apta,
 atria quis possit pila formosus Apollo
 ludere cum puero ...

Inutilmente Thyrsis cerca di richiamarlo alla realtà: la dimora del signore di Correggio è il sognato *locus amoenus*, di fronte al quale la cura del gregge appare ancora più squallida (vv. 63-76):

T. Dic mihi, nonne thymo superant fragrantia longe
 hic arva¹⁵. Aut †Thymbrae hac† nomen sumpsit Apollo¹⁶?
 C. Te pudeat meminisse thymum, qui solibus ipsis
 fragrat nunc mediis nivibus. Vernantia cerno
 Nicolai nostri nunc principis omnia tectis;
 hic ver aeternum, cedrosque aeterna¹⁷ virentes,
 divorum munus, conspexi; hic fructus et umbra est;
 non procul hincque torus superat Iovis aurea fulcra¹⁸,
 Attalica huic pendent aulaeae insignia lecto¹⁹.
 ...
 Ipse ego sic menteolvebam quamvis agrestis,
 et solitus stabulis hyrtas spectare capellas,
 nulla mihi ut potus fuerit tum cura videndi
 atque cibi²⁰ ...

Presso la corte del liberale Niccolò ha trovato rifugio persino Laura, la donna amata dal Petrarca (vv. 78-83):

Quid nos nemoribus divos nymphasque canentes
 incolimus? Pepulere nives. Nicolaus at ipse
 omnibus iis veniam tribuit pro sorte benignus;

¹⁵ Si confrontino i vv. 62-64 (... redolent iis cuncta virentes. / Dic mihi, nonne thymo superant fragrantia longe hic arva? ...) con Verg., *Georg.* 4,169: ... redolentque thymo fragrantia mella.

¹⁶ Thymbraeus è appellativo di Apollo ad es. in Verg., *Aen.* 3,85, ma il verso sembra esser storpiato.

¹⁷ Uso poetico dell'accusativo plurale: cf. Lucr., V 33: acerba tuens.

¹⁸ Verg., *Aen.* 6,602-603: ... lucent genialibus altis / aurea fulcra toris ... /.

¹⁹ Per il sintagma *Attalica aulaeae*, cfr. Prop. 2,32.12 e Sil. 14,659.

²⁰ Alla dimora del Correggio è dedicato anche il *carmen* posto a chiusura del ms.

degere in hoc thalamo nympharum sanguinis unam
nam vidi, Lauram, referunt iuvenesque senesque,
quam Florentinus quondam dilexit Homerus.

Ormai i due amici parlano linguaggi diversi: Corydon non desidera più vivere tra i campi tanto a cuore a Thyrsis (vv. 104-105):

O mihi quam vellem thalamis nunc vivere in istis:
rura tibi haec fatuus sinerem...

Chiude l'egloga l'invito di Thyrsis a ritirarsi (vv. 114-121):

Aspice corrosa en capris virgulta: subire
praestat nunc tuguri congestum caespitem culmen.
Ad coenam nobis poma hic sunt mitia, molles
castaneae, infractis spicis et olentia late
ulpica, sunt bulbi, labruscis diluta lympa.
Foeno post veteri poteris requiescere: nox est.
Aspice nunc nivibus, tenebris horrescit et orbis.

Particolare interesse rivestono i vv. 117-119, nei quali l'accostamento del virgiliano "... Sunt nobis mitia poma, / castaneae molles..." (*Ecl.* 1, 80-81; e virgiliano è pure il "tuguri congestum de caespitem culmen" del v. 115, da *Ecl.* 1, 68) con un passo tratto dal *De cultu hortorum* di Columella ("aliaque infractis spicis et olentia late / ulpica...", vv. 112-113, e si veda anche il v. 106 "iam Megaris veniant genitalia semina bulbi")²¹ produce un singolare effetto di straniamento di sapore rustico. Che l'egloga abbia un evidente tono rustico, se non rusticale, è del resto confermato dai vv. 4-5, impensabili in Virgilio, e ancor più dai vv. 54-55, volti ad evidenziare il contrasto fra vita dei campi e splendore cortigiano.

Alla struttura dell'egloga sembra aver fornito spunto la VII di Calpurnio, in cui il pastore Corydon, di ritorno da un viaggio in città, racconta all'amico Lycotas (che gli rimprovera la lunga assenza) le meraviglie della Roma imperiale, soffermandosi in particolare sulla descrizione della nuova arena di cui Nerone ha fatto dono al suo popolo. Si confrontino ad esempio i già menzionati vv. 63-76 del *Pasio* con i vv. 4-6 di Calpurnio

²¹ Si noti che il *Pasio* è autore di un commento al X libro del *De re rustica* di Columella, contenuto nel ms. Plut. LII 22 della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana: la sottoscrizione autografa della dedica a Lorenzo il Magnifico reca la data del 22 settembre 1483. Sull'argomento cfr. la sezione relativa a Columella, dovuta a V. Brown, nel *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum*, III (Washington, 1976), pp. 184-186 e G. Pinotti, "Un umanista a Reggio", pp. 107-110.

O piger, o duro non mollior axe, Lycota,
qui veteres fagos nova quam spectacula mavis
cernere, quae patula iuvenis deus edit harena²².

Il topos è del resto reperibile anche nella III egloga di Battista Guarini²³, a sua volta esemplata sul IV idillio di Teocrito: dal dialogo fra Battus e Maenalus apprendiamo che Micon si è recato in città (v. 4: "Urbem adiit...") abbandonando sconsideratamente il gregge (v. 13: "Quis furor et quae tanta illum dementia cepit?"; 18-19: "O pecus infelix! Sequitur dum rusticus urbem / nil reliquum et miseris nisi pelles et ossa iuvenis"; e cfr. i vv. 1 e 20-21 del Pasio: "Dic mihi nunc, Corydon, quae te dementia cepit?"²⁴, "Insanis? Cuium pecus? O fatue, hoc tibi cerne / ut macies vestit...").

3. Ecloga VIII.

Come già la prima, questa egloga affronta l'argomento, prettamente cortigiano, del rapporto tra il poeta e il signore. Lycidas incontra l'amico Menalcas che, recando con sé un "haedum praepinguem" e un "caseolus", si dirige verso la città (vv. 1-7); porta doni a Niccolò — nelle parole di Menalca — generoso signore di Correggio (vv. 8-21):

... Corrigiae fines tutatur amoenos,
imperio quo nostra virent et pascua semper (vv. 12-13),

Spes mihi laeta venit: faciem cum cernimus almam,
illius toto recidunt de pectore curae.
Nullus in orbe locus cui phama ignota decori
principis; hunc vates per carmina docta reponunt (vv. 15-18).

Ma l'amico Lycidas è pessimista sul conto dei potenti: solo apparente, infatti, è la loro benevolenza verso gli umili (vv. 22-26):

²² Per la conoscenza di Calpurnio e Nemesiano si rimanda a L. Castagna, *I bucolici latini minori: una ricerca di critica testuale* (Firenze, 1976), pp. 270-278 (ma il Castagna non procede oltre il Boccaccio nel delineare la storia della loro fortuna); M. D. Reeve, "The Textual Tradition of Calpurnius and Nemesianus", *The Classical Quarterly*, n. s., 28 (1978), 223-238; Tissoni Benvenuti, "Schede", p. 104 n. 3.

²³ Si cita da B. Guarini, *Poema divo Herculi Ferrariensium duci dicatum* (Mutinae, Dominicus Rocociolus, 1496). Sulle egloghe del Guarini cfr. Tissoni Benvenuti, "Schede", pp. 118-119.

²⁴ Da Verg., *Ecl.* 2,69: A! Corydon, Corydon, quae te dementia cepit? Nel Pasio rimandano a Virgilio anche i vv. 13 (Tu calamos inflare leves et dicere versus, da *Ecl.* 5,2: Tu calamos inflare levis, ego dicere versus) e 15-16 (dum pecudes captant umbras et frigora in arvis, / dum virides ineunt celeres dumeta lacerta, da *Ecl.* 2,8-9: Nunc etiam pecudes umbras et frigora captant; / nunc viridis etiam occultant spineta lacertos).

Falleris, o demens : tanti sunt munera in aula
 principibus, quantum cernunt ea lumine laeto;
 ast, ubi terga refers, rident; heu, nulla colonis
 gratia, ni fructus et opes id forte perennent.
 Undique ridiculus pauper : stat gratia habenti.

Se pure la corruzione e l'avidità dilagano nelle corti (vv. 27-28) :

Heroes alios funesta pecunia iniquos
 reddere iam pridem sensi ...

Menalcas, che ben conosce la natura degli uomini, ha ancora fiducia
 nel suo signore (vv. 31-34) :

... solus temnit quae munera largo
 pectore non veniunt. Phama est, nec vana loquendo
 hanc sequar; faciam solers pia dona : subibit
 res ipsa.

Sono passati ormai i tempi di Titiro e dei suoi mecenati, ribatte
 Lycidas, quando il poeta riceveva un giusto compenso per le sue
 fatiche (vv. 34-43) :

... Et verum memini sic Tytirus olim
 illice sub patula, cinctus tum summa corymbis,
 dicere : proque agno monstrabat ovilia plena
 et pro caseolo viridi de caespite culmen (vv. 34-37).

L'arrivo di Tonnulus pone momentaneamente fine alla disputa :
 anch'egli si reca in città portando dei doni al suo signore (vv. 43-47) :

... Sunt munera parva benigni
 principis : ille capras et oves, et pascua servat
 nostra pius : fiunt aestu sic grata sub alto (vv. 45-47).

Dopo una ulteriore esaltazione della virtù del Correggio, Menalcas
 ribadisce la sua intenzione di recarsi alla dimora di Niccolò (vv. 48-57) :

Huic dona fero : parvo spem munere fixi;
 Tytirus exemplo est, atque aurea fama canentum
 suggerit acta animos ... (vv. 56-58).

Ma il poeta è ormai anziano, lento il suo passo : forse non farà in
 tempo a vedere il signore prima che questi si rechi alla corte di
 Alfonso; Tonnulus, più giovane, consegnerà in sua vece i doni,
 accompagnandoli con parole degne del donatore (vv. 58-73) :

... Sed iam incipit urbis
 spectari murus, et pons qui laeva tuetur :

hinc ego decurram levior nam^{24a} fasce; subibis
 tandem, sed vereor ne princeps atria summi
 Alphonsi ante adeat quam tu pede limina tangas:
 iam senio tardus vel pondere. Da mihi laeto:
 dona feram pro te, nec erit tibi cura laboris (vv. 58-64);

e Menalcas (vv. 66-67):

... Solers
 rumpe moras: domino sint dona et verba ferentis.

Tonnulus conclude (vv. 68-70):

Ergo huius mecum verbis meditabor, ut ipsa
 dona manu tendam, ne totus rusticus ore
 tum videar ...

Lo scrutinio delle fonti conferma come, nell'ambito della produzione virgiliana, nessun particolare privilegio sia accordato alle *Bucoliche*²⁵: basterà citare il v. 2

caseolus laeva est, quem fiscina iuncea servat

che rimanda a *Copa* 17:

sunt et caseoli, quos iuncea fiscina siccatur²⁶

e i vv. 52-54

quem super est ornus, quae frondens albicat ipso
 flore piri; iuxta glandem fregere sub ulmo
 aereaque sues ...

da *Georg.* 2, 71-72

... ornusque incanuit albo
 flore piri, glandemque sues fregere sub ulmis.

Riconducibili più al comune fondo cortigiano che ad una diretta derivazione paiono invece le affinità che legano quest'egloga tanto ad alcuni passi di Calpurnio (in particolare 1, 92-94 e 5, 157-159) quanto a nuclei tematici sparsamente presenti nei *Pastoralia* boiardi. Si confrontino infatti i vv. 12-13 e 46-47, già citati, con la IX egloga, vv. 17-18:

^{24a} Nam: ms.; iam *legendum proponit J. IJsewijn*.

²⁵ Vi rimanda il solo v. 42: *fiscellam viridi contextit cautus hibisco*, da *Ecl.* 10,71: ... et *gracili fiscellam textit hibisco*.

²⁶ Il sintagma *venalis fiscina* del v. 44 mostra invece relazione con i *venalis fascis* di *Moretum* 81.

Felices pueri, quibus hoc sub principe tuta
Arva jacent...

e ancora (v. 28):

Tunc deus Herculeo tutatur numine campos.

Di non minore importanza è l'aspetto moraleggiante delle egloghe sin qui descritte, certo più consono al genere satirico che a quello bucolico; e il riferimento alla satira non parrà azzardato per un autore come il Pasio, che all'opera di Persio dedicò uno dei suoi commenti (contenuto nel ms. Lat. 414 della Biblioteca Estense di Modena). Anche se non è possibile individuare, almeno per queste tre prime egloghe, fonti comprovate dall'assunzione di cellule lessematiche, non pochi motivi paiono ispirati ai classici del genere satirico. E primo fra tutti Giovenale, autore spesso citato dal Pasio, il cui stile violento ed incisivo traspare in filigrana nella caratterizzazione dell'ambiente di corte; ma ancora ci parla di Giovenale la fiducia nel principe che, solo, sa apprezzare i poeti:

Et spes et ratio studiorum in Caesare tantum.
Solus enim tristes hac tempestate Camenas
respexit...

Assunte dal Pasio a destinatario dell'intero *corpus* bucolico, il Correggio si rivela dunque anche all'interno dei testi sin qui presentati figura centrale e dominante, al punto da relegare in secondo piano la presenza dello stesso duca Alfonso I, al quale fanno riferimento la IV e, più fugacemente, l'VIII egloga, di cui si è appena parlato. L'immagine del Correggio che ci consegnano, al di là del pur tenue velame pastorale, i tre componimenti a lui esplicitamente dedicati è comunque del tutto convenzionale e nulla aggiunge ai dati in nostro possesso: poeta di successo egli stesso (cfr. ad esempio I, 57-58), Niccolò è un *princeps* giusto e liberale nei confronti dei letterati (cfr. ad esempio I, 74), che a lui rivolgono frequenti doni poetici (cfr. soprattutto la I e l'VIII)²⁷ nella certezza di trovare l'aiuto e la com-

²⁷ Tra le opere dedicate al Correggio basterà ricordare l'apologo *Gigantes* e l'epitome *Super Prometheo et Epimetheo* del Calcagnini (contenuti rispettivamente nel Vat. lat. 7179 e nel Vat. lat. 7192: cfr. P.O. Kristeller, *Iter italicum*, II (London-Leiden, 1967), pp. 383-384) e il dialogo *De moribus nostrae aetatis* del Caviceo (contenuto nel Vat. lat. 7105: cfr. P.O. Kristeller, *Iter*, II, p. 342). Il dialogo del Caviceo è stato edito da L. Callari, "Un dialogo inedito di Iacopo Caviceo", *Archivio storico per le provincie parmensi*, 3 (1894), 1-26. Alle opere menzionate si dovranno aggiungere i numerosi *carmina* indirizzati al Correggio soprattutto dal Tebaldeo.

prensione che la corte sempre più spesso nega (per la polemica anticortigiana, peraltro topica, cfr. la I e l'VIII)²⁸. Più interessanti — ma comunque privi di individuabili elementi storici — sono i riferimenti alla dimora del Correggio contenuti nell'VIII: i vv. 78-83, in particolare, sembrano alludere ad una cerchia di poeti dediti alla lirica volgare d'impronta petrarchesca, ma nulla di più è possibile inferire. Non sarà comunque inutile citare al riguardo la lettera inviata l'8 giugno 1497 dal Correggio a Isabella d'Este, che testimonia di un culto per il Petrarca non solo letterario:

Domatina, Illustrissima M.a mia, voglio andare a desinare a la Selvapiana, longi da Rosena due miglia, dove el celebratissimo M. Francesco Petrarca compose tante opere, loco ameno et apto a tale exercizio. E se la legie la vita sua che è stampita dreto a li sonetti e Triunfi soi, la vederà nominata...²⁹.

4. Ecloga IV.

Sulla struttura della IV virgiliana, evocata, oltre che dalla perfetta corrispondenza nell'ordine della raccolta, dall'esordio stesso (vv. 1-3):

Dicite, Libetrides, paulo maiora canendum est:
rusticus haud temnit semper miranda, nec agris
semper grata virent arbusta humilesque myricae

il Pasio innesta la celebrazione della nascita di Ercole (vv. 8-10)³⁰:

²⁸ Il motivo anticortigiano è reperibile nello stesso Correggio: cfr. A. Tissoni Benvenuti, *Quattrocento settentrionale* (Bari, 1972), pp. 140-141.

²⁹ Cito da N. da Correggio, *Opere*, a cura di A. Tissoni Benvenuti (Bari, 1969), p. 502 n. 1.

³⁰ Il futuro Ercole II, figlio di Lucrezia Borgia e di Alfonso d'Este, nacque il 4 aprile 1508 (F. Gregorovius, *Lucrezia Borgia secondo documenti e carteggi del tempo* [Firenze, 1874], p. 310): poiché tuttavia la sottoscrizione autografa del ms. fornisce un inequivocabile *terminus ante quem* alla composizione dell'egloga (1506), si dovrà ipotizzare che il testo in questione sia stato redatto in occasione di una delle due precedenti maternità di Lucrezia, entrambe conclusesi sfortunatamente. Il 5 settembre 1502, infatti, "La illustrissima signora Lucrezia Borgia, molgiere de lo illustrissimo signore don Alphonse d'Este se parti de Castelo Vecchio, dove la soleua habitare, e andò a stare in lo monasterio de lo Corpo de Xristo con poche donne, per qualche zorni, per il male epsa ha patito del parto ha facto, per havere despresa una puta de mixi otto più di fa" (B. Zambotti, *Diario ferrarese dall'anno 1476 sino al 1504*, a cura di G. Pardi, R.I.S., XXIV, vii [Bologna, 1937], p. 342 e cfr. anche F. Gregorovius, *Lucrezia Borgia*, p. 269); più probabilmente l'egloga fu composta durante la seconda gravidanza (alla quale il Gregorovius fa fugacemente cenno), successiva alla morte di Ercole I (gennaio 1505) e quindi all'ascesa al potere di Alfonso.

Ecce Dyoneum radiavit lumen in astris³¹
 cum, "Juno!" clamans, dixit Lucretia: "Nato
 affer opem, Lucina, meo qui e viscere...."

La totalità dell'universo, rappresentata tramite figurazioni mitologico-astronomiche, partecipa alla gioia di Lucrezia che, come le dee, non patì le pene del parto (vv. 10-20). Ma non solo segni di gioia vengono dalle stelle: immagini di forza e potenza accompagnano la nascita di colui che porterà sulla terra una nuova era (vv. 21-50):

... Iam tristis ferri iam desinit aetas,
 qualem fatidico referunt ex ore futuram;
 ordo³² novus terris nunc incipit; aurea regna
 iam redeunt, terrasque iterum petit inclyta virgo,
 Lucretiae³³ quae dia modo laetata decore:
 alma dies populo superis est orta benignis.
 Et, Lucina, fave puero, quo patria et omnes
 laetitiae populi dicant paeana sonoro
 pectine, quo terris vel pulcher regnat Apollo³⁴ (vv. 47-55).

Una nuova era, che la divina potenza di Giove vuole splendida, si schiude sotto gli occhi di Alfonso (vv. 56-62):

Alphonse o genitor, laetare hoc princeps: nostri
 vestigia o sceleris delebit candida virtus³⁵,
 cum tu peccatam residens fulgentior astris
 spectabis patriam Phoebo Musisque nitentem,
 cum quibus alma choros ducet Tritonia virgo;
 nec Charites aberunt, Panes Satyrique bicornes,
 Nympharum et turmae...

La natura offrirà spontaneamente i suoi frutti all'uomo, senza più conoscere il pericolo e la morte (vv. 63-84):

Hoc tibi, clare puer, numen tunc florea tellus
 ostendet laetata suum: munuscula nullo

³¹ Verg., *Ecl.* 9,47: Ecce Dionaei processit Caesaris astrum.

³² Il ms. legge *orbe*, probabile errore per *ordo* (cfr. Verg., *Ecl.* 4,5: magnus ab integro saeculorum nascitur ordo). Per la 'correptio' dell'o finale, v. pure egloga II 20: ... *sēniō'*; *cērñē*.

³³ Il poeta ha scritto *Lūcrētāe* invece di *Lūcrētīāe*, metri causa.

³⁴ Per l'intero passo cfr. Verg., *Ecl.* 4,4-10: Ultima Cumaei venit iam carminis aetas; / magnus ab integro saeculorum nascitur ordo. / Iam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna; iam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto. / Tu modo nascenti puero, quo ferrea primum / desinet ac toto surget gens aurea mundo, / casta, fave, Lucina; tuus iam regnat Apollo.

³⁵ Verg., *Ecl.* 4,13-14: ... Si qua manent sceleris vestigia nostri, / inrita perpetua solvent formidine terras.

prodiderit cultu; colocasia fundet achanto
 atque salutaris veniet tunc semen amomi,
 divini et rores caelo fundentur ab alto;
 quercubus ex altis sudabunt roscida mella.
 Occidet Osiris, foliumque salubre legetur
 intextis hederis frondenti et bacchare³⁶. Saevos
 lanigera haud trepidabit ovis hyrtaeque capellae³⁷
 seu stabulis seu rure lupos, nec cervus et ipsa
 raucisonos metuent campis armenta leones³⁸.
 Non anguis Calaber³⁹, nec sibila colla cerastae
 squammosi extollent⁴⁰, nonque impia spuma chelydri,
 et natrix violator aquae⁴¹ spectabitur usquam;
 quicquid et in terris referunt nunc esse veneni
 effluet, haud miseros fallent aconita legentes⁴² (vv. 63-78).

Anche fra gli uomini regnerà la pace e gli dei potranno far ritorno sulla terra (vv. 85-100). L'egloga si chiude con una allocuzione al divino bambino: augurio ed esortazione a mantenere quelle promesse che i Fati hanno legato alla sua nascita (vv. 101-116).

L'egloga mostra movenze encomiastiche e d'occasione estranee al clima magico ed esoterico della IV virgiliana e ci appare sempre più vicina alla bucolica dell'età imperiale (si pensi in particolare alla IV di Calpurnio), ormai decisamente volta alla esaltazione del potere. Anche se frequenti compaiono nel tessuto dell'egloga i richiami virgiliani, nulla della struttura portante, bipartita nei due momenti della storia umana, scanditi prima dalla nascita e poi dalla maturità del bambino, trova riscontro nel lungo componimento del Pasio, che usa liberamente delle tessere virgiliane, in una sorta di *collage* con lunghi *excursus* astronomici ed astrologici, che risentono di una temperie culturale e di un gusto post-classici.

³⁶ Per tutto il passo cfr. Verg., *Ecl.* 4,18-25: At tibi prima, puer, nullo munuscula cultu, / errantes hederas passim cum baccare tellus / mixtaque ridenti colocasia fundet acantho. / ... / ... / Occidet et serpens, et fallax herba veneni / occidet; Assyrium vulgo nascetur amomum; e 30: et durae quercus sudabunt roscida mella.

³⁷ Verg., *Georg.* 3,287: lanigeros agitare greges hirtasque capellas, e *Aen.* 3,660 (lanigerae... oves...).

³⁸ Verg., *Ecl.* 4,22: ... nec magnos metuent armenta leones.

³⁹ Verg., *Georg.* 3,425: Est etiam ille malus Calabris in saltibus anguis.

⁴⁰ Verg., *Georg.* 3,421: tollentemque minas et sibila colla tumentem.

⁴¹ Lucan. 9,720: et natrix violator aquae... (*chelydri* figura al v. 711, *cerastae* al v. 716).

⁴² Verg., *Georg.* 2,152: ... nec miseros fallunt aconita legentis.

II. Egloghe amorose, satiriche, georgiche

1. Ecloga II

L'infelice amore per Philexis ha spinto il poeta, la cui identità non è celata da alcun nome pastorale, ad abbandonare "armenta gregesque" (forse l'attività di maestro di scuola) e a scendere in città nella speranza di vedere il giovane che lo rifiuta. L'allegria brigata di cui Philexis fa parte ha trovato rifugio a causa della pioggia prima sotto un portico, poi in una nobile dimora: i giovani trascorrono il tempo suonando la cetra e giocando a dadi o a carte (vv. 16-21):

personat hic alius testudine...
 ... tenet alea plures,
 plures charta iuvat alterna sorte remissa,
 qua decet et varios reges spectare: triumphus
 hiis cordi, atque aliis dexter nunc senio; cerne
 radit quam multos damnosa canicula iactu

e il poeta si compiace della visione, pur dolorosa, della persona amata:

... et hoc solum cordi est: flagrare videndo (v. 24).

I versi successivi segnano il ritorno ad un nucleo tematico ortodossamente virgiliano (vv. 25-29):

O quantum satius tetricae iam Phillidis iras
 rure pati; fuscum liceat vel forte Menalcam,
 sis candens, aequos liceat vel lilia: fusco
 est tamen et labris radiantibus apta venustas.
 Sed quid, formose o iuvenis, venit inde colore?

il giovane Philexis è troppo compreso della sua bellezza, pur sì fragile, per apprezzare la nobiltà d'animo e la poesia; eppure (vv. 60-61):

ab Iove principium vates: hos pulcher Apollo
 ore movet, divum comites dixere priores.

Curio ha costruito una lira a nove corde, ma finirà per donarla a Laphitus, che gliela chiede da tempo (v. 69):

... quoniam sordent tibi dona poetae.

Tutto è inutile: Philexis è sordo al richiamo della poesia e al Pasio non rimane che riflettere sulla sua povertà, che gli impedisce di ottenere i favori del giovane (vv. 77-86):

Pauper es ipse, Curi; versus nec dona Philexis
 curat: nam miserae mendicant rure Camoenae⁴³.
 Principibus delusa viris nunc urbibus errat
 Calliope, haudque puer dignatur munera Phoebi.
 Heu heu, stulte Curi, tantos qui mente furores
 concipis, incassum resonant tua plectra. Rigenti
 si tibi puniceo chlamydem quae fusa rubore
 cerneret, et digitos gemmis radiare vel auro,
 signative notas pecoris si forte tulisses,
 omnibus ipse fores nunc gratior orbe poetis⁴⁴.

Chiude l'egloga l'invito, che il poeta rivolge a se stesso, a disprezzare il giovane: ormai (v. 99)

... puero crescenti barba rigescet.

La II egloga è forse la più rigorosamente virgiliana dell'intero *corpus* bucolico: l'*imitatio*, dichiarata sin dai versi iniziali (vv. 1-3):

Formosum Curius vates ardere Philexim,
 aulae delitias, et amanti nulla dabatur
 spes misero. Tantum visebat regia tecta

che riecheggiano *Ecl.* 2, 1-4:

Formosum pastor Corydon ardebat Alexim,
 delicias domini: nec quid speraret habebat.
 Tantum inter densas, umbrosa cacumina, fagos
 adsidue veniebat...

è già contraddetta dal terzo verso, che contrappone ai "fagos" virgiliani i "regia tecta" di una poesia che sovente rinuncia anche al velame pastorale per un'intonazione apertamente cittadina e cortigiana. Il nuovo tassello virgiliano dei vv. 10-11:

Ipse, Philexi, ades, o formose, ad carmina Phoebi
 crudelis, vatemque mori quid cogis, inique?

(da *Ecl.* 2, 6-7: "O crudelis Alexi, nihil mea carmina curas? / nil nostri miserere? mori me denique coges") fa da preambolo ad una descrizione realistica molto vivace, che nulla deve all'*exemplum* classico. A conferma dell'estraneità del passo al codice bucolico basterà rilevare come ai vv. 20-21:

⁴³ Iuv. 3,16: ... et eiectis mendicat silva Camenis.

⁴⁴ Per il motivo della povertà del poeta (topico nel Pasio) cfr. il *carmen De poetarum infoelicitate* che figura al f. 4^o.

... atque aliis dexter nunc senio; cerne
radit quam multos damnosa canicula iactu

sia sotteso un passo di Persio (3, 48-50):

... etenim id summum, quid dexter senio ferret,
Scire erat in votis, damnosa canicula quantum
Raderet...

Nella seconda parte dell'egloga emerge di nuovo, come ho già accennato sopra, la filigrana virgiliana: i vv. 25-31 rappresentano infatti un'*amplificatio* di *Ecl.* 2, 14-18:

Nonne fuit satius tristis Amaryllidis iras
atque superba pati fastidia? nonne Menalcan,
quamvis ille niger, quamvis tu candidus esses?
O formose puer, nimium ne crede colori!
Alba ligustra cadunt, vaccinia nigra leguntur,

mentre il lungo passo successivo (vv. 31-40)

... Solers
aspice in orbe rosas fastigia celsa obelisci
ut pariunt capiti, hic ornat rubra purpura floris,
prodere ut alta crocos incluso semine densos.
Quam modo tu rutilam spectasti in orbe comantem,
pallida, collapsis foliis, deserta videtur.
Hanc aetas fugitiva dedit senuisse, moneret
tot species tantosque ortus variosque novatus
conficit una dies. Iuvenes, quod gratia florum est,
te docet imberbes aevum sic properare nitendo

appare interamente esemplato sui vv. 27-50 del poemetto pseudo-Ausoniano *De rosas nascentibus* (Anth. 646):

Haec aperit primi fastigia celsa obelisci,
Mucronem absolvens purpurei capitis.
Vertice collectos illa exsinuabat amictus,
Iam meditans foliis se numerare suis.
Nec mora: ridentis calathi patefecit honorem
Prodens inclusi semina densa croci.
Haec, modo quae toto rutilaverat igne comarum,
Pallida conlapsis deseritur foliis.
Mirabar celerem fugitiva aetate rapinam,
Et dum nascuntur consenuisse rosas.
Ecce et defluxit rutili coma punica floris,
Dum loquor, et tellus tecta rubore micat.
Tot species tantosque ortus variosque novatos
Una dies aperit, conficit una dies.

Conquerimur, Natura, brevis quod gratia florum est.
 Ostentata oculis ilico dona rapis.
 Quam longa una dies, aetas tam longa rosarum,
 Quas pubescentes iuncta senecta premit.
 Quam modo nascentem rutilus conspexit Eous,
 Hanc rediens sero vespere vidit anum.
 Sed bene quod, paucis licet interitura diebus,
 Succedens aevum prorogat ipsa suum.
 Collige virgo rosas, dum flos novus et nova pubes,
 Et memor esto, aevum sic properare tuum.

Una nuova ripresa virgiliana figura ai vv. 67-70 :

... Hoc Laphitus orat
 Narcisum referens grato pro numine dono :
 forte dabo, quoniam sordent tibi dona poetae.
 Huc ades, atque tuum, formose...

che traggono materia da *Ecl.* 2, 43-45 :

Iam pridem a me illos abducere Thestylis orat;
 et faciet, quoniam sordent tibi munera nostra.
 "Huc ades, o formose puer..."

In realtà, sotto le frequenti riprese stiletiche, quasi a scandire un'ortodossia di fatto negata⁴⁵, il contenuto morale e autobiografico del canto di Curius si distacca profondamente dall'edonismo di Virgilio : Corydon è "rusticus" ma non certo povero come Curius e la poesia, unica ricchezza dell'amante disperato, nel carme virgiliano è poco più che una presenza rituale⁴⁶.

Completamente difforme è poi la chiusa dei due componimenti : al canto d'amore intonato dalla natura nell'egloga virgiliana, con l'invito e l'augurio (v. 73) :

Invenies alium, si te hic fastidit, Alexim,

corrisponde nel Pasio la stoica ripulsa del giovane che per denaro vende la sua bellezza :

ingenuum corpus, quis nescit? turpiter ille
 vendit muneribus... (vv. 89-90)
 ... puerum sic sperne canendo (v. 98).

⁴⁵ Si confronti ad es. il v. 50 del Pasio, Non me deformem poteris vel dicere..., con Verg., *Ecl.* 2,25 : Nec sum adeo informis..., o il v. 87, Quem fugis?..., con Verg., *Ecl.* 2,60 : Quem fugis?....

⁴⁶ Cfr. i vv. 6 e 31.

2. Ecloga V.

I tre protagonisti (un quarto interlocutore — Philomusus⁴⁷ — interviene solo sul finale) incarnano tre differenti condizioni dell'uomo: se Chryseus pecca di eccessiva avarizia (vv. 1-14):

Iuggera nempe tibi tot sunt quot milvus oberret⁴⁸;
an tibi dira malis data nunc est poena: querentes
semper mendicant nec falso nomine avari (vv. 5-7).

Moelibeus, suo accusatore, è a sua volta divorato dall'invidia (vv. 48-49):

Rana coaxat aquis; latrat canis; ipse remordet
se livor...

Di diverso genere la colpa di Phlisius: troppo vecchio si è innamorato della bella Phillis che lo rifiuta e per lei rinuncia ad ogni dignità (vv. 15-30):

Murmura quid tristes verbis iactatis, amici?
Eia agite, hic nostram vidistis Phillida? Quaero
sole sub ardenti per prata atque avia, colles;
me miserum vidi ut fugiens ridebat et ora
tunc nivea, o labris composta rubentibus, ibat
ceu ventus... (vv. 15-20).

E nelle parole cariche di disprezzo di Moelibeus:

Scilicet irrisit: capiti nam sordida summo
canities agitur; curvo tibi stillat ocellus
immundis lachrymis; baculoque teneris agresti
dum graderis⁴⁹... (vv. 24-27).

Proprio Phlisius, punto sul vivo, lancia a Moelibeus l'accusa, poi ripresa da Chryseus ai versi citati, di essere carico di un livore che viene dalla povertà (vv. 30-34):

⁴⁷ Benché manchino nelle egloghe del Pasio le frequenti allusioni ad amici poeti che caratterizzano i componimenti pastorali del gruppo ferrarese, si potrebbe riconoscere nel pastore Philomusus l'umanista Timoteo Bendedei, noto appunto con tale soprannome. Non sembra del resto casuale che nell'*editio princeps* del *De rebus non vulgaribus* l'errata corregge sia preceduta da un carme "Ad lectorem de erratis culpa impressorum" (inc. Vertice sis bicipiti vel Ianus) recante la sottoscrizione "Philomusus". Sulla vita e le opere del Bendedei cfr. S. Pasquazi, *Rinascimento ferrarese* (Caltanissetta-Roma, 1957), pp. 201-218; *Poeti estensi del Rinascimento*, a cura di S. Pasquazi (Firenze, 1966), pp. XLIII-LIII; A. Benvenuti: "Timoteo, l'onore de' Bendedei", *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, 140 (1963), 482-488.

⁴⁸ Pers. 4,26: — 'Dives arat Curibus quantum non milvus oberret'.

⁴⁹ Ov., *Met.* 15,655: ... baculumque tenens agreste sinistra.

Sic sapis? Ut miseros possis ridere, saperda⁵⁰,
 qui tibi nunc toga fit lacera? En iam calceus imos
 ostendit per saxa pedes discissus... (vv. 30-32).

La lite ha ormai raggiunto l'acme (vv. 35-51): anche Phlisius si è infatti unito a Moelibeus nell'accusare Chryseus di avarizia, quando l'arrivo di Philomusus lascia intravedere una possibilità di riconciliazione. I contendenti, esposte le rispettive ragioni (vv. 56-67), ascoltano il canto di Philomusus (vv. 68-77):

Edicam patulae nuper quod cortice fagi
 incisum aspexi. Crescebant signa virendo:
 verba ferunt quondam Phoebo dictata canenti.
 Iam Dryades simul et deerrantes colle Napeas,
 capripedes vidi haec Satyros Panasque bicornes
 perlegere, et curva testudine saepe referre
 altisona clarium⁵¹. Numquam placuisse notavi
 paupertatis onus: surgit cum fronte superbo
 et magis id certum miser est quam dives avarius.
 Maxime id est foedum: garrit quod amore senectus.

Se già nelle egloghe precedenti erano rilevabili elementi realistici o comunque riconducibili a un tono umile (cfr. ad esempio III, 4-5, 53-55, 117-118; II, 89-90), nella V l'intonazione predominante è senza dubbio quella rusticale, rilevabile già a partire dall'intento di caratterizzare, mediante un dialogo quasi da commedia, personaggi che incarnano altrettante passioni umane⁵². Non stupisce quindi che gli apporti virgiliani siano scarsamente significativi e quantitativamente limitati: l'unico debito degno di nota è quello che i vv. 35-37

⁵⁰ Nonius, p. 259 Lindsay: Saperdae, quasi sapientes vel elegantes.

⁵¹ La lezione primitiva, *phoebo*, è sostituita da *clarium*, variante che figura nel margine destro. Ma nel verso è necessario leggere *Clarium*.

⁵² Il contenuto apertamente satirico del carme trova riscontro in alcune delle egloghe di Battista Mantovano: mi riferisco in particolare alla IV, violentemente misogina, alla V, in cui Candidus lamenta la sua condizione di poeta indigente, e alla VI, che sembra preludere—nei suoi intenti di polemica anti-cittadina—alla commedia rusticale. Motivi, questi, che troviamo sparsamente presenti in tutto il corpus bucolico del Pasio. Sulle egloghe del Mantovano cfr. E. Carrara, *La poesia pastorale* (Milano, 1925), pp. 257-264; per i testi mi sono servito dell'edizione B. Mantuani *Poemata praestantiora* ... (Florentiae, 1783). Ai testi bucolici di contenuto satirico fa cenno anche W. L. Grant, *Neo-Latin Literature and the Pastoral* (Chapel Hill, 1965), pp. 394-398. A proposito dei rapporti fra il Pasio e Battista Mantovano si potrà poi rilevare che il IX libro del *De litteratura non vulgari* reca, nell'edizione del 1512 (Reggio Emilia, Girolamo Ruggeri), la dedica: "... ad venera. relligiosum Baptistam Mantuanum ac poetices decorum, florem ordinis Carmelitarum, paginae sacrae magistrum" (si noti inoltre che il V libro è dedicato al fratello di Battista, Tolomeo).

... ipsi
mille viro Siculis errant in montibus agnae,
nec lac aestate defit nec frigore mulctris

mostrano nei confronti di *Ecl.* 2, 21-22 :

Mille meae Siculis errant in montibus agnae;
lac mihi non aestate novom, non frigore defit⁵³.

I vv. 68-74, più sopra citati, ci mostrano invece un uso mediato della fonte virgiliana, qui rappresentata da *Ecl.* 5,13-14 :

Immo haec in viridi nuper quae cortice fagi
carmina descripsit et modulans alterna notavi.

L'intervento divino, che costituisce uno scarto rispetto al modello, trova infatti la sua autorizzazione nella I egloga di Calpurnio (vv. 19-23 e 28-30) :

Et iam captatae pariter successimus umbrae.
sed quatenam sacra descripta est pagina fago,
quam modo nescio quis properanti falce notavit?
aspicis ut virides etiam nunc littera rimas
servet et arenti nondum se laxet hiatus?

.

Non pastor, non haec triviali more viator,
sed deus ipse canit : nihil armentale resultat,
nec montana sacros distinguunt iubila versus.

3. Ecloga VI.

L'egloga si sviluppa per successive variazioni sul tema dell'amore infelice : ortodossamente in chiave bucolica quello di Dorotheus per Amarilis (vv. 1-12) :

Huc aderit formosa, reor, quae corda perurit
languenti misero mihi nulla est hora quietis,
alma dies vel sit, vel nox. Amarilis ut aestu
prandia nunc portet messoribus! Undique lustru
prata oculis et agros. Si quae venientia vidi
armenta, autve canes sensi latrare per ima,
fervor agit venas, reputans huc cedere amores (vv. 6-12).

La risposta di Carrus⁵⁴ (vv. 13-22) sembra inserirsi, per l'iniziale

⁵³ Cfr. anche Calp., *Ecl.* 2,68. L'immagine è ripresa anche nella III egloga del Guarini, vv. 55-58.

⁵⁴ Il nome Carrus potrebbe forse alludere a Ludovico Carro, medico di fiducia degli Estensi e verseggiatore latino. Cfr. G. Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, III (Milano, 1833), pp. 18 e 193; G. Bertoni, *Nuovi studi su Matteo Maria Boiardo*

riferimento al canto di Polifemo⁵⁵, nei canoni della bucolica classica (vv. 16-17):

Sed me quo vertam? Candens Galathea liquores
incolit...,

ma sviluppa successivamente motivi più eterodossi (vv. 17-22):

... Est prato vitreis fons lucidus undis
gramineo...
...
... adsunt dumetaque moris.
Delituit coluber⁵⁶ et squamosus; ut alte
persensit gressum, sibilat tunc ore tument.

E sarà subito da notare l' analogia strutturale del serpente, descritto secondo modelli classici, col cane che spaventa Alexis, elemento realistico perfettamente intonato alla narrazione quasi novellistica del terzo interlocutore (vv. 23-43):

Sed quid ego? Ut sensi moestos, meditabor avena
silvestri. Facilem nobis se Glaucia profert,
ostendens hylari mentis sua lumina fronte.
Ast ubi luna viis vel saltibus alma videtur,
ipse domum propero⁵⁷, veluti tunc igneus. Ecce,
ecce canis medio latrans se limine saevus
obtulit, atque sonos emisit gutture raucos:
tum surgunt pueri, iuvenes atque impia turba,
clamosusque senex genitor, qui sude praeusto⁵⁸
acrior; hic falcem fervens rapit, ille securim.
Aufugio: a duris lacerantur membra rubetis,
dum feroci et saltu peto devia lustra ferarum.
Et tamen ante oculos facies ea surgit, amorque
non patitur duos sentire corde dolores.
Verum ubi per terras venit lux acta, repono
membra toro: foenum est saepto quod cernis ovili.
Sentio si forte hic quemquam, capite ipso supino
omnia perlustro pavidus. Sic munera amoris
ferre licet: veniunt timor, ira, dolorque, furoresque
exacuunt animos; sic tristis et aegra voluptas
est amor: ah, pereat primus qui novit amorem!

(Bologna, 1904), pp. 14-15 e 282-286; Id., *Guarino da Verona fra letterati e cortigiani a Ferrara (1429-1460)* (Ginevra, 1921), p. 183.

⁵⁵ Cfr. al riguardo il v. 21 della V egloga: Clamabam obscuro veluti Polyphemus ab antro.

⁵⁶ Verg., *Georg.* 3,417-418: vipera delituit ... / aut tecto assuetus coluber....

⁵⁷ La lezione primitiva, *repeto*, è sostituita da *propero*, variante che figura nel margine destro.

⁵⁸ Cfr. ad es. Verg., *Aen.* 7,524: ... sudibusve praeustis.

La conclusione del racconto di Alexis introduce nell'egloga la tradizionale disputa sulle sofferenze e le gioie amorose: al pessimismo di Alexis, Carrus risponde invitando gli amici a cantare l'amore (vv. 44-49). Ma il canto di Dorotheus (vv. 50-59) lascia Alexis insoddisfatto (vv. 60-62):

Pascereis incassum spe nunc, Dorothee, furendo:
 spes amor, heu, cunctis praestat nam caecus inanes.
 Incipe, Carre puer: cantu solemur amores.

Nuovamente Carrus intona un canto, che celebra amori divini (vv. 62-78); sulla scorta anche dell'esempio degli dei, l'egloga si chiude (vv. 78-88) con l'esortazione di Dorotheus e di Alexis a perseverare comunque nel proprio sentimento (vv. 85-88):

Qui durat vincit, dulcesque reponit amores
 pro luctu et lachrymis. Dixit mihi saepe Timethas:
 "Sperans optavi, sine spe fui tristior omni".
 Durate, o iuvenes: vincit qui durat iniqua.

Se si esclude il passo, più sopra citato, che descrive la disavventura occorsa ad Alexis, l'egloga si mantiene aderente ai canoni della tradizione bucolica, come rivelano, quasi programmaticamente, i primi versi (vv. 1-4):

Carre, vides resonent nunc quantum arbusta cicadis,
 nunc virides optent aestu dumeta lacerti;
 sole sub ardenti captant nunc frigora ac umbras
 nunc pecudes, hyrtae ac carpentes summa capellae,

che rappresentano una sorta di contrappunto umanistico a Vergilio, *Ecl.* 2, 8-9 e 13-14:

Nunc etiam pecudes umbras et frigora captant;
 nunc viridis etiam occultant spineta lacertos

 At mecum raucis, tua dum vestigia lustrò,
 sole sub ardenti resonant arbusta cicadis.

Notevole interesse riveste poi, sotto il profilo tematico, il menzionato canto di Carrus: Mercurio, respinto da Penelope, la insegue e cerca di conquistarla rivelandole la sua natura divina (così come Apollo con Dafni in Ovidio). Dalle parole di Dorotheus (vv. 79-84) apprendiamo che il dio è riuscito da ultimo ad avere ragione della donna, e che dalla loro unione ha avuto origine Pan. Al mito (che trae probabilmente origine da Pindaro, fr. 100 Schroeder) fanno riferimento

Cicerone (*Nat. deor.* 3. 56)⁵⁹ e, in maniera più diffusa, Servio (*Georg.* 1,16⁶⁰ e *Aen.* 2,44⁶¹).

Ai vv. 83-84 Dorotheus allude poi al mito di Atalanta

Mimallion rigidae superavit lasidos acer
saevitiem...

con esplicito riferimento a Prop. I, 1.9-10:

Milanion nullos fugiendo, Tulle, labores
saevitiam durae contudit lasidos.

4. Ecloga VII.

L'orditura della III egloga di Nemesiano (e quindi, in filigrana, della VI virgiliana) offre al Pasio lo spunto iniziale (vv. 1-8):

Astacus⁶² et Mopsus cyrrhati et Parrhius ardens
aestus sub gelida patulae tunc illicis umbra
solstitium pecori defendere⁶³ forte parabant
...
cornipedem ut cernunt Faunum per gramina lassum.
Terga refusus humi stertebat; cantharus ipsi
huic suberat collo, tereti quoque fistula ramo
pendebat⁶⁴...

Il furto della zampogna, compiuto dai ragazzi ai danni del fauno, e il maldestro tentativo di suonarla si distaccano dalla comune fonte virgiliana, per seguire lo sviluppo del testo di Nemesiano (vv. 8-20):

... Furtum pueri tunc arte parabant
efficere: huic oculos hederæ intertexta corona
contegebat. Ovant ceu fas tractare deorum
tum calamos, buccaque parant contexere carmen.

⁵⁹ Cfr. anche Hyg., *Fab.* 224.

⁶⁰ Pindarus Pana (Mercurii) et Penelopae filium dicit: unde multi 'patrium' pro 'paternum' accipiunt eo, quod Pan non Arcas sit, sed Ithacesius, ut a patre non a patria vox haec videatur detorta, quia Mercurius in Arcadia genitus.

⁶¹ Nam cum Ithacam post errores fuisset reversus, invenisse Pana fertur in penatibus suis, qui dicitur ex Penelope et procis omnibus natus, sicut ipsum nomen Pan videtur declarare: quamquam alii hunc de Mercurio, qui in hircum mutatus cum Penelope concubuerat, natum ferunt. sed Ulixes posteaquam deformem puerum vidit, fugisse dicitur in errores.

⁶² Il nome Astacus trova riscontro nella II egloga di Calpurnio.

⁶³ Verg., *Ecl.* 7,47: solstitium pecori defendite...

⁶⁴ Cfr. Verg., *Ecl.* 6,13-17: ... Chromis et Mnasyllus in antro / Silenum pueri somno videre iacentem, / inflatum hesterno venas, ut semper, Iaccho; / certa procul tantum capiti delapsa iacebant, / et gravis attrita pendebat cantharus ansa.

Perstrepiit, ut rauco per frondes ore cicadae,
sibila proque melo tum dissona flatus agebat.

.
.

- (16) ... At Astacus ipse
fistula ut e manibus, velox dare terga parabat.
Ocyor ipse deus capto fert oscula, postque
multiforae ut tibiae tractavit lumina et oras,
sic: "Divum genitor...⁶⁵.

In luogo del lucreziano canto di Sileno (e delle lodi di Bacco intessute dal fauno di Nemesiano), il Faunus deus del Pasio celebra le gioie della semplice vita dei campi, lontana dagli affanni cittadini (vv. 20-52)⁶⁶:

Foelix qui populi numquam discordia vidit
agmina, nec sensit nocuos instare tumultus.
Nulla salutantur cura est, nec purpura succo
quae Tyrio, crinem aut rorat sordentis amomum.
Est secura quies et fraudis nescia vita;
aedes speluncae, pratisque virentibus horti,
atque lacus vivi; suadent et inire susurro
agmen apum somnos⁶⁷, orni quoque dulcior aura,
qua sub mugitus candens ut forte iuvenicus
profert, cum camposque replent balatibus agni (vv. 40-49).

Il brano immissario è in questo caso Verg., *Georg.* 2, 458-474:

O fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint,
agricolas!... etc.

Sarà, forse un'eco delle narrazioni mitologiche della VI virgiliana l'*excursus* sugli dei cui è grata la vita dei campi (vv. 52-62). Il ricordo di Pan offre poi al Pasio lo spunto per una rassegna sui lavori agresti intessuta di ricordi virgiliani (vv. 63-67 e 76-81):

Excidat haudque tibi raucum per florea murmur,
dum glomerantur apes, linquentes agmine rura,

⁶⁵ L'egloga ci mostra dunque una fruizione del modello virgiliano filtrata attraverso il testo di Nemesiano, che si rivela fonte diretta dei vv. 7-13. Cfr. infatti Nemes., *Ecl.* 3,5-10: quem super et tereti pendebat fistula ramo. / hanc pueri, tamquam praedem pro carmine possent / sumere fasque esset calamos tractare deorum, / invadunt furto; sed nec resonare canorem / fistula quem suerat nec vult contexere carmen, / sed pro carminibus male dissona sibila reddit.

⁶⁶ Al v. 32 (... vulgo nunc praestat et ille / doctior est auro pexusque togaque recenti) figura una ripresa da Pers. 1,15: Scilicet haec populo pexusque togaque recenti.

⁶⁷ Verg., *Ecl.* 1,55: saepe levi somnum suadebit inire susurro.

ut vario fessae distendant nectare cellas⁶⁸.
 Caseolos facies solers, et lacte liquorem
 spumantem servabis Opi; nec vellera temnes

 dumque leges prolem manibus viridantis olivae⁶⁹,
 interdum revocet resonans tibi tibia vires;
 haud secus ut plantis operam navabis, et ipsas
 ornos ferre pirum, quercusque rubentia mala
 coges arte. Catus salices plantabis apricas⁷⁰.

Ortodossamente virgiliana la chiusa (vv. 91-93):

Talia dum memorat faunus, de montibus umbrae
 proveniunt; summa et villarum culmina fumant.
 Sic gratus laetis processit Vesper Olympo⁷¹.

III. L'imitazione di Apuleio

1. Ecloga IX.

Il pastore Magirus, vittima dei malefici della maga Fotis (vv. 1-15), confida all'amico Caldius la storia di Telephron e Byrrhenus.

Sorpresi da una tempesta mentre si dirigono a Larissa in Tessaglia, i due amici trovano rifugio in una taverna. Improvvisamente due "lamiae", divelti i cardini, fanno irruzione nella loro stanza (vv. 29-31):

... Ut rauca stertentem voce misellum
 Byrrhenum sensere truces, ait altera: "Garrulus hic est"⁷²
 qui me lustrantem dixit"...

⁶⁸ Verg., *Georg.* 4,164: ..., distendant nectare cellas.

⁶⁹ Verg., *Georg.* 2,3: ... prolem tarde crescentis olivae.

⁷⁰ Ai prelievi sin qui indicati si aggiungano i seguenti: v. 72: aut cum direptis calcabis musta cothurnis, da Verg., *Georg.* 2,7-8: ... nudataque musto / tinge novo mecum dereptis crura cothurnis; vv. 85-88: Dum calet omnis ager, mollesque sub arbore somni, / messibus insudes: nudus sere; frigora nam post / ipsa venient genialia. Vivite laeti / et gruibus pedicas et retia figite cervis, da Verg., *Georg.* 1,299-302: Nudus ara, sere nudus: hiems ignava colono. / Frigoribus parto agricolae plerumque fruuntur / mutuaeque inter se laeti convivia curant. / Invitat genialis hiems curasque resolvit, e 306-307: tum gruibus pedicas et retia ponere cervis / auritosque sequi lepores, tum figere dammas. Contenuto prettamente georgico hanno anche le prime due egloghe dello Strozzi: cfr. Tisconi Benvenuti, "Schede", pp. 113-118.

⁷¹ Verg., *Ecl.* 1,82-83: et iam summa procul villarum culmina fumant, / maioresque cadunt altis de montibus umbrae; e Verg., *Ecl.* 6,86: iussit et invito processit vesper Olympo.

⁷² Questo "esametro" ha sette piedi!

Paralizzato dall'apparizione, Telephron assiste impotente alla vendetta (vv. 34-44):

Sub laevam ferrum, geminis ab acumine pinnis,
 rumpheam ceu, tendunt larvae tum ex arte papillam:
 cor manibus vellunt, veluti sint vulnera porcae,
 spongia postque loco posita est pro corde premendo.
 Hinc inde in vulnus non fausta haec verba tulere:
 "I, vade, haud lymphas ausis libare! Subemus!"
 Inde petunt (credas quo me tum corde) tremement
 me miserum, et longis risu syphonibus atrae⁷³
 foedant: hic, dicas, odor est horrendus vini,
 sic me, ceu tonsor, rorant sine lege capillos
 squalentem et barbam⁷⁴; crepitu dant munera ventris.

Il mattino seguente tutto sembra ritornato alla normalità: Byrrhenus, perfettamente ristabilito, è convinto d'avere sognato e i due riprendono il cammino. Ma durante una sosta, mentre Byrrhenus sta per bere ad una fonte (vv. 58-63):

... vix labra misellus
 admorat liquido fonti, cum vulnus ab ipso
 se se aperit iugulo, resilit tum spongia cordis
 ora tenens, pauci stillant hinc inde cruores.
 Denique iam corpus moribundi fluctus haberet,
 auxilio ni dextra pii rapuisset ab unda.

Al racconto dell'avventura occorsa a Telephron (che occupa i vv. 21-65) fa seguito una nuova descrizione degli inquietanti poteri di Fotis (vv. 66-74): Magirus è ormai deciso a recarsi in città per denunciare la maga a coloro "quís cura ex ordine sancto / est lamias atris saevas exurere flammis" (vv. 76-77).

2. Ecloga X.

Per convincere l'amico Simulus, tormentato dall'amore, della crudeltà femminile, Lucius rievoca la storia della sua trasformazione in asino. Avendo infatti toccato un unguento della maga Meroe (vv. 39-50):

... Protinus ipsae
 diriguere comae⁷⁵, manibus data poena furoris,
 quae prius attigerant: gilvi mutantur aselli

⁷³ Iuv. 6,309-310: ... micturiunt hic / effigiemque deae longis siphonibus implent. Il ms. legge *syphonibus*.

⁷⁴ Verg., *Aen.* 2,277: squalentem barbam et concretos sanguine crinis.

⁷⁵ Ov., *Fast.* 3,332: ... et hirsutae deriguere comae.

in crura Arcadici; videor caput indere turpe
 nec minus et tergum, cauda vilisque pependit.
 Ut me conspicio, mutato corpore, asellum,
 excrucior; subiit tum grata heu Glaucia moesto.
 Huc feror atque illuc, pedibus dispergere arenas,
 ut tandem evasi per devia lustra ferarum:
 ad fontem Climenis perveni, quo Glaucia maerens
 venerat atque sibi dicebat "Lucius, hic sum,
 hic ero. Quis rapuit dulcem mihi saevus amantem?"

Nell'impossibilità di comunicare direttamente con Glaucia, Lucius scrive sulla sabbia queste parole:

... "Fato
 Lucius hoc cernis quem corpore tristior adsum
 qui tuus! Accipias, precor, hic, atque abde in ovili:
 Pasiphae torvum potuit laetata iuencum
 ardere, et dulces complexa extinguere flammās" (vv. 57-61).

Commosa dalla rivelazione, Glaucia si accoppia con l'asinello (vv. 62-69)⁷⁶, e la loro intesa prosegue per tutta la durata dell'incantesimo. Non appena Lucius riprende le consuete sembianze, la donna inaspettatamente lo sfugge (vv. 75-80):

Induo cum faciem solitam, me Glaucia viso
 aufugit, et sylvis errans ut concita Daphne,
 qualis Cretaea cum cerva est fixa sagitta⁷⁷,
 per nemora et colles hinc devia lustra pererrat.
 Blandis sectabar revocans et vocibus: "O, sum
 Lucius! Haud timeas! Fugis o quid, Glaucia, amantem?"

In aiuto di Lucius interviene la ninfa Arethusa, che inseguiva un cinghiale (vv. 87-92):

Nullus amor durat, gemitum nisi foemina sensit
 fructum nique atrox quasset te fronte superba.
 Cum loculos abdis, vel munera neglegis illi,
 servus eris semper, si te seducet amantem;
 at contra liber, si forte cupidinis ignis
 tempseris. Ista tibi, tu condita mente teneto.

L'intrusione di motivi allotri e del tutto estranei alla tradizione bucolica caratterizza in particolare le egloghe IX e X, che traggono

⁷⁶ Il passo rivela, soprattutto a livello lessicale, un sensibile influsso dei *Carmina Priapea*.

⁷⁷ Ciris 115: Attica Cretaea sternebat rura sagitta, e Verg., *Aen.* 4,69: ... qualis coniecta cerva sagitta.

materia dalle *Metamorfosi* di Apuleio⁷⁸. Tale desunzione, esplicitata già negli *argumenta* iniziali, trova immediata conferma non solo nei titoli⁷⁹, ma anche nei nomi di buona parte dei personaggi che figurano nei due componimenti: costituiscono infatti altrettanti riferimenti al romanzo apuleiano Fotis⁸⁰, Telephron⁸¹, Byrrhenus⁸², Lucius, Meroe⁸³.

La IX egloga, dopo un *incipit* rigorosamente bucolico (da Verg., *Ecl.* 9, 1) propone coi vv. 5-11 un *collage* di tessere virgiliane desunte da passi inerenti le arti magiche:

- M Cantabam, memini, laetus: me rustica vidit
 Fotis, me et teneros ea nunc quae fascinat agnos⁸⁴.
 Carmine nam referunt caelo deducere lunam⁸⁵,
 et colles alio vectare et ducere messes
 C Saepe lupum vidi fieri, qui conditus imis,
 mellius est, sylvis, animasque excire sepulchro⁸⁶
 carmine. Nemphe canes legimus ululare per umbras⁸⁷.

La trasgressione della tradizione bucolica è registrabile a partire dal v. 21, con il quale si apre un lungo *excursus* narrativo condotto

⁷⁸ La fortuna quattrocentesca di Apuleio è garantita da una folta schiera di titoli: dal volgarizzamento boiardo (cfr. E. Ragni, "Il *Lucio Apulegio* volgare", in *Il Boiardo e la critica contemporanea*, pp. 427-436) alla *Psiche* del Correggio (N. Da Correggio, *Opere*, pp. 49-96) a testi teatrali quali le *Nozze di Psiche e Cupidine* di Galeotto del Carretto (cfr. Tissoni Benvenuti, *Quattr. Settentr.*, pp. 216-218) e il *Formicone* di Filippo Mantovano (P. P. Mantovano, *Formicone*, a cura di L. Stefani [Ferrara, 1980]; cfr. anche G. Padoan, "La raccolta di testi teatrali di Marin Sanudo", in *Momenti del Rinascimento veneto* [Padova, 1978], pp. 68-93, in particolare pp. 81-82). La storia della fortuna quattrocentesca di Apuleio è rapidamente delineata da C. Moreschini, "Sulla fama di Apuleio nel Medioevo e nel Rinascimento", in *Studi filologici letterari e storici in memoria di Guido Favati* (Padova, 1977), II, 457-476, in particolare pp. 472-476.

⁷⁹ La stessa forma *lamia* è attestata in Apuleio: cfr. *Met.* 5,11.

⁸⁰ Photis nelle *Metamorfosi* è la servetta di Milone.

⁸¹ Thelyphron è il protagonista del racconto che figura in *Met.* 2,21-30.

⁸² E' attestata la forma Byrrhena (la matrona incontrata da Lucio poco dopo il suo arrivo in Tessaglia).

⁸³ Meroe è la maga responsabile delle disavventure occorse a Socrate e Aristomene (*Met.* 1,7-19) e riprese dal Pasio nella IX egloga.

⁸⁴ Verg., *Ecl.* 3,103: Nescio quis teneros oculus mihi fascinat agnos.

⁸⁵ Verg., *Ecl.* 8,69: Carmina vel caelo possunt deducere lunam.

⁸⁶ Verg., *Ecl.* 8,97-99: his ego saepe lupum fieri et se condere silvis / Moerin, saepe animas excire sepulchris, / atque satas alio vidi traducere messis.

⁸⁷ Verg., *Aen.* 6,257: ... visaeque canes ululare per umbram. I vv. 13-14 (Tecta petit stryibus similis, lac ubere promit, / infantem nactus cunnis si forte tenellum) alludono a un motivo ampiamente diffuso: cfr. ad es. Plin., *Nat.* 11,95: ... fabulosum enim arbitror de stryibus, ubera eas infantium labris immulgere.

in prima persona da Telephron (le cui parole sono riferite da Magirus) e interamente esemplato sui capitoli 11-12 del primo libro delle *Metamorfosi*. Il debito del Pasio nei confronti del romanzo apuleiano, registrabile quasi esclusivamente a livello tematico, potrà forse essere acclarato mediante un raffronto, sia pure limitato a qualche campione, dei due testi: si confrontino ad esempio i vv. 29-31 (citati) con *Met.* 1, 12:

Hoc habitu Socratem bene quietum circumstetere⁸⁸. Infit illa cum gladio: "Hic est, soror Panthia, carus Endymion, hic Catamitus meus, qui diebus ac noctibus inludit aetatulam meam, hic qui meis amoribus subterhabitis non solum me diffamat probris verum etiam fugam instruit...";

i vv. 33-44 (citati) con *Met.* 1, 13:

... et capite Socratis in alterum dimoto latus per iugulum sinistrum capulo tenus gladium totum ei demergit et sanguinis eruptionem utriculo admoto excipit diligenter, ut dextera per vulnus illud ad viscera penitus cor miseri contubernalis mei Meroe bona scrutata protulit... Quod vulnus, qua maxime patebat, spongia offulciens Panthia: "Heus tu", inquit, "spongia, cave in mari nata per fluvium transeas". His editis abeunt et una et remoto grabattulo varicus super faciem meam residentes vesicam exonerant, quoad me urinae spurcissimae madore perluerent⁸⁹;

e infine i vv. 58-63 (citati) con *Met.* 1, 19:

Necdum satis extremis labiis summum aquae rorem attigerat, et iugulo eius vulnus dehiscit in profundum patorem et illa spongia de eo

⁸⁸ Ma cfr. anche *Met.* 1,11: ... bonus Socrates iam sopitus stertebat altius.

⁸⁹ Non trovano riscontro nel Pasio i capitoli 14-17. Recano una chiara impronta apuleiana anche i vv. 46-54: '... misero per somnum corda revelli / nempe ratus, iugulo ferrum mihi nempe repostum: / haud sensi poenas'. Titubo tamen aeger, anhelio; / urget et atra fames. Tunc quae mihi mantica (crustum / servabat prisci lactis deprompta cibumque) / esse dedi et cererem. Gradimur, fit platanus alta / obvia; vescendo patulae subsedere ramis / Hic libuit: video buxantem in membra colorem / ire viro, maciem et tristes depascier artus, che rimandano a *Met.* 1,18-19: '... Verum tamen et ipse per somnium iugulari visus sum mihi, nam et iugulum istum dolui et cor ipsum mihi avelli putavi, et nunc etiam spiritu deficior et genua quatuor et gradu titubo et aliquid cibatus refovendo spiritu desidero'. 'En' inquam 'paratum tibi adest ientaculum', et cum dicto mantica meam humero exuo, caseum cum pane propere ei porrigo, et 'Iuxta platanum istam residamus' aio. Quo facto et ipse aliquid indidem sumo eumque avide essitantem aspiciens aliquanto intentiore macie atque pallore buxeo deficientem video. Per il sintagma *buxantem colorem* cfr. inoltre *Met.* 8,21 (*buxanti pallore*). L'ultimo verso mostra poi relazione con Verg., *Georg.* 3,458 (... artus depascitur arida febris) e *Aen.* 2,215.

repente devolvitur eamque parvus admodum comitatur cruor. Denique corpus exanimatum in flumen paene cernuat, nisi ego altero eius pede retento vix et aegre ad ripam superiorem adtraxi...

Analoga struttura presenta la X egloga, dove l'iniziale scambio di battute fra Lucius e Simulus (vv. 1-22)⁹⁰ lascia ben presto posto ad un racconto ancora di matrice apuleiana (vv. 23-92). Va tuttavia rilevato che la fonte non è qui costituita da un unico brano immissario univocamente e fedelmente utilizzato, ma piuttosto da due distinti nuclei tematici liberamente fruiti e contesti ad altri di diversa provenienza. Sono senza dubbio di derivazione apuleiana i vv. 39-50 e 62-69, da accostare rispettivamente a *Met.* 3, 24:

... sed plane pili mei crassantur in setas et cutis tenella duratur in corium et in extimis palmulis perduto numero toti digiti coguntur in singulas ungulas et de spinae meae termino grandis cauda procedit. iam facies enormis et os prolixum et nares hiantes et labiae pendulae; sic et aures immodicis horripilant auctibus

e a *Met.* 10, 22, mentre rimanda piuttosto ad Ovidio il motivo dell'inseguimento di Glaucia da parte di Lucius.

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⁹⁰ Come sempre l'*incipit* è ortodossamente bucolico: Forte sub aerea iuvenis consederat ulmo / Lucius ... da Verg., *Ecl.* 7,1: Forte sub arguta consederat ilice Daphnis. Di matrice virgiliana sono anche i vv. 5-6: ... dic ubi tibi fistula cera / quam deus Arcadiae fertur iunxisse..., da *Ecl.* 3,25-26: ... aut umquam tibi fistula cera / iuncta fuit?... (e cfr. anche *Ecl.* 10,26); 10: ... mihi flamma medullas / urit, nec fibris requies datur ulla perustis, da *Aen.* 4,66: ... est mollis flamma medullas, e 6,600: ... nec fibris requies datur ulla renatis; 72-73: ... Inde / luna revertentis cum primum colligit ignes, / virgineo et terris effuderat ore ruborem, da *Georg.* 1,427-430: Luna revertentis cum primum colligit ignis, / ... / ... / at si virgineum suffuderit ore ruborem. Non mancano nelle battute iniziali apporti di altri autori: si vedano ad es. i vv. 15-16: 'Non me Phoebei tripodes nec sorte columbae / Chaoniae vincent si res in amore ferantur, da Prop. 1,9,5: Non me Chaoniae vincant in amore columbae (e Ov., *Ars am.* 3,789: Sed neque Phoebei tripodes nec corniger Ammon) e 22-23: Surdior ipsa freto, iam novi, foemina, saxis / durior et ferro, tum saeva ac tygride peior / indignata viro..., da Ov., *Met.* 14,711-713: Saevior illa freto surgente cadentibus Haedis, / Durior et ferro ... / Et saxo ...

Dirk SACRE*

PARERGA PALEARIANA

1.

DE AONIO PALEARIO ET BASILIO AMERBACHIO

Anno 1562, cum et Bonifacius pater die 24 aut 25 mensis Aprilis morte extinctus esset, mox et Esther Rüd uxor filiulusque Bonifacius praematuris mortibus abrepti essent, Basilius Amerbachius, triplici hac calamitate obrutus, aliquid fortasse solacii in ea consolatione invenit quam ad eum Aonius Palearius amicus idemque saeculi XVIⁱ lumen litterarium, senariis exaratam dedit. Quod carmen, ab Amerbachio die 5 mensis Septembris anni 1562 acceptum et inde in codice Basileensi servatum, truncatum adhuc ad nostram pervenit aetatem, quinque versibus, qui in fine carminis leguntur, ab editoribus nescimus quo modo omissis.

Florebat hac tempestate Bonifacius laudis honore; nam, patris instar qui in studiorum universitate Basileensi ius docuerat, Bononiam Patavium Tubingam Avaricum se contulerat, iuris prudentiae ut studeret, studiisque feliciter peractis, mox in eodem Athenaeo, in quo et pater, praeceptor evasit.

Quid autem Aonius? Aonius Palearius, anno 1504(?) Verulis natus, Romam primum adiit in urbem Leonis X pontificatus splendore ornatam; inde Patavium se contulit ut Lazarum Bonamicum et Lampridium coram audiret de auctoribus Graecis disputantem; doctores item Patavinos de animorum immortalitate disserentes adiit ut nosceret quid sentirent, Pomponatium laudarent an vituperarent. Senis inde, in Bellantium familiam nobilem acceptus, privatim Graece et Latine docuit. Qua in urbe, cum a publice profitendi munere arceretur, versari diutius noluit. Lucae itaque ab anno 1546 usque ad 1554

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Latine docebat; ab anno 1555 denique usque ad 1568 apud Mediolanenses iuvenes erudiebat.

Musarum ille allectus amore, ut Latinus Latinus scripsit:

Aonius qui nunc es, eras Antonius olim;
Aonii Aonidum dat tibi nomen amor,

praeclara posteritati reliquit monumenta. Ac primum quidem tres isti libri *De animorum immortalitate* sunt laudandi, heroico conscripti metro, exeunte anno 1535 publici iuris facti et saeculo XVI octies ex ordine excusi. Quos, ut alios praetermittam, Bembus Sadoletus Sfondratus Bonamicus Flaminius, Aonii familiares, laudibus extulerunt, nec non et Victorius, Pigna, Scaliger. In primis enim numerandus est eorum, Lucretium qui Lucretiano stilo refutaverint. "Aonii materia difficilis eademque illustris" (haec Scaliger in libro c.t. *Hypercriticus*) de Deo, animorum immortalitate ac praemiis poenisque post mortem agit, argumentis e Stoicis, Aristotelicis et Neoplatonicis sumptis. Quid plura? Illi libri de immortalitate immortalem Aonio gloriam pepererunt.

Extant et poemata aliquot Mediolani composita. At heu! carmen de rebus Ecclesiae Apostolicae, quod se Aonius anno 1539 aggressum esse scripsit, edax tempus deleuit.

Orationes deinde perelegantes atque absolutas conscripsit, ex quibus *Orationem pro se ipso*, anno 1543 conscriptam, Senis cum haereseos primum insimulatus esset, et *Orationem in Murenam*, ab Andrea Alciato in caelum sublatam, nominemus. Quod ad cetera opera eius Latina pertinet, epistolarum etiam nobis tradidit libros IV et eos Ciceronem redolentes.

De opusculis Italice scriptis non est cur agamus quippe quae Palearius paulo neglegentius tractaverit neque inter opera omnia referenda curaverit.

Siquidem Aonius noster hisce temporibus, quibus doctissimi viri de vita eius ac factis egerint, non ab oblivione vindicandus esse videtur, ipsa tamen opuscula situ iacent. Nam hoc tantum viri docti spectant, ut quantopere haereticus fuerit Verulanus demonstrant. Renovandae enim ecclesiae studuit Aonius quam qui obstinatissime... suo autem periculo. Nam cum anno 1534 ad Erasmum et anno 1544 ad Lutherum Calvinum Bucerum Melancthonem de renovanda ecclesia deque convocando concilio et libero et universali litteras dedisset, cum celeberrimam illam *Actionem in pontifices Romanos eorumque asseclas*

composuisset, cumque haud ita se gessisset ut Romanae ecclesiae favere videretur, fieri non potuit quin Inquisitioni, “sicae in omnes bonos districtae”, traderetur. Itaque Senis primum haereseos accusatus, amicorum ope Sadoleti et Bembi praesulum absolutus est. Mediolani inde insimulatus est, Romamque venire iussus, die 3 mensis Iulii anni 1570 supplicio traditus est.

Basilius Amerbachius et Aonius Palearius, cur inter se familiaritatis nodis vincti essent, complures erant causae. Nam Caelio Secundo Curione instigante, anno circiter 1550 epistolare commercium inter Bonifacium, Basilii patrem, et Aonium esse coepit—epistolasque Orellium mercatorem eundemque tabellarium Aonio vel Bonifacio tradidisse novimus. Itaque non est quod miremur Bonifacium, cuius filius, praeceptoris Curionis iussu, in Etruriam esset profecturus studiorum causa, a Paleario poposcisse ut erudito ac bono viro commendaretur Basilius. Aonius igitur mense Aprili anni 1556 Petro Victorio, quo nemo doctior Florentiae hisce diebus extitit, litteras commendaticias mittere: “Basilius Amerbachius summa generis et animi nobilitate iuvenis liberaliter educatus et ingenuis disciplinis optime institutus eo consilio proximis superioribus annis missus est in Italiam a patre, clarissimo viro, ut...”¹. Hisce forsitan mensibus Aonius et Basilius valde iuvenis (natus erat anno 1533) primum congressi et collocti sunt. Iungebat eos procul dubio litterarum amor. Adde etiam iuris studia: de oratione Aonii, quam in Murenam scriptam esse memoravimus, certe disseruere, disputavere. Adde etiam quod uterque numismata antiqua fovebat; non enim ignarus erat huius rei Aonius, qui de Bernardino card. Maphaeo mense Martio anni 1541 ad Faustum Bellantem scripserat: “... et illustrem explanationem rerum, quam ex notis numismatum antiquissimorum mihi recitat. Ea quoniam puris et electis verbis composita est, numerosa et multiplex, ita me delectat, ut saepe ad multam noctem lectionem producamus” (*Ep.*, III, 7).

Nec non et coniectura colligere licet Aonium ex Basilio sciscitatum esse quemadmodum renovata fides Basileae vigeret. Nam in dies difficilior erat commeatus, magis in dies animadvertebatur in haereticos, ut contagium illud quod nuncupabatur inhiheretur.

Id utcumque erat, Aonius Basilio familiarissime uti coeperat. Basilius autem, postquam Basileam revertit, mox professor creatus est. Anno

¹ Videsis litteras Amerbachianas, infra, pp. 214-215.

1561 uxorem duxit Esther Rüd, quae filiolum progenuit Bonifacium. At eheu! et mater et filius mox disperierunt.

Quare amici sui ex animo Aonius dolorem consolari cogeatur. Cuius consolationis res ipsa Christus est et religio. Quindecim circiter annis ante M. Casali familiari litteras Luca dederat, quas ille uxori Collem tradendas curaret; quibus subiunxerat versiculos provecta nocte actos, cum a Casale cognovisset coniugem gravidam periclitari eamque a vivis discessisse putaret:

Ni mihi spem Christus faceret quem, vita, secuta es,
non possem abrepto vivere coniugio:
Ille mihi te olim redituram in luminis oras
pollicitus, dulci pascit amore animum.
Interea Aonium venientem cursibus ad te
exspecta campis, uxor, in Elysiis².

Tunc procul dubio casum istum recordabatur. Accedit quod et ipse senescebat et corporis incommodis vexabatur³. Neque ignorabat sicam, quam memoravimus, seu gladium Inquisitionis cervicibus impendere: "Cum eo consilio domo exissem, ut emitterem aliquando vocem dignam homine Christiano, non eram nescius quae pericula essent adeunda, qui suscipiendi labores, in quas angustias esset veniendum. Neque enim parvi aut obscuri erant terrores isti pontificii..."⁴. Quare et Aonius ipse mortem meditabatur.

Nunc redeamus ad consolationem. En tibi, care lector, carmen illud consolatorium:

Ad Basilium Amerbachium(*)

O Basili, quid ego audio? Telis te omnibus unum

(*) Orthographiae normas adhibemus hodiernas. Contulimus textus editionum Amstelodamensis pp. 648-650 et Ienensis pp. 719-721, una cum codice manu scripto Universitatis Basileensis (num. G.II, 31 insignito, ff. 366^r-367^v).

Tit. Ad Basilium Amerbachium *cod.*, Aonius Palearius S.D. *edd.*

² Cf. *Ep.*, IV, 25: "Ipse tertia fere vigilia, ut a serva acceperimus, paginam et atramentum cum calamo sibi adferri iussit, quasi aliquid scripturus. Cum partem nullam noctis quievisset, paulo ante lucem in superius conclave lectum exportari iussit in quo est imago uxoris suae (...) Dum alia quaereremus, incidimus in pagellam, in qua erant hi versus, vacillantibus litteris. Quos ad vos mittimus (...)".

³ Cf. B. Fontana, "Sommario del processo di Aonio Paleario in causa di eresia", *Archivio della R. soc. Romana di storia patria*, 19 (1896), 151-175.

⁴ Aonius Palearius, *Actio* (...), in praefatione.

fortunae expositum tria vulnera tanta tulisse
 fortiter et clipeum numquam amisisse nec hastam
 abiecissee gravi perculsum saepe dolore.
 Morte obita genitor simul et lectissima coniux 5
 quique tibi vita iucundior esse solebat
 filius his paucis te deseruere diebus!
 At non deseruit patiens prudentia fati,
 at non deseruit divûm patientia Christus
 et consolator divinae spiritus aerae. 10
 His tu praesidiis vitam ducis sapienter
 nec plus posse putas quam sit mortalibus aegris
 concessum, quando divinae obsistere menti
 est hominis stolidi, qui hominem se nesciat esse.
 Cum primum in lucem, in tenebras et claustra venimus 15
 carceris horrendi potius, non attinet ad nos
 nasci velle; necesse fuit descendere ab alvo
 praecipitem matris maturo tempore partus.
 Sic cum iam tempus mortalia solvere vincla,
 nulla mora in nobis imus, quoniam ire necesse est 20
 adque diem adque horam et punctum discedere vita.
 Tum frustra longa confecti aetate parentes
 et circum nati, agnati et peramabilis uxor
 orarint ut pro pietate supersedeamus;
 non tum sescentae solido ex adamante catenae 25
 nos teneant roburque virûm viresque leonum.
 Sed tu forte sacris tecum scriptis agier vis,
 quae veri cupidos caelesti nectare pascunt.
 Unigena ex adyto missus stellantis Olympi
 deque sinu patris simul est homo natus et inter 30
 mortales artus gessit moribundaque membra,
 fugit ad Aegyptum et septemplicis ostia Nili,
 quod non illa essent maturae tempora mortis.
 Ad Solymos rediens saepe est vexatus inique
 pontificum patrumque dolo populique furentis. 35
 Ah! quoties illum fundentem oracula voce

2 fortunae *cod.*, fortuna *edd.*

7 deseruere *cod.*, deseruisse *edd.*

et nova magnarum edentem miracula rerum,
 aut saxis petere aut voluerunt perdere ferro!
 Nec potuere tamen, quod non sua venerat hora.
 Ille idem fatale suae cum tempus adesset 40
 iam necis et spinae, calami virgaeque manerent
 erectumque esset iam lignum, unde illa salutis
 alta laboranti crux bracchia panderet orbi,
 scriptor honoratus testisque haec verba reponit :
 “Cum sciret venisse horam divinus Iesus, 45
 migret ut ad patrem magni trans moenia mundi,
 ‘Venit’, ait, ‘pater, hora tuum super aethera natum
 ut tollas, moriens tandem ut tua natus imago
 extollat patris caeli super ardua nomen’.”
 Si praescripta fuit nato irreparabilis hora, 50
 non par est horam praescriptam credere servis,
 qui nulla dominum superant ex parte potentem
 sed longe rebus sunt omnibus inferiores.
 Ille etiam egressus cum divino comitatu,
 horrida cum mors versaretur ob os oculosque, 55
 cantando letum et crudelia funera adivit,
 pressa pedum ut nobis essent vestigia plantis,
 si quando ire via iubeat deus aspera quae sit
 arduaque et passim occurrentibus invia monstris.
 Per quam cum subiit triste et miserabile fatum 60
 incessit pastor populorum atque omnia vicit.
 Unde via in caelum nostris est facta per ignes,
 per lapidum nimbos, per aena undantia flammis
 perque inventa omnes hominum superantia casus.
 Quodsi sunt aliis per frigora perque calores 65
 naturae concessi obitus reditusque quieti
 ad superos, tristi quid nos suspiria corde
 fundimus et fatum veluti indignamur acerbum?
 Experti toties mortalia novimus esse
 omnia amaritiae aspersa atque addicta labori, 70
 infirma, incerta inque horam variantia formam;

43 panderet *cod.*, penderet *edd.*

59 invia *cod.*, in via (*contra metrum*) *edd.*

62 via *cod.*, viam *edd.*

et dubitamus adhuc venienti tendere dextram;
et te complecti, mors, o placidissima rerum?
Huc nos ira Dei prima ob delicta parentis
detrusit miseros. Quae nos dementia cepit, 75
ut longam exsilii cupiamus pendere poenam,
qua nos exemit moriens qui vivere semper
dignus erat, ne in morte malum quisquam esse putasset,
a qua perpetuae venissent commoda vitae?
Atque utinam, ut patria ad caelum virtute tetendit, 80
regna paraturus nobis sedesque beatas,
ille decus superum, si nos sublime feramur,
et quaecumque eius nobis sunt parta labore
inspicere et sanctas liceat cognoscere curas,
quas nostri gerit ut patrem compellat amanter, 85
utraque perpetuo caelestia bracchia tendens,
promissum ut caris mittat solamen amicis;
quod tibi, mi Basili, cognovi hoc tempore adesse.
Qui tantos placide potuisti ferre dolores,
gratulor. O! videas alte quam ascenderis istuc 90
ob factum et quam tute viceris ipse ferendo.

Aonius Palearius S.D.

(*Inscriptio cursualis* :) Basilio Amerbachio Bonifacii
Basileae

(*Notavit alia manus* :) 5 septem. Anno. 62

ADNOTATIUNCULAE

- 1) *omnibus unum*: verba oxymora quae Aonius Vergilium imitatus saepius adhibuit:

Aen., 10,201: Mantua dives avis, sed non genus omnibus unum.

De an. imm., 1,365-366: quaeque suis ducibus; vires tamen omnibus unum
sufficere atque illum rebus satis omnibus unum.

Alia etiam verba oxymora praeamavit Palearius, e.g.

De an. imm., 2,187-188: Quenam comprehendere vires
exiguae immensum possent?

75 cepit *correx*i, coepit *cod. edd.*

87-91 *om. edd.*

Subscript. om. edd. qui neque inscriptionem cursualem neque notam add.

- 1-2) Repetitae *t* litterae non discrepant cum fortunae atrocitate ac durtia.
- 3-4) Cf. *De an. imm.*, 3,175: Hostis habes: etiam captus non abicit hastas.
- 5) *morte obita*: cf. *Lucr.*, 1,235: morte obita, quorum tellus amplectitur ossa.
Aen., 10,641: morte obita qualis fama est volitare figuras.
De an. imm., 2,506: morte obita divum tandem ad subsellia regis.
- lectissima coniux*: cf. Aonii *Dis Manibus Sicinii Pepuli*, 7: cum te cara parens, cum te lectissima coniux.
- 6) *esse solebat*: verba Ovidiana (*Met.*, 11,422; 13,441; *Ep. ex Ponto*, 3,3,13).
- 8-9) *at non deseruit*: repetitio Palearii propria esse videtur; cf.
De an. imm., 2,169-172: Adde etiam quae sunt ipsis *pugnantia* rebus
 haud obstant animis dum quis putat **esse** calo-
 [rem
 et frigus putet **esse**; potest comprehendere utrum-
 [que
 et *pugnent* quamvis, animo comprehensa tene-
 [mus.
De an. imm., 1,27-29: Nec minus ecquae animas sedes, quae praemia
 [vitae
 quemque bonum tandem maneant, quas pendere
 [poenas
 conveniat sontes...
 3,1-3: Nunc animis quae sit sedes, quae praemia vitae
 quemque bonum tandem maneant, quas pendere
 [poenas
 conveniat sontes...
 Qua de repetitione ita est locutus Marcus Hieronymus Vida, libro tertio
de arte poetica, vv. 143-147 (ed. 1527):
 Quid sequar ulterius, quanta dulcedine captas
 detineant aures, vocem cum rursus eandem
 ingeminant, modo non verborum cogat egestas?
 Pan etiam Arcadia neget hoc si iudice praesens,
 Pan, etiam Arcadia dicam te iudice vanum.
- 12) *mortalibus aegris*: hanc locutionem Lucretianam et Vergilianam saepe est imitatus Aonius, e.g.
De an. imm., 1,370: Nimirum exiguae vires mortalibus aegris.
De an. imm., 1,446: In formas treis exponit mortalibus aegris.
- 15) *lucem, tenebris*: verba oxymora.
- 17) *velle, necesse fuit*: verba oxymora.
- 18) cf. v. 33: *maturae tempora mortis*.
 cf. *De an. imm.*, 1,477-478: et quos occultaverat alvo
 edit maturos longo post tempore foetus.
- 19) cf. Sedulii *Carm. Pasch.*, 2,272: Nectimur alterius si solvere vincla negemus.
- 20) *imus*: cf. v. 20, *ire*.
necesse est: cf. v. 17, *necesse fuit*.
- 21) *discedere vita*: hanc locutionem in poesi rarius offendimus pro *excedere*;
 cf. etiam *De an. imm.*, 2,504: Norunt, ut vita sit denique discedendum.

- 22) cf. *Aen.*, 4,599: et quem subiisse umeris confectum aetate parentem.
De an. imm., 2,229-230: non dulcis coniux teneat, non maxima nati
cura prece aut longa confecti aetate parentes.
De an. imm., 3,432: ... dura iam fessi aetate parentes.
- 23) *peramabilis uxor*: vox *peramabilis* ὑπαξ est, nescio an ab Aonio conflata.
- 25) cf. *Aen.*, 6,552: Porta adversa ingens solidoque adamante columnae.
catenae: cf. supra, *vincla*, *claustra*, *carceris*.
- 26) Tricola hoc in poematio conspicua sunt:
2-3: te tulisse / et clipeum amisisse / nec abiecissem hastam
5-6: genitor / lectissima coniux / filius
8-10: prudentia / patientia / spiritus consolator
15: lucem / tenebras / claustra
21: ad diem / horam / punctum
25-26: catenae / robur / vires
35: pontificum / patrum / populique furentis
41: spinae / calami / virgae
40-43: cum tempus adesset / spinae manerent / lignum erectum esset
58-59: aspera / ardua / invia.
Tricola nobis etiam *De an. imm.* carmen legentibus saepissime obviam
venire, e.g.:
2,385-386: vis et naturae partes et magna parentis
munera et ingentes terrae meminisse labores?
3,552: Iam rosa, iam violae, iam purpurei narcissi.
- 29) cf. *De an. imm.*, 2,301: sidera suadebunt, ut rex stellantis Olympi.
- 31) *moribundaque membra*: eam locutionem saepe e Lucretio deprompsit Aonius; e.g.
De an. imm., 1,451: Terrenos capiunt artus moribundaque membra.
De an. imm., 1,538: Quod si mortales artus moribundaque membra.
- 37) *miracula rerum*: cf. Verg., *Georg.*, 4,441 (Omnia transformat sese in miracula rerum), praeterea Iuvenum, Prudentium, Venantium Fortunatum et Alcuinum.
- 44) sc. evangeliorum scriptores.
- 46) *migret*: (post *venisse sciret*) licentia in temporum consecutione.
- 48) *tollas*: (post *vēnit*) licentia in temporum consecutione.
- 50-51) Cf. Sedulii *Carmen Paschale*, 2,15: Cursibus extremae sors irreparabilis horae.
Cf. *De an. imm.*, 3,422-423: Esto; faud fas servos regi praescribere, regi
parendum: fuerint quaecumque ea fata,
[feremus.]
- 51) *horam praescriptam*: cf. v. 50, *praescripta* ... *hora*. Iteratio Palearii propria.
- 56) Cf. Verg., *Ecl.*, 5,20: Extinctum crudeli funere Daphnin ...
- 57) Cf. Lucr., 3,4: Ficta pedum pono pressis vestigia signis.
Aen., 11,573: Utque pedum primis infans vestigia plantis.
- 61) *omnia vicit*: cf. *Georg.*, 1,145: ... labor omnia vicit.
- 62) Pulcherrimum tetracolum: per ignes
per lapidum nimbos
per aena undantia flammis
perque inventa omnes hominum superantia casus.

- 63) Cf. *Aen.*, 7,463: virgea suggeritur costis undantis aeni.
 70) Frequentes elisiones Lucretianae mihi esse videntur; cfr. e.g. *Lucr.*, 4,1028:
 Quare etiam atque etiam, ut dico, est communi voluptas.
 75) *dementia cepit*: cf. *Ecl.*, 6,47: A virgo infelix, quae te dementia cepit?
 76) Cf. *De an. imm.*, 3,2: quemque bonum tandem maneant, quas pendere
 poenas
 Cf. etiam *Aen.*, 10,669; Ovidii *Fast.*, 3,845, etc.
cupiamus pendere poenas: verba oxymora.
 77) *moriens qui vivere semper*: verba oxymora.
 79) *commoda vitae*: cf. *Lucr.*, 3,2: qui primus potuisti, inlustrans commoda
 [vitae.
De an. imm., 3,72: sanctum hominum genus hoc, verae
 [qui ad commoda vitae.
 Cf. praeterea Ovidii *Pont.*, 1,8,29; Valerii Flacci *Arg.*, 4,86, etc.
 80) vide notam ad v. 70.
 81) *sedesque beatas*: cf. *Lucr.*, 3,18: Apparet divom numen sedesque quietae.
De an. imm., 1,217: Iam mihi caelestum numen sedesque
 [beatae.
 Cf. etiam *Aen.*, 6,639; *Sil.*, 4,46; Paul. Nol., *Carm.*, 33,72, etc.
 84) *cognoscere curas*: cf. *Georg.*, 1,177: Ni refugis tenuisque piget cognoscere
 curas.
 86) *braccia tendens*: locus communis; cf. e.g. Vergilium in *Georgicis* (2,296),
 Ovidium in *Metamorphosis*, *Fastis*, *Amoribus* atque *Epistulis ex Ponto*
Seduliumque in Carmine Paschali.
 88) Cf. *Lucr.*, 1,337: officere atque obstare, id in omni tempore adesset.
 89) Cf. *Lucr.*, 3,987: Non tamen aeternum potuit perferre dolorem.
Aen., 6,464: Hunc tantum tibi me discessu ferre dolorem.

* * *

Carmen non a mortuo, ut moris erat, incipit⁵, sed superstitem Basilium laudibus effert, quippe qui pro sua fortitudine, quasi miles quidam fuisset, rebus perditis, non animo desponderit. Fortitudo quid sibi vellet, bene disseruit Aonius in oratione sua decima quae *De fortitudine Ad patres conscriptos Reipublicae Lucensis* inscribitur⁶:

“Est fortitudo virtus animi egregii atque excellentis quae nisi quod honestum sit, nihil rectum putat. Ea veluti singulare munus a Diis immortalibus hominum generi est data (...) Laudanda imprimis igitur fortitudo est, ob tolerantiam egregiam rerum difficilium, quae neque egestatem, neque exilium, neque mortem timet, nihil denique praeter turpitudinem (...) Quam ob rem vir fortis mentis constantia pulcherrime fert secundam et adversam fortunam, quicquid contingat, modo vacet

⁵ Cf. *Dis Manibus Sicinii Pepuli* quod inscribitur carmen.

⁶ Ed. Amstelodamensis (1696), pp. 150-159.

culpa: neque dolet, ut ceteri, neque laetatur (...) Vidistis vos aliquando civem vestrum (nolo nominare, ne dum de fortitudine dico, faciam dolorem); is, cum ad mortem mitteretur, hac virtute praeditus, ibat fronte ac vultu bellissimis, quasi e carcere evolasset. Pone uxor erat, lectissima femina, et gravissima: ea dolore credo oppressa, neque vocem neque oculos tollebat”⁷.

Inde ubi Basilii fortitudo ab Aonio memorata est, prudentia eius ac fides secundum ac tertium virtutis locum obtinent. Illud quoque Palearii proprium in consolationis argumentis, quod expressis verbis Spiritus sancti (v. 10) mentionem facit. Poeta enim, cum anno 1544 ad Lutherum, Calvinum aliosque ecclesiae renovandae principes litteras daret de concilio, quod liberum et universale fore sperabat et cui reges etiam et sapientes viri interfuturi erant, spiritui sancto scite diiudicaturum maxime confidere visus est.

Argumenta deinde, ut fas erat, aliquot, quae Basilii dolorem aliquatenus lenirent, protulit. Ad primum quidem, e consolationibus antiquis hauriens, philosophiam primam attingit. Nam quid naturalius excogitari potest lege ista, qua homines necessario et nascuntur et moriuntur? Sive enim voluit, seu noluit, natus est homo; sic etiam mori necesse est. Quae vero lex naturae, ne nimis crudelis esse videatur, ita mitigatur ut non vita sed mors ostendere viam ad astra, id est ad beatitudinem et libertatem sempiternas dicatur. Quomodo id fieri possit, facile ex ipsis Aonii verbis colligitur. Etenim vita non lux, sed tenebrae, neque libertas, sed carcer vinculum claustrum appellatur. Ergo iterum sententia Neoplatonica seu Ficiniana quae nuncupatur, quam et in *De animorum immortalitate* libris offendimus, nobis obviam venit. Haec cogitatio etiam viam aperit ad humanae vitae infelicitatem. Nec tamen id novisse, satis est. Nam Basilii uxor et filiolus praematuris mortibus, aetate florentes, abrepti erant. Itaque Aonius facere non potuit quin omnes cogitationes ad ipsam mortem eiusque momentum conferret.

Quare vocem *horam* septies et *tempus* quater in iis versibus invenies. Haec etiam causa poetam impellit ut ab ipso initio consolationis, in primum argumentum, quod de mortis necessitate agit, exitus quoque momentum intercludat. Inde etiam pulchre inter se nectuntur argumenta.

Ut eorum, quae diximus, summam faciamus, persuasum habemus primum argumentum complecti atque comprehendere quaecumque in

⁷ *Ib.*, pp. 152, 153, 155, 156.

reliquo carmine tractantur. In hoc enim iam et de fide (vv. 27sq.) et de misera condicione huius vitae (vv. 69-71) et de beatitudine futura (vv. 80sq.) et de momento obitus (vv. 29sq.) loquitur poeta summatim ea attingens.

Hoc post argumentum (vv. 27sq.), ad religionem scriptaque sacra cito transitur. Quid enim? Et Aonius et Basilius Christifideles erant. Aonio quidem exemplum Christi, qui, haud secus ac Basilii uxor, aetate fruens integra,⁸ e vita migravit, mire cum re ipsa congruere videbatur. Bene igitur demonstratur quotiens populi furores iuvenem Christum paene interfecerint. Et, ni fallimur, poeta, cum dolos patrum ac pontificum addidit, suorum meminerat temporum; nam vehementissime in pontifices invectus erat in eo opere c.t. *Actio in pontifices Romanos eorumque asseclas*.

Accedit quod Aonius huic argumento oppositionem Christi et hominis adiungit: siquidem, ait, divinus Iesus immortalem obierit mortem, aegrum mortalem stultissime atque ineptissime mortem recusare constat. Quod argumentum Lucretius quoque in libro tertio, cum inventores heroas philosophos et ipsum Epicurum cum homine '*improbo*' contulit, musaeo lepore contigerat summo et ad efficacitatem subvexit summam. Quem Aonius secutus⁸, magnitudinem Christi copiose illustrat et vilitudinem hominis demonstrat. Nam quo maior Christus, eo maior mors, quae etiam Christum vicit; quo humilior homo, eo ineptior aeternum vivendi cupiditas.

Christus itaque et summo loco, quo natus erat, et rebus gestis et domo maximus est (*unigena ex adyto stellantis Olympi*, v. 29; *divinus*, v. 45; *natus patris*, v. 49; *fundentem oracula*, v. 36; *nova miracula rerum magnarum edentem*, v. 37; *crux salutis*, v. 43; *magni trans moenia mundi*, v. 46; *super aethera*, v. 47; *caeli super ardua*, v. 49); homo vero servus est (v. 51). Quamque ignobilis sit homo, duplici illo versu callide exprimitur:

"qui nulla dominum superant ex parte potentem,
sed longe rebus sunt omnibus inferiores" (vv. 52-53).

A versu 57 usque Aonius, licet etiamnunc evolvat quemadmodum Iesus mortalia reliquerit, paulatim tamen ad alias cogitationes transgreditur. Basilio enim solacium non ex necessitate mortis, quae et Christum vicit, praebet, sed ex eo, quod Christus rursus mortem ipsam vicit: quid mors sibi velit demonstrare aggreditur.

⁸ Cf. Lucr., 3, 1024-1052.

Ipsam mortem, id est mortis momentum, esse crudelem concedit (cf. vv. 55-56: *horrida mors, crudelia funera*). Sed eadem efficit ut reditus nobis pateat ad patrias sedes caelorum, e quibus Eva nos cum eiecisset, in exilium expulit genus humanum. Vita igitur cum poena sit et exilium quasi quoddam, quin amaritudine suffusa sit, fieri non potest. Cogitationem illam et in libris *de animorum immortalitate* copiose evolvit, Lucretium magnam partem imitatus:

Ecquisnam aerumnas, ecquisnam incommoda possit
enumerare, graves hominumque referre labores?
Nascitur infelix homo... (2,427-429)

Nascitur infelix, nec humo se tollere quicquam
aut pede vel dextra potis est, nec repere quoquam... (2,422-423)

Vita hominum dura est et plena laboribus omnis... (2,460)

Conspicuum denique et elegans genus dicendi mihi videtur esse in ultima parte carminis, in qua longissimas periodos offendimus et poeta omnes adhibet vires ut consoletur. Non est cur longe disseramus de usu ac vi litterarum repetitarum (*omnia amaritiae aspersa atque addicta labori*, v. 70)⁹, et enumerationis (v. 71), vel de verborum positione (*omnia*, v. 70), de oxymoris verbis vel tetracolis¹⁰.

At animadvertamus iterum versum illum 86. Haec visio seu phantasma beatitudinis caelestis magnum polliceri videtur:

“utraque perpetuo caelestia bracchia tendens”,

et ultimos versus admiremur, in quis Basilii fortitudo iterum laudatur.

Commentariolo finem imponamus, hoc tantum asseverantes, quod Aonius in Amerbachii consolatione carmen mentis suae conforme pepigit. Quod enim ad res propositas attinet, *spiritum sanctum* memoravimus, *carcerem vitae, miseram humanae vitae condicionem beatitudinemque caelestem*. Quibus hic *magnam Christi mortem* subiungimus, cuius de momento Aonius in libro cheu deperdito egit qui *Della pienezza, soddisfazione et sofficienza del sangue di Cristo* inscribebatur.

Quod vero ad poesin attinet, insignia multa ac notas offendimus quibus insigniti sunt *de animorum immortalitate* libri, eadem dico verba, easdem locutiones, verba repetita, oxymora, oppositiones, tricola, etc. Ac nobis quidem in senariis pangendis Aonius semper vir

⁹ Cf. etiam v. 76: *cupiamus pendere poenam*
69: *experti toties mortalia*.

¹⁰ Cf. supra, p. 203 et 205 adnotatiuncularum.

Lucretianus fuisse videtur. Etenim, e poeta epicureo plurimas locutiones hausit; immo, si numerum ipsum propius aspexeris, frequentes animadvertes *elisiones*, *graviorem numerum* et, ut alia praetereamus, *ultimos pedes Lucretianos*¹¹.

2.

*DE IGNORATO QUODAM AONII PALEARII
VERULANI EPIGRAMMATE*

Mense Decembri anni 1529 Nicolaus Phoebeus (Italice Niccolo Febeo) opusculum *De syllabarum quantitate* inscriptum Senensibus typis excudendum curavit, in quo (chart. 21^v) epigramma laudativum Aonii Palearii legitur. Quod epigrammatione nuperrime detexit Leo Kosuta¹, nos autem hic iterum edidimus castigatum. Textum deprompsimus ex exemplari quodam Senensi², in bibliotheca publica Senensi servato numeroque R. VI. 14 insignito:

Quisquis de numeris novum libellum
inspectas, pater eruditionum
quem Phoebeus edidit Latinis,
scito de numeris fuisse multos
qui leges dederint, sed hunc libellum 5
quem sacrae ex gremio abstulit poesis
tantum iis omnibus esse praeferendum,
quantum Thespiades peritiores
versis ridiculis novem puellis,
et Phoebus pater omnibus poetis³. 10

3 Phoebeus *scripsi metri causa* (confer *Ov., Met.*, 2, 545; 15, 742, etc.), Phoebeus *liber*.

8 Thespiades *scripsi*, Thespiades *liber*.

¹¹ V. 14: se nesciat esse.

16: non attinet ad nos.

20: ire necesse est.

27: agier vis.

58: aspera quae sit.

69: novimus esse.

78: quisquam esse putasset.

¹ Cfr. L. Kosuta, "Aonio Paleario et son groupe humaniste et réformateur à Sienne, 1530-1546", *Lias*, 7 (1980), 3-59.

² Senensis bibliothecae praepositis pro missa nobis pellicula photographica gratias habemus.

³ *Thespiades*, i.e. deae Musae; *novem puellis*, i.e. Pierides; videsis Ovidium in *Metamorphoseon* libro quinto, vv. 250 sqq.: Pieri novem filiae cum deabus Musis certamen inierunt volucrumque formas acceperunt. Quae sit vera poesis adumbratur.

Animadvertenda etiam paronomasia (pater – Phoebus pater – Febeo!).

Quod epigramma ideo non spernendum esse iudicavimus, quia omnium primum esse videtur opusculum ab Aonio publici iuris factum.

Exeunte anno 1529 Perusiae versabatur Aonius, domi Ennii Philonardi, olim praesulis Verulani, tum vero Perusini. At iam cum Romae versaretur Palearius, Senas ire constituerat in urbem studiis florentem :

Audio in Hetruria florere bonas artes, nihil est quin
recta proficiscar Senas... (*Ep.*, I, 4)⁴.

Hocce epigramma hendecasyllabis exaratum est. Quos quidem pedes Aonius noster, Catullum dubio procul imitatus, saepius adhibuit; hoc enim metro constat epigramma ad Cosmum ducem Florentiae Senarumque⁵ datum et carmen consolatorium de Bogino, viro poetae amicissimo, morte correpto⁶. Catullum esse secutum Aonium ex eo patet quod epigrammatista in versibus conscribendis primos pedes non semper spondiacos reddit (v. 7: *tāntum ĩis*) neque elisas spernit syllabas (vv. 6-7) quodque Catulli meminisse videtur versuum (v. 1 cfr. *Cat.*, 1,1 *Cui dono lepidum novum libellum* et v. 2 cfr. *Cat.*, 21,1 *Aureli, pater esuritionum*). Ceterorum autem epigrammatum ab Aonio eo metro pactorum primi pedes semper spondiaci sunt.

Sunt etiam aliqua Palearii propria poeseos hoc in epigrammate, repetita verba dico (vv. 1, 4 *de numeris*; vv. 1, 5 *libellum*; vv. 2, 10 *pater*) nec non et usurpationem vocabulorum *multus* (v. 4) et *omnis* (vv. 7, 10), quae totiens *De animorum immortalitate* poema legentibus occurrunt⁷.

⁴ Aonii Palearii Verulani *Epistolarum libri IIII, eiusdem Orationes De animorum immortalitate libri III* (...), Lugduni, apud S. Gryphium, 1552, p. 14.

⁵ Aonii Palearii *opera* (...), Amstelaedami, apud H. Wetstenium, 1696, p. 640.

⁶ Codex Florentinus Riccardianus 2975, f. 42^r-42^v. Cfr. A. Della Torre, "Una lettera e sette poesie inedite di Aonio Paleario", *Rivista Cristiana (di Firenze)*, N.S., 1, 1899, 131 sqq. (editionem quam Della Torre curaverat, videre non potuimus).

⁷ Repetitionis in hendecasyllabis alterum est insigne exemplum :

Fortunate senex, quiesce in urna,
princeps unice liberalitatis.
(de morte Bogini)
norint, quam bene saeculum besti,
princeps unice liberalitatis.
(ad Cosmum Medicem)

3.

*EMENDATIONES PALEARIANAE*1. *Litterae Aonii Palearii ad Theodorum Zwingerium anno 1566 datae*

Est haec epistula maximi momenti, cum senescentis Palearii animum bene indicet et opusculum c.t. *Actio in pontifices* (...) ab Aonio scriptum esse probet.

Eam epistolam edidit S. Caponetto, *Aonio Paleario (1503-1570) e la riforma protestante in Toscana*, (Studi storici), (Torino, 1979), pp. 227-229.

Contulimus editionem cum codice Basileensi Fr. Gr. II, 14, ex quo textum deprompterat Caponetto. Haec autem emendentur :

p. 227 *tit. lege* S.D.

p. 228 *lege* ob rumores

lege Quod vero mihi laudas Sulcerum

lege Quae ista (malum) esset amentia

lege flaccescerent

lege de improvviso

not. 4 (in margine) *lege* tempore

not. 4 (in margine) *lege* Basiliensi

not. 4 (in margine) *lege* depositariis

not. 4 (in margine) *lege* si erit senatus

p. 229 *lege* exspectatione concilii

lege accedet

lege ita in animum inducas

lege Interea vero amemus

lege certemus.

Adde inscriptionem cursualem :

Theodoro Zwingerio Basileensi medico et philosopho nobilissimo Basileae.

2. *Litterae Aonii Palearii ad Guarinum anno 1566 aut 1567 datae*

Haec etiam epistola maioris est momenti, in qua Aonius edixerit occasionem Inquisitioni in se vindicandi datam quidque de novissima editione operum suorum sentiret enuntiaverit.

Duae epistolae inter se fere similes ab Aonio datae sunt Guarino ut altera saltem Basileam perferretur. Quas in lucem edidit G. Morpurgo, *Un umanista martire. Aonio Paleario e la riforma teorica italiana nel secolo XVI* (Città di Castello, 1912), pp. 155-156.

Haec autem emendentur :

- p. 155 *lege* excusationi
 iota
 librorum
 numerum
 in depravatum
- p. 156 *lege* accurrat
 apud quas
 post aliquot annos
 divenditis
 istis libellis (totis *expungendum*)
 in quo vel
 inscriptione
 perferretur
 ex illo folio primo
 folium primum sine illis
 qui in Italiam allati sunt
 refert, utro cum folio sint.

Duo huius epistolae exemplaria praeter adnotationem quandam similes esse inter se asseveravit G. Morpurgo. Animadvertantur vero hae variae lectiones.

(1 : Basil., Univ. Bib., G I 66, 123)

(2 : Basil., Univ. Bib., G I 66, 124)

- | | |
|--------------------------|---|
| 1: duo et viginti | 2: tres et viginti |
| uno etiam ... respondeat | <i>omisit</i> |
| dono ego te | <i>ego omisit</i> |
| habe | <i>omisit</i> |
| ac | <i>scr. sup. 1.</i> |
| si | <i>ante tuo commodo posuit</i> |
| persuade ... paratum | <i>erit tibi omne promptum et paratum</i> |
| Mediolani | <i>Vale praemisit.</i> |

3. *Litterae Aonii Palearii ad uxorem filiosque datae (Roma, 3.VII.1570)*

Duae epistolae ab Aonio paucis horis ante horrendam mortem datae sunt. Quae servantur in Bibl. Publica Senensi, ms. B.X.8, c. 205^r. Eas nuper S. Caponetto, *o.c.*, pp. 162-163 critice in lucem edidit, Iosephi Morpurgo editione (*o.c.*, pp. 176-177) non paucis locis correctae. Haec vero emendentur :

- p. 162 *lege* charissima
 Ihora
 honoratamēte
 Giesu Christo
 il di III

Phedro
 lultimo
 permetton (*uti Morpurgo scr.*)
 parera
 volunta di di dio (*sic!*)
 havete
 diligentia
 faculta che havete
 p. 163 *lege* E.^{tia} (*uti Morpurgo scr.*)
 allocare (*uti Morpurgo scr.*; *allevare expungend.*)
 dara
 gratia
 Aspazia
 lhora
 gratia
 il di III

4. *Litterae ab Aonio discipulo cuidam datae (Luca, 9.XI.1552)*

Haec epistula, servata in Bib. Publica Senensi, ms. B.X.8 c. 198, opere ac studio Iosephi Sforza publici est facta iuris et legitur in commentariis q.t. *Giorn. stor. della lett. it.*, 14 (1889), p. 70. Haec emendentur :

lege Molto virtuoso e gentile Mr Nicoló
 averti
 una lettera dal
 licenza (*e corr. scr.*, *licentia a. corr.*)
 con esso me
 raccomandatemi
 Nicoló Beltramini
 il dí IX
 (*inscriptionem cursualem* :) M. Nicoló Savolini scholare
 <Pis> ano
 Á Pisa
 Nicoló

5. *Litterae Amerbachianae*

1) *Aonius Petro Victorio de Basilio Amerbachio (Mediolano die 3 mensis Apr. anni 1556)*

Eam epistulam, in bibliotheca Athenaei Basileensis servatam (cod. G. II, 31, f. 360), anno 1979 primus edendam curavit S. Caponetto, *o.c.*, append. 4, pp. 223-224.

Haec autem emendentur :

florentissimam *cod.*, Florentissimam *ed.*
 sit, quam ego *cod.*, si ego *ed.*
 et lux (*post studiorum scriptum*) *om. ed.*
subscript. gentilhuomo *cod.*, gentiluomo *ed.*
 Fiorentino *cod.*, fiorentino *ed.*

2) *Aonius Basilio Amerbachio (Mediolano die 3 mensis Apr. 1556)*

Eam epistulam, ibidem servatam (fol. 362), anno 1912 edendam curavit G. Morpurgo, *o.c.*, p. 147. Haec autem emendentur :

tit. eccellente *cod.*, eccellente *ed.*
 raccomandatione *cod.*, raccomandazione *ed.*
 al vostro piacere e comando *post 1556 scribendum*
 Paleari *cod.*, Paleario *ed.*
subscript. Al nobilissimo giovane Signor Basilio Amberbachio scholare *cod.*, Signor Basilio Amerbach scolare *ed.*

3) *Aonius duobus amicis Senensibus (Mediolano, eadem die)*

Eam epistulam, ibidem servatam, fol. 356, anno 1912 G. Morpurgo in lucem edidit, pp. 147-148. Haec autem emendentur :

subscript. A Siena *cod.*, in Siena *ed.*

4) *Aonius Francisco Michaeli (Mediolano, eadem die)*

Eam epistulam, ibidem servatam (fol. 358), anno 1912 Morpurgo publici fecit iuris, pp. 148-149. Haec autem emendentur :

la lettera *cod.*, le lettere *ed.*
 Amerbachio *cod.*, Amerbach *ed.*
 raccomandandolo *cod.*, commandandolo *ed.*
 il dì III di Aprile *cod.*, il dì 11 di Aprile *ed.*
subscript. Messer Francesco *cod.*, Francesco *ed.*

5) *Aonius Basilio (s.l., s.d.)*

Haec emendentur in editione Iosephi Morpurgo p. 149 :

Bartholomaeo Or *cod.*, Bartholomeo Orelli *ed.*
 si qua *cod.*, si quae *ed.*
 itidem *cod.*, ibidem *ed.*
 29 Iunij n° 61 *not. al. man., om. ed.*

6) *Aonius Basilio (Mediolano, tertio Nonas Novembris s.a.)*

Haec emendentur in editione Iosephi Morpurgo pp. 149-150 :

Bartholomaeus *cod.*, Bartolomeus *ed.*
 Mediolano *cod.*, Mediolani *ed.*

6. *Litterae ab Aonio Vespasiano Gonzagae datae (anno circiter 1567)*

Contulimus Salvatoris Caponetto (*o.c.*, pp. 225-226) editionem cum codice manu scripto 853 (pp. 22-25) Bibliothecae Estensis. Haec emendentur:

p. 225 *lege* S.P.D.

praestitisti
aeque (*ut coni. Bandinius*)
cognoverit
sic multis
solet esse
terminibus

p. 226 *lege* secum

vi morbi
quae (malum) invidia est
eorum qui
etsi fortissimus
chariorem
prospectas.

7. *Litterae ab Aonio Desiderio Erasmo datae (Senis, die V mens. Dec. 1534)*

Contulimus Salvatoris Caponetto (*o.c.*, pp. 221-214) editionem cum codice Patavino (Bibl. del Seminario, cod. 71, ff. 36^v-41^r). Haec emendentur:

p. 214 *lege* abbates quos vocant
in concilia admittendi
quaestum.

8. *Aonii carmen ad Carolum V*

Contulimus editionem Petri Lazeri (*Pontificum Romanorum epistolae XXX saec. XIII scriptae. Aonii Palearii epistolae XXV (...) Omnes ex codd. mss. Biblioth. Collegii Romani S.I. nunc primum editae* [Romae, 1758], pp. 182-184) cum codice H 79 inf. Bibliothecae Ambrosianae Mediolanensis (f. 24^r-24^v), quem scriba Collegii Romani descripserat. Haec emendentur:

p. 182 *lege* tunc

fulgentibus armis
astabas
quoties (*ita bis corrigendum*)

p. 183 *lege* vincta (*capta expungendum*)

Amphitrione.

9. *Aonii oratio Tusca*

Contulimus editionem G. Arrighi ("La provincia di Lucca", 9,3 [1969], 62-66) cum codice manu scripto Lucensi (Bibl. statale di Lucca, cod. 858, sine foliis). Haec emendentur:

- p. 62 *lege* passata
havendi
delle buone lettere: degli ottimi (studi?) *ante corr.*
- p. 63 *lege* cupidigia
uffuci (*sic*)
delle arti
di ingegno
fecondo
- p. 64 *lege* moderatori
intendera
Dialettica
- p. 65 *lege* il grido delle lettere: delle buone lettere *a. corr.*
schuola: scuola *a. corr.*
de buoni
appo: appo esso di *a. corr.*

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DIE *STOCKHORNIAS* DES JOANNES RHELLICANUS

Gedichte über alpine Bergbesteigungen aus dem Zeitalter des Humanismus sind selten. Petrarcas Brief über seine Wanderung auf den Mont Ventoux scheint die Humanisten nicht zu ähnlichen Unternehmungen und ihrer poetischen Darstellung in Bewegung gesetzt zu haben. Heinz Schmitz, *Arkadischer Uetliberg*, Theodor Collins *De Itinere ad Montem Utliacum (1551) zusammen mit lateinischen Texten zur Schönheit des Bergsteigens übersetzt und erläutert*, Zürich 1978, hat jedoch vor einigen Jahren die Elegie eines Schweizer Humanisten, des Theodorus Collinus (1535-1604), der Vergessenheit entrissen, in der die Besteigung des Uetlibergs (873 m) durch eine Gruppe von Züricher Humanisten erzählt wird. In meiner Besprechung dieser Veröffentlichung im *Anzeiger für die Altertumswissenschaft* 34, 1981, Sp. 103-105, machte ich darauf aufmerksam, daß dieses Gedicht in einem auffälligen Analogie- und Kontrastbezug zu einem anderen, bereits 1536 verfaßten Alpengedicht steht, das Theodor Collin augenscheinlich noch vor dem 1555 erfolgten Druck bekannt geworden war. Es ist die *Stockhornias* des Berner Professors Johann Müller gen. Rhellicanus (um 1503-1542), in welcher dieser die Besteigung des Stockhorn (2193 m) von Bern aus hexametrisch beschreibt. Auf dem Hintergrund der Übereinstimmungen der beiden Gedichte (es handelt sich jeweils mindestens zum Teil um botanische Exkursionen einer humanistischen Gruppe und der Ablauf vom Aufbruch bis zur Rückkehr ist analog strukturiert) ist ihre unterschiedliche geistige Atmosphäre umso deutlicher bemerkbar. Der etwa dreißigjährige Berner schreibt konkret, beobachtet Einzelnes, schätzt das Natürliche, der etwa sechzehnjährige Züricher hält sich an den allgemeineren Ausdruck, zeigt seine Religion und legt vor allem Wert auf seine humanistische Bildung. Zum Beispiel haben die Freunde des Rhellicanus ihren Spaß daran, Steine vom Gipfel des Stockhorn herabzurollen und das dadurch hervorgerufene vielfach wiederhallende Getöse zu

hören, während Collinus und seine Mitschüler sich auf dem Gipfel des Uetliberges bukolisch maskieren und darangehen, die Eklogen Vergils mit verteilten Rollen zu rezitieren.

Die *Stockhornias* verdient Interesse als weiteres Alpengedicht (ist es die älteste poetische Darstellung einer Bergbesteigung durch einen Humanisten?) und als Dokument für den Berner Humanismus in der ersten Hälfte des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts. Ich begrüße deshalb die Gelegenheit, dieses Gedicht in den *Humanistica Lovaniensia* vorzustellen. Veröffentlicht hat es erstmals Konrad Gesner (1516-1565), der selbst auch als begeisterter Bergsteiger bekannt ist¹, im Zusammenhang mit anderen in Prosa gehaltenen Bergbeschreibungen. Die betreffende Titelseite lautet: *Conradi Gesneri Medici, De raris et admirandis herbis, quae sive quod noctu luceant, sive alias ob causas, Lunariae nominantur, Commentariolus: et obiter de alijs etiam rebus quae in tenebris lucent. Inseruntur et Icones quaedam herbarum novae. Eiusdem Descriptio Montis Fracti, sive Montis Pilati, iuxta Lucernam in Helvetia. His accedunt Io. Du Choul G. F. Lugdunensis, Pilati Montis in Gallia Descriptio. Io. Rhellicani Stockhornias, qua Stockhornus mons altissimus in Bernensium Helvetiorum agro, versibus Heroicis describitur. Tiguri Apud Andream Gesnerum F. et Iacobum Gesnerum, fratres. (1555). Die *Stockhornias* steht auf S. 79-82; voraus geht ihr eine neue spezielle Titelseite und ein Widmungsbrief (S. 78) an den Berner Geistlichen Petrus Cunzenus, dat. 12. August 1536, der im folgenden gleichfalls wiedergegeben sei. Er gibt einen ersten Eindruck von der natürlichen Humanität des Joannes Rhellicanus. Die Interpunktion wurde modernisiert, andere Abweichungen vom Text der Erstveröffentlichung nennt der Apparat. Ich benützte das Exemplar der Herzog-August-Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, 19.8 Med.*

Text.

Et pio et docto viro, D. Petro Cunzeno, ecclesiastae Bernensi, Ioan. Rhellicanus, bonarum literarum apud eosdem professor, salutem et conscientiae pacem exoptat per Christum Iesum.

¹ Siehe H. Schmitz, a.O., S. 30ff. In neuerer Zeit wurde es noch einmal gedruckt in W. A. B. Coolidge, *Iosias Simler et les origines de l'alpinisme jusqu'en 1600* (Grenoble, 1904).

Quod serius promissis meis sto, doctissime Cunzene, in nostra montana peregrinatione describenda, non mihi, sed Sirio imputandum est. Hoc enim sidus quamvis aestus et siccitatis causa singulis annis sit, tamen nescio an eius vis ullo unquam aetatis meae anno pestilentior
 5 fuerit. Segetes nanque, plantas, arbores, herbas, gramina et holera ante tempus arescere fecit. Nec minore interim vi in omne animantium genus desaeviit, siquidem ex nimia hepatis siccitate sitis, ex siti potus intemperantia, ex ea mille pestes cum in hominibus tum pecudibus ortae sunt, dysenteria ac reliquae lues. Quum igitur caput meum
 10 etiam per reliqua anni tempora languoribus obnoxium sit, in hoc flagrantissimo Sirii aestu temperandum mihi ab istiusmodi meditatione fuit. Ne tamen ocio totus marcescerem, nostram, hoc est tuam, Christiani Dannmateri, Thesei nostri fidissimi, ac Telori peregrinationem, quam Stockhorniadem a promontorii descriptione appellare lubuit,
 15 mane ac vesperi, quando Caniculae aestus nonnihil deferbuerat, meditatatus sum. Eam igitur tandem quomodocunque absolutam nemini potius quam tibi dedicandum censui, quippe omnium nostrum patrono, non in hoc tantum itinere, sed etiam hic. Quocirca, mi Cunzene, Stockhorniadem nostram eo animo suscipias velim, quo ego tibi eam
 20 nuncupavi, hoc est syncero, candido et tui amantissimo. Tuum ergo nunc erit clientem te deamantem redamare. Vale, Bernae 12. Augusti, Anno 1536.

Nox erat, et coelo radiabant sidera toto,
 Luciferique ortum cantu praedixerat ales.
 Pervigil accelerat stratis, simul ocyus omneis
 Voce Simon vocat : omnes surgimus ilico lectis.
 5 Induimur, ientamus corripimusque bacillum
 Quisque suum, niveum, vestigia certa tenere
 Quo liceat, montis penetrare cacumen in altum.
 Dum clivum superassemus, comes unus et alter
 Agglomerat sese. quorum unus colle tametsi
 10 Nutritus foret, astrorum tamen ille meatus
 Natura didicit duce sola. nanque corusca
 Stella Iovis magni mortalibus illa salubris
 Non ignota meat; non est incognita Martis
 Horribilis mundo rutilans et stella cruenta,

5. ientamur *ed. 1555.*

- 15 Non comites Solis, Cyllenius et Venus alma,
 Ensifer Orion, qui multos concitat hymbreis;
 Novit Vergilias orienteis tempore verno.
 Ut stabulum attigimus, placet hic requiescere iuxta
 Fonticulum et sacco Cererem depromere nostro
 20 Et capreae carnes, depromere dulcia vina.
 Quis ubi corpora nostra refecta fuere, subinde
 Inceptum per iter, scopulos rupesque per altas
 Scandimus, interius dum cornu montis adhaeret.
 Iuxta quod lacus est viridis, non piscibus aptus,
 25 Ima valle situs, qui terram more Arethusae,
 Alpei fluvii ingreditur praeruptaque saxa
 Sic penetrat, donec spumanteis exerit undas
 Non procul a pago, cui nomen Rivus et alnus.
 Limpidus hic gelidus fons vivus valle reducta
 30 Colliculo scaturit, certans cum Blandusiano
 Fonte, gelu spectes, vitreum seu forte liquorem.
 Hic iterum mensam struimus, lassataque membra
 Sternit humo, quicumque cupit gustare ferinam,
 Qui Cereris donum, veteres qui caseolosque.
 35 Nympha sitim sedat fontis Stockhornia nostram,
 Dum pincerna sedet prope fontem pocula praebens.
 Vina etenim servare placet Ripensia, donec
 Nos, Stockhorne, tenes consenzo vertice summo.
 Postquam exempta fames et amor cessavit edendi,
 40 Pergimus, et varias herbas hinc inde notatas
 Cunzius ostendit; quam formam Gentidis herba,
 Elleborus niveus quam vim medicam gerat, inquit.
 Innumeras alias herbas monstrabat, et Alpes
 Quos generant flores; quorum uni fuscus et ater
 45 Est color, ac odor est moscho fragrantior ipso.
 Radicem instar habet palmae geminae hincque vocatur

25. *in margine*: Ut Alpheus Arcadiae fl. in Achaia absorptus per subterraneos meatus in Arethusam Siciliae fontem influit.

28. *i.m.*: Erlibach.

30. Blandusiano *ed.* 1555. Cf. Hor., *Carm.* III 13.1 cum apparatu critico *ed.* F. Klingner, fons Blandusiae *edd.* s. XVI.

41. *i.m.*: Gentiana.

44. *i.m.*: Brendli (= *Nigritella nigra*, *Braunelle*, *Brändlein*, *purpurrote bis schokoladenfarbene*, *stark nach Vanille duftende Orchidee auf Alpenweiden*).

- Christimanus. nobis mora sic tum fallitur, atque
 Scanditur alta crepido dein vix lata pedes treis.
 Unde iterum in campos et pascua laeta venimus,
 50 Donec per scopulos et saxa minantia tandem
 In iuga Stockhorni pervenimus; unde sub ortum
 Stagna, lacus, torrenteis Simmae Arulaeque fluenta,
 Oppida spectamus, campos, viridantia prata.
 Occiduas sed equos ubi Phoebus mergit in undas,
 55 Innumeros monteis speculamur, ut aequora lata.
 Pavimus utque oculos, stomacho latrante paramus
 In medio scopuli mensam; depromimus armum
 Strepsicerotis, tum Cererem, dulcem quoque Bacchum,
 Caseolos veteres, qui condimenta fuere
 60 Helvetiis atavis nostris, exotica quando
 Nullus averet aromata bellaque nullus amaret.
 Dum prandemus ita, accelerat bumulga iuventus
 Lactea dona ferens mulctris tenuesque placentas.
 Mensa secunda fuit nobis haec grata perinde,
 65 Attica ceu quondam bellaria grata gulosis.
 Namque alius lac potabat, butyron edebat
 Ast alius; iuvat hunc sed pressi copia lactis.
 Postquam exempta fames sitis atque repressa fuisset,
 Surgitur; atque animi causa devolvere rupem
 70 Avulsam scopulo placet, ac audire sonantem,
 Non secus ac tonitru, scopulis dum immurmurat altis.
 Haec satis atque super quum nobis acta fuissent,
 Omnibus est animus descendere Premnocerote.
 Ecce in descensu quiddam mirabile visu,
 75 Alpestris gallina statim praetervolat omneis,
 Accola saxosam quam gens idcirco vocavit,
 Quod saxo gaudet, necnon vescatur arenis,
 Magna tecta nive. haec, bombardam dum iaculantes

47. *i.m.* : Manus Christi.

52. *i.m.* : Vallis nomen est (= *Simme und Aare*).

58. *i.m.* : Strepsicerotem, et infra capream quoque, improprie pro rupicapra accipit.

62. bumulga *ed. 1555*. Cf. βουμολγός : "Kuhmelker, Hirte".

73. *i.m.* : id est Stockhorno monte. (*von τὸ πρέμνον*, "Baumstock", und τὸ κέρας, "Horn").

77. *i.m.* : Steinhünli.

- Intendunt semel ac iterum frustra, tamen istic
80 Haesitat immotim, donec confixa lapillo
Bombardae scopulo cecidit tum proniter alto.
Lapsa iacens rostro spectabilis illa repando
Ac variis plumis nobis distincta videtur.
Pergimus in stabulum tum nobis forte propinquum
85 Atque inibi rursus saturamur lacte bovino
Multiplici, acceptum quod donum iure nepoti
Cunzeni ferimus. dein cuncti ascendere clivum,
Qui culus ob dominam Mutrinus rite vocatur,
Pergimus, ut liceat currenteis strepsicerotas
90 Cernere ibi propius de summo vertice montis.
Sed fera nulla fuit nobis conspecta quod illic,
Fortunam culpae libet; venatica nanque
Cura manusque fuit nobis praemissa perita,
Quae capreas scopulis circum circa latitantes
95 Exciret, sed nulla fuit conspecta ferarum.
Proinde placet cunctis clivo descendere summo
Paulatim; non lata via est, sed longa crepido.
Commodiore via tandem descendimus inde,
Quam prior ascensus fuerat; nam planior ista
100 Tritior atque fuit multo. gestare solebant
Hac etenim butyron et omnia lactea dona.
Attigimus rursum tandem Erlinbacchia prata
Hospitiumque vetus postquam, hic repetivimus omnes
Corpora curantes lassataque membra quieti
105 Paulisper dantes. en magna caterva virorum
Nos vocat ad coenam laute oppipareque paratam.
Unicus ad coenam est agilis praepesque Telorus,
Una cum puero venit, quod fessa labore
Corpora fessa forent aliorum aestuque diurno.
110 Quae res perdoluit, non tam quod corpora lassa
Nostra forent, quam quod convivis solvere grates
Haud liceat, toties quod susceperere benigne.
Nam semel ac iterum magno suscepit honore

88. *i.m.*: Der Mutrinenafter. Der Name wird als culus matronae etymologisiert.

90. *porpius ed. 1555.*

112. *i.m.*: Erlinbachiorum liberalitas.

- Concio magna virum, iuvenesque senesque periti.
115 Vina etenim donans totius nomine gentis
Vir venerandus erat; si spectes ora diserta
Nestor erit Pylius; si latifundia spectes,
alter Croesus erit; Lenherrius atque vocatur.
Signifer ille fuit, dum vires corporis adsunt.
120 Excipit at Lupus hunc et lampada sumit ab illo.
Tertius hinc quaestor, quo non humanior alter
Concelebrans coetum, nos excipit ore benigno.
Hic veteris mores penitus non esse sepultos
Comperimus nostrae Helvetiae; vestigia multa
125 Simmae vallis habet peregrinos rite fovendo.
His ita transactis valediximus omnibus atque
Muneris ipsorum memores nos esse futuros,
Donec vita comes, cuncti promisimus. inde
Postera dum solis luxisset lampas in orbe,
130 Bernam multiugam cuncti remeamus in urbem.

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118. *i.m.* : Venner Lehenherr.

120. *i.m.* : Venner Wolff.

James P. CARLEY

JOHN LELAND'S *CYGNEA CANTIO*:
A NEGLECTED TUDOR RIVER POEM*

Few individuals knew the geography of Tudor England as intimately as the antiquary-cum-topographer-cum-historiographer-cum-botanist-cum-poet John Leland. Excessive modesty was not one of Leland's shortcomings, but he is scarcely exaggerating when he claims in his "New Year's Gift" of 1546/7 to Henry VIII that

... I haue so traueled in your domynions both by the see coastes and the myddle partes, sparynge neyther labour nor costes by the space of these VI yeares past, that there is almost neyther cape nor baye, hauen, creke or pere, ryuer or confluence of ryuers, breches, washes, lakes, meres, fenny waters, mountaynes, valleys, mores, hethes, forestes, woodes, cyties, burges, castels, pryncypall manor places, monasteryes and colleges, but I haue seane them and noted in so doynge a whole worlde of thynges verye memorable¹.

In fact, it is probable that he spent close to a decade in almost constant travel and notetaking throughout the length and breadth of England and Wales. He planned to use his notes as the basis for a number of major projects, including: (i) *libri quatuor de viris illustribus*; (ii) *liber de Topographia Britanniae primae*; (iii) *Civilis historia, libri quinquaginta*; (iv) *libri sex de insulis Britanniae adiacentibus*; (v) *de nobilitate Britannica libri tres*². As it happens, none of these

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¹ From Leland's "New Year's Gift" of 1546/7. Published, with commentary, by John Bale as *The laboryouse Journey & serche of Johan Leylande, for Englandes Antiquitees* (London, 1549; rpt. Amsterdam & Norwood, N.J., 1975), D.iiii^v.

² See *ibid.*, C.vii^v-E.i. Later antiquaries, such as William Harrison and William Lambarde, felt that to complete even limited portions of certain individual items in this list would constitute major accomplishments.

works saw publication (or even completion) in his own lifetime; his mind gave way in 1547 and he was completely incapacitated until his death in 1552. At this time the great collection of medieval manuscripts he had acquired was dispersed and his notes less than adequately preserved³. The writings normally associated with Leland's name—the so called *Collectanea*, the *Itinerary* and the *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis*—represent only the framework for the structure he wished to create and, to use one of Leland's own favourite analogies, what we see of his work allows us to visualize the whole much as a single claw would enable us to imagine the shape of a lion.

Modern scholars, for the most part, have been interested in Leland as a kind of pre-twentieth century equivalent to a camera and/or xerox machine and prefer the reality of the toe to the dynamism of the lion's roar. We value his writings because they provide testimony to documents lost during the ravages of the Dissolution or because they give architectural minutiae about now destroyed buildings or because they describe vanished details of landscape—crops, cattle grazing patterns and so forth⁴. Leland himself, however, had a far loftier view of his importance, both as an interpreter of the past and as a poet; and the latter talent, according to his friend John Bale, led to his final illness: "I much do feare it that he was vayne gloryouse, and that he had a poetycall wytt, whyche I lament, for I iudge it one of the chefest thynges that caused hym to fall besydes hys ryghte dyscernynges"⁵. Interestingly, too, the *Cygnea cantio*—which is generally remembered as a minor historical curiosity—stood in some sense for Leland as a crowning achievement in his career of topographical and historical investigation, an elegant glove to throw down before the vicious backbiters by whom he was surrounded. In the following paper I shall first look at this poem in the context of Leland's life and accomplishments and show why it was so important to him; then I shall examine its 'external' value—*i.e.* the historical information it contains, the sources it quotes and so on; finally I shall discuss its influence on later vernacular writers and its possible intrinsic merits.

³ On these remains and their mismanagement after his death see J. P. Carley, "The Manuscript Remains of John Leland, the King's Antiquary", *Text*, forthcoming.

⁴ Another area, to which little serious attention has been hitherto paid, concerns Leland's circle of acquaintance—the information, for example, that his poetry gives us about Tudor court circles.

⁵ *The laboryouse Journey*, B.iii.

As is well known, Leland's education stands as a model for the period: St. Paul's School under the mastership of William Lily; an A.B. at Cambridge; a brief sojourn as tutor to Thomas Howard, son of the second Duke of Norfolk, followed by a time at Oxford; then several years in Paris as a King's Scholar under some of the most influential thinkers in France⁶. And it is while he was in France that Leland first acquired his taste for poetry, as he tells us in several of his poems:

"Parhisii at Musas mihi persuasere colendas,
Hinc variis cecini carmina mista modis".
(The Parisians persuaded me to worship the Muses;
Here I sang songs composed in varying metres)⁷.

At this time, too, he may have met some of the important French poets of the generation: Salmon Macrin and Nicolas Bourbon, for example⁸. Certainly he first became interested in riparian themes in Paris and wrote his own rather charming poem on the Seine:

Sequana vitiferis crinem redimite corollis,
Gallica qui vitreo gurgite prata rigas:
Tu nostro praestas solamen dulce labori,
Et tetricum misces lusibus usque sophos.
Namque tuis ripis quum lentis passibus erro,
Flora quidem nares pascit odora meas.
Atque oculos eadem pictarum lumine rerum
Detinet insignis, vel sine fine, Dea.
Nominis illa tui cultrix, vicinaque felix
Hospitibusque tuis officiosa favet.
Tu quoque, quum salicis requiesco fessus in umbra,
Perstrepis arguto murmure, Somne Veni.
Audiit haec Zephyrus genialis, flatque secundo
Intentus strepitu, ventilat atque salax.
Insuper illimi natito quum flumine nudus,
Lympha tua est votis candida tota meis.

⁶ On details of Leland's biography see Carley, *op. cit.* [note 3]. For his period in France see Carley, "John Leland in Paris: the Evidence of his Poetry", forthcoming.

⁷ "Successus studiorum suorum". In Thomas Newton, ed., *Principum ac illustrium aliquot et eruditorum in Anglia virorum, Encomia, Trophaea, Genethliaca et Epithalamia a Joanne Lelando Antiquario conscripta* (London, 1589; rpt. Thomas Hearne, ed., *J. Lelandi antiquarii de rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, 2nd edn., 6 vols. London, [1770]), 5, p. 88. All subsequent references will be to Hearne's edition. The translations are my own unless otherwise indicated.

⁸ For published and unpublished poems dedicated to these and other French authors, see Carley, "John Leland in Paris" (cp. note 6).

Fac mihi, fac semper te talem, Sequana, praestes,
Et recinet numen Musa Britannia tuum.

(O Seine, whose hair is bound with vinebearing garlands, you who moisten the Gallic meadows with your glassy waters, you bring pleasant solace to my toil and mix stern "bravo" with games. For, as I wander with slow steps beside your banks, your fragrant Flora gratifies my nostrils. And the same goddess fills my eyes with the beauty of embroidered meadows for as far as the eye can see. She, your rich and obliging neighbour, worships your name and befriends your guests. Also, when I am weary and rest in the shadow of the willow, you whisper with a rustling murmur: "Come, o Sleep". The cheerful West Wind hears this and he blows eagerly with a favourable rustling, and sways provocatively. Moreover, when I strip and swim in the pure stream, all your water is shining, as I would wish. Show yourself always such for me, o Seine, and the British Muse will sing again your divinity)⁹.

He celebrates the vines, the flowers, the tranquility of the river banks, the coolness of the breeze and the purity of the water when he swims. He shows, too, an awareness of his role as British Muse, one who can as such bring fame to the river. Although not brilliantly original, the poem gives a flavour of Leland's own personality and conveys—very early—his sharp eye for his surroundings¹⁰.

After his return to England Leland continued to write poetry. A swan motif, moreover, crops up with some regularity. Sometimes individual poets are linked with the swan, sometimes the swan seems to represent the Muse in a more general sense. In one poem, "Synchrisis cygnorum & poetarum", he gives an extended comparison between the poet and the swan¹¹. Both swans and poets are white, one in body and the other in heart. The swan loves the icy river, the poet his font. Both flourish with the breezes of Zephyr and both seek the shady river bank in the heat of summer.

When he came to write his great poem, therefore, the idea of linking river, swan and poet had already been hinted at in his verse. He had as well a deep passion for landscape and in many ways the most prominent geographical feature of his country was its great

⁹ "Ad Sequanam fluvium", *Encomia*, p. 115.

¹⁰ The exuberance of this early poem contrasts forcefully with the fretful and depressed tone of his last short poems, where he laments the circumstances which seem to be preventing him from pursuing his work.

¹¹ There are many poems on the swan theme in the *Encomia*; for "Synchrisis Cygnorum & Poetarum", see *Encomia*, p. 82.

river, the Thames. Leland, more than any of his contemporaries, knew every detail of the river and its history:

"Huius ego aliquando, vel ab ipsis fontibus, ripas, sinus, anfractus, divortia, maeandros, denique & mediamnes insulas omneis curiosissime collustravi, & memoriae commendavi".

(At some time I have with great care visited and committed to memory all the banks, curves, byways, diversions, meanderings and islands from the very source of this river)¹².

Of all rivers in Britain, too, the Thames was—and is—most famous for its swans, some of whose haunts were just outside Oxford. The swans of the Thames could also be seen as a modern British version of the nymphs of Helicon. Leland, like Milton later, could assure us:

"Nos etiam in nostro modulantes flumine cygnos
Credimus obscuras noctis sensisse per umbras,
Qua Thamesis late puris argenteus urnis
Oceanus glaucos perfundit gurgite crines".

(I too, I am persuaded, have heard through the dark shadows of the night the swans as they attuned their strains in my own river, where the silvery Thames, bright-urned, wide-spreading stream, drenches his grey tresses with the swirling waters of ocean)¹³.

Finally, by the mid 1540's Leland felt it was time to abandon poetry and to concentrate on his other vast prose projects. The swan, of course, is famous for the beautiful song it produces at the hour of its death¹⁴. Leland the poet, as Britain's swan, had a similar duty, which Calliope herself demanded he fulfil. In the *Cygneae cantio*, then, we have the poet swan's farewell to the poetic arts, his last lyric song of praise to the river and the king he loved¹⁵. Nor are the many Vergilian allusions, I think, without significance. The poem is a formal public piece, Leland to Henry and Troynovant as Vergil to Augustus and

¹² John Leland, *Cygneae cantio* (London, 1545; rpt. 1658; rpt. Thomas Hearne, ed., *The itinerary of John Leland, the antiquary*, 2nd edn., 9 vols. [Oxford, 1745]), 9, p. 4. All subsequent references will be to Hearne's edition and will be incorporated into the text.

¹³ John Milton, "Mansus", ll. 30-33. Ed. and trans. W.P. Trent *et al.* in *The Works of John Milton*, 18 vols. (New York, 1931-38), 1, p. 288.

¹⁴ It is typical of Leland's method that he devotes a considerable portion of the preface of the *Cygneae cantio* to citations of classical and medieval authorities on the swan song motif.

¹⁵ Ironically, this turned out to be more of a swan song than Leland thought, since he himself published nothing after this.

Italy. The structure of the poem itself, too, is meant to reflect its epideictic nature: the journey from Oxford to Greenwich takes up less than 400 lines; the rest is addressed directly to Henry VIII, an extended encomium to his greatness, describing his achievements more or less *ab ovo*.

Visibly the *Cygnea cantio* is an elegant piece of flattery directed to Henry VIII. As in much of Leland's verse, there is a strong sense of loyalty, with a keen eye to patronage lurking not far below the surface¹⁶. The poem does, indeed, praise locations up and down the Thames, describing their history from earliest recorded times, but the chief focus is on the accomplishments of the Tudor dynasty. As Sir Thomas Kendrick rather wryly puts it: "... when he reached Windsor the over-loyal bird revealed himself to be a Tudor panegyrist of such exceptional ardour that therefore he could waste very little time on scenery or buildings that did not contribute to the Tudor glory"¹⁷. There are repeated military allusions as well. In the stretch of river downstream from London, for example, our intrepid swan catalogues the chief ships of the fleet:

"Accedam propius, triremiumque
Intentus numerum adnotabo justum".

(I'll approach nearer, and carefully note down
the exact number of vessels. ll. 282-83).

Later, he discusses Henry's fortified castles in all parts of the country. Throughout, he reminds the French and Scots about the English might; as in the fleet episode:

"Galli, si sapitis, fugam parate".
(O French, if you are wise, you'll prepare for flight. l. 281).

This latter point is, I think, especially interesting. The *Cygnea cantio* was published in 1545. In 1545 the military situation in England was precarious: the English had been simultaneously threatened with invasion by the French fleet, which had made a landing in the Isle of Wight, and with agitation from the Scots in the North¹⁸. The poem stands as a challenge to the enemy, a warning against the

¹⁶ Leland is very interested in the concept of "belles lettres", and it is primarily to literary patrons (such as Henry VIII and Thomas Cranmer) that he directs himself.

¹⁷ T.D. Kendrick, *British Antiquity* (London, 1950), p. 62.

¹⁸ See James Hutton, "John Leland's *Laudatio Pacis*", *Studies in Philology*, 58 (1961), p. 617.

folly of aggression. It serves a minatory as well as a laudatory function, and the former aspect accounts for a considerable number of its features. Propaganda, as we all know, is a strong weapon in times of war.

The military subtext of the *Cygnea cantio* is relatively apparent. There is, however, a more personal subtext, one which accounts both for the form of the poem and more particularly for the copiousness of the commentary. From relative youth onwards Leland had received marked tokens of royal favour. He had set himself up as an authority on the whole range of English history and challenged with impunity anyone who dared disagree with him. By 1545 he was almost certainly over 40 and yet, for all his promise, he had produced no major work and very few minor ones. It comes as no surprise, then, that there were enemies and scoffers. In the commentary to the *Cygnea cantio* he tells us specifically that Polydore Vergil had attacked him:

“Haec ego de Polydoro modeste satis, ut arbitrator, & candide retuli, quem interim aperte de me male loqui & sentire certe scio, id quod susque deque fero”.

(I report these things about Polydore candidly and modestly enough, I think, whom in the meantime I know for certain to speak and to think badly about me, to which I am indifferent. p. 76).

Not much later John Caius was to suggest that he was a boaster and a bad poet as well. Leland sees the *Cygnea cantio* as a response to those who doubt his abilities to fulfill his grandiose schemes and he articulates this sentiment at several points. Particularly revealing is the passage just preceding the commentary, addressed “ad candidos lectores”. Here, he assures his readers that he feels no ill will towards the “studiosorum chorus” who are clamouring for his work. It pleases him to see such enthusiasm—though it is perhaps youthful and naive—and this enthusiasm will be rewarded by the rich fruits of his labour. He has found such treasures that he will be able fully to restore the ancient glory of his country. And, if this appears to be another vain promise to certain smatterers, let them just look at the commentary on the *Cygnea cantio* which contains in itself ample material but which also gives some hint of what is to come. The tone of this passage suggests an almost paranoid awareness that there is considerable opposition; it shows an aggressive pride in both country and in his own abilities and a keen desire that this poem be well received:

"Tantum in praesentia gustum erudito lectori majoris operis quotidie accrescentis exhibui, quem si sensero lautis placuisse palatis, tam fuse, & accurate scribam, ut aliquando & gratus, & utilis patriae, adsit modo candidus censor, videar".

(In this present [work] I have given the erudite reader only an appetizer for a greater work which grows daily, which—if I feel this to have pleased refined tastes—I shall write so fully and with such accuracy, that I may seem at last both pleasing and useful to my country in the judgement of any unbiased witness. p. 7).

But, judging by the various opinions expressed at the time of his insanity soon after—the most harsh of which was that his madness was a refuge from his inability to produce the works promised—the *Cygnea cantio* did not convince the rabble that they had been excessively harsh in their criticism.

Kendrick has described Leland as

... two-faced, in one direction looking hopefully forward into a new era of empirical research and practical survey, and at the same time looking with affection backward to the writing-desk of the medieval scholastic chronicler-antiquary where a traditional fable might be repeated without unrestful inquiry or impertinent sixteenth century doubt¹⁹.

I cite this not so much in the context of his intellectual habits as in reference to his attitude towards the monastic past. Of Leland's loyalty to Henry there can be no doubt, here or in any of his writings. Moreover, both in the poem and in the commentary he registers pleasure that the Romanists have departed. At Hampton Court, for example, the swan notes with delight that

"Non hic purpurei nitent galeri,
Ut quondam soliti, cruces columnaeque".

(The purple priests' hats are no longer seen here as formerly, nor the crosses and columns. ll. 114-115).

And, of course, Leland had by this time already composed his *Anti-philarchia*, which was one of the first works to use antiquarian knowledge as a means of establishing precedents for an independent English Church. What is amazing, though, is the unreconciled juxtaposition of this attitude with a clear admiration for the glories of the monastic world—an admiration which John Bale would later censure, criticizing

¹⁹ *British Antiquity*, p. 63.

Leland for including so much monastic rubbish in his history of English letters. In the *Cygne cantio* monastic sites figure prominently. If Henry is the conscious focus of the trip, the monasteries are the natural attraction. In the commentary, too, Leland shows an immense pride in the traditions of learning fostered in the monasteries and in their architectural beauty. By the time that the *Cygne cantio* was written, however, the monasteries were for the most part in ruins, many of their literary treasures dispersed to the four winds. Significantly, Leland does not refer to this destruction and in his silence he is quite unlike the writers of the next generation. Leland's articulated stance is thoroughly optimistic; unlike Camden and Spenser he evinces no tendency to contemplate "The Ruines of Time". For him the river does not suggest—as it will for William Browne—that

"... Towns glide away
And rivers, which are still in motion, stay"²⁰.

For these later poets the ravages caused by the Dissolution will be particularly fertile in stimulating consciousness of the past as well as promoting historical research: "The very process of casting off the past generated nostalgia for its loss. And with nostalgia came invigorated historical activity"²¹. Aubrey, for example, will point out that "[Ruins] breed in generous mindes a kind of pittie; and sett the thoughts a-worke to make out their magnificence as they were when in perfection"²². Leland, on the other hand, shows little or no desire to interpret the destruction or, for the most part, even to acknowledge it. Indeed, there are isolated *cris de cœur* in his prose writings, but for the most part his historiographical stance is one of candid optimism and humanist enthusiasm. It is, I know, risky—and probably unproductive—to apply popular psychological categories to historic figures. In spite of this, I would like to suggest that Leland was placed in a highly schizophrenic situation. He did view Tudor England and Henry's policies with unquestioning patriotic optimism; on the other hand, he valued the traditions of the past and was desperate—and I think this is not too strong a term—to save documents that des-

²⁰ William Browne, "On Rome as It is Now", in *The Poems of William Browne*, ed. A. H. Bullen, 2 vols. (London & New York, 1894), 2, p. 301.

²¹ Margaret Aston, "English Ruins and English History: the Dissolution and the Sense of the Past", *Journ. Warburg Courtauld Instit.*, 36 (1973), p. 255.

²² Quoted in Aston, p. 251.

cribed English history from being plundered by Henry's agents. Consciously he was in favour of the Dissolution but it resulted in the destruction of much of the cultural heritage he treasured so greatly. Caught in the middle of the process he was unable to get a perspective on his conflicting loyalties or to find a philosophy which might reconcile the two. And in this, the contrasts between his writings and Camden's, say, are most revealing.

The *Cygnea cantio* itself is divided into several fairly distinct sections. We first meet the swan and his companions (ll. 1-57); the journey then begins and various sites are described (ll. 58-395); finally the swan song proper, a eulogy to Henry VIII, takes place (ll. 395-699). The commentary which follows forms the greatest part of the whole work and shows the direction of Leland's interests by the mid 1540's. It contains over 100 entries on places and people mentioned in the poem—some of these fairly substantial descriptions—and quotes at least 84 authorities, ancient and modern, British and foreign. The citations illustrate Leland's concerns: etymology, archaeology, written records, folk tradition. The authority of past writers is balanced by on the spot observation. Let me take just one example, chosen partially, I confess, for whimsical reasons. One of the first towns the swan encounters is *Hydropolis*, not a place easy to identify on a modern map. Turning to the commentary we discover that this is an ancient town, known—as coins prove—to the Romans. It was later, as Bede establishes in his *Ecclesiastical History*, bk. 3, ch. 5, given to St. Birinus by Cyneigils, kind of Wessex, as an episcopal seat²³. Later yet, when the bishopric was moved in Norman times to Lincoln, Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, founded a community of Austin canons there. The modern, corrupt, name for the town is Dorchester. Leland's reasons for suggesting a revision of this name are as follows: *Hydor* is a Greek term, contracted in British to *Dor*. *Cestre sive Castre*, on the other hand, is Latin for a fortified camp—deriving ultimately from Hebrew (as in Cairo). *Polis* is Greek, meaning city; for the sake of harmony and accuracy, therefore, it should be combined with the first element of the name. This type of potted history

²³ Leland's reconstruction here, as in most of his entries, is basically accurate (although the reference should be to chapter 7 in Bede). See David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses England and Wales*, 3rd edn. (London, 1971), p. 156.

—barring the fanciful etymologies—is now a guidebook commonplace, but one must remember that Leland essentially created the genre and singlehandedly culled all the information for each place he described.

Leland quotes British and foreign writers throughout the commentary. The range of his reading is extraordinary, as well as his ability to remember bits of information from manuscripts he had seen years earlier during his travels. On occasion, too, he is our sole authority about lost texts; as in his discussion of Joseph of Exeter, a once celebrated author not all of whose works survive²⁴. In the *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis* Leland tells us about the process through which he tracked various bits of Joseph's work down, a search beginning in Paris and ending in Abingdon. Here, in his discussion of the British Trojan origins, however, he actually provides 10 lines of verse, the only surviving quotation from the *De bello Antiocheno*. The verse itself may not be of the highest quality, but it does certainly establish the authentic existence of such a text and is therefore of great value to the literary historian.

As a manuscript scholar Leland is accurate, thorough, distinguished in his skills and objective in his method, carefully weighing different kinds of evidence. On matters of patriotic import, however, the objectivity weakens:

"Ego interea loci strenue caussam meae patriae defendam, & famam ejusdem modis quibus possim omnibus promovebo, augebo, ornabo".

(Meanwhile, in this place I will defend the cause of my country vigorously, and will promote, increase and ornament its fame in all the ways that I can. p. 49).

I have already alluded to his combative nature; in particular he objects to Polydore Vergil, a man he characterizes as an upstart foreigner and an armchair historian²⁵. In the *Cygnea cantio* he challenges Vergil on a number of points: the location of New Troy and the place of origin of the Isis (i.e., the upper portion of the Thames before it is joined by the Tame near Dorchester), for example. Con-

²⁴ See John Leland, *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis*, ed. A. Hall, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1709), ll. 236-239; also L. Gompf, ed., *Joseph Iscanus: Werke und Briefe* (Leiden & Cologne, 1970), pp. 61-67, 212.

²⁵ On this subject see James P. Carley, "Polydore Vergil and John Leland on King Arthur: the battle of the books", *Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages* 2, forthcoming.

cerning the latter, certainly, he is much more accurate than his opponent. On the other hand, in his defense of the British Trojan origins against Vergil's scepticism—a more emotionally fraught issue for him—he is on considerably less solid ground. Few modern historians would be able to accept the conclusions contained in the proud rebuttal he tosses to Vergil:

“Liceat nunc Britannis cum bona venia originem a Trojanis, & Bruto suo repetere”.

(May it now kindly be permitted to the British to seek their origins from the Trojans and their Brutus. p. 44).

Second only to Vergil in his contempt is another foreigner: the pernicious Scot Hector Boece, whom he takes severely to task concerning a number of points about early British history. He tells us, for example, that

“Absurdum profecto erit posthac Brigantes cum Hectore Boëthio Scotto in Gallovidia quaerere”.

(After these [proofs] it certainly will be absurd to look for the *Brigantes* in Galloway as Hector Boece the Scot does. p. 40).

Foreigners, it is clear, should concern themselves with their own countries.

Much about Leland can be gleaned from the *Cygnea cantio*: his knowledge of foreign languages, his taste in historians and in historic personages, his friends and patrons, biographical details. Particularly interesting, however, are the works promised for the future. In the commentaries he refers to a number of items:

1. *De pontificibus Britannicis*. “Sed de Antonio fusius in opere, cui titulus de pontificibus Britannicis, dicemus. Nam illorum res gestas magna cura exquisivi, & majori propediem in ordinem redigam”.
(On the British Bishops. But I will speak at greater length about Antonius in the work entitled On the British Bishops. For I have seached out their deeds with great care and, with greater, I will soon organize them in chronological order. p. 35).
2. *De antiquitate Britannica*. “Sed de Claudia fusius in libris de Civili historia, sive de Antiquitate Britannica, dicemus”.
(On British Antiquity. But I will speak at greater length about Gloucester in the books of The Civil History or On British Antiquity. p. 52).
3. *Vita Sigeberti*. “Ex hoc Bedae loco colligunt scriptores, Grantanam academiam originem Sigeberti, cujus nos vitam scripsimus, & Felicis pietate sumpsisse”.

(The Life of Sigebert. From this place in Bede writers gather that the University of Cambridge took its origin from the generosity of Sigebert, whose life I have written, and of Felix. p. 68).

4. *De academiis Britannicis*. "Quin Grantae gloriam accuratius, in opusculo, quod de academiis Britannicis sum propediem editurus, collaudabo".
(On the British Universities. I shall praise the glory of Cambridge in more detail in the little work which I am about to publish on British universities. p. 69; see also p. 81).
5. *De viris illustribus*. "Plura de hoc tam claro Duce [Humphrey] dicemus libro tertio de viris illustribus. Hoc enim opus magna diligentia, cura & labore congegimus, atque adeo jam in tomos quatuor digessimus, ne Britanniae nostrae, fama tot eruditorum, & elegantium scriptorum deperiret".
(On Distinguished Men. I shall have more to say about this most distinguished Duke in the third book of On Distinguished Men. For I have compiled this work with great diligence, care and labour, and have now arranged so much in four volumes so that the reputation of Britain's so numerous erudite and elegant writers might not perish. p. 73; see also p. 81).
6. *De nobilitate Britannica*. "Recentiores Richomontaniae Comites omitto brevitatibus studio, hac lege tamen, ut illos in memoriam redigam in opere quod de nobilitate Britannica, diis vitam mihi fortunantibus, in Procerum gratiam propediem scripturus sum, & editurus".
(On Britain's Nobility. I omit the more recent counts of Richmond for the sake of brevity, with this proviso, however, that I will mention them in the work which I shall soon write and publish on the British nobility out of gratitude to the Princes, if the gods bless me with life. p. 86).
7. *De insulis Britanniae adjacentibus*. "Plura de Portunia dicemus in libro de insulis Britanniae adjacentibus".
(On the Islands Adjoining Britain. I'll say more about Portland in the book on the islands adjoining Britain. p. 94; see also p. 100).

Leland refers again to most of these intended works in the "New Year's Gift" and one can roughly see their outline in surviving notes²⁶. The references here do prove, though, that by 1545 Leland had fairly clear plans for his archives of gathered materials. Three titles, however, do not appear in the later list and warrant special notice²⁷.

(1) The life of Sigebert may, in fact, ultimately have become the short life found in the *Commentarii* (pp. 82-85).

²⁶ On Leland's plans as they can be reconstructed from the "New Year's Gift" and elsewhere, see James P. Carley, "The Manuscript Remains of John Leland, the King's Antiquary", *Text*, forthcoming. See also above, note 2.

²⁷ Bale mentions all three titles in his commentary on the "New Year's Gift", and says that the works are not yet in print (*The laboryouse Journey*, E.iii). Bale, however, is notoriously inaccurate in his attributions.

(2) When discussing both Oxford and Cambridge Leland promises a history of the English universities. That he should plan such a book comes as no surprise since he had already gathered many citations on the subject, but there is no conclusive evidence that the project ever came to a final fruition.

(3) The *de pontificibus Britannicis* was, one would assume, to be a work following in the tradition of William of Malmesbury's classic. It cannot be specifically identified with any surviving text (although there are scattered references to the subject in both the *Itinerary* and the *Collectanea*), but there is no reason for assuming that it never existed, especially since Leland says that he has already done all the research. I would suggest, then, that it forms part of a now lost series of Leland manuscripts²⁸.

The question of the *Cygnea cantio*'s influence divides itself into two areas: one specific and one much more general and potentially confusing. That the *Cygnea cantio* was known and studied by antiquaries is certainly beyond doubt. The British Library, for example, now possesses annotated copies by both Laurence Nowell and William Lambarde²⁹. The annotations concern place names primarily and are of little interest in themselves, but they show a thorough familiarity with the text. Slightly later, John Selden refers to Leland as "our most judicious antiquary of the last age"³⁰ and Selden's notes to

²⁸ Various internal references (as well as the muddled state of surviving materials) suggest that certain of Leland's manuscripts must have been lost. It is possible, too, that there was a certain amount of later plagiarism from materials which have since disappeared. Leland died in the home of the London printer Reginald Wolfe. A number of seventeenth-century antiquaries postulate that Raphael Holinshed had access to autograph manuscripts through Wolfe and that these were used in the compilation of his chronicles. John Stow claims that William Harrison (who was also associated with Wolfe) stole material for his *Description of Britaine* from Leland. John Bagford felt that Stow plundered Leland's remains and we know that Stow made a copy of the *Itinerary*, at least, for Camden as well as transcribing some of the poetry. In *A Discouerie of Certaine Errours in print in the much commended 'Britannia'* (London, 1596) Ralph Brooke gives a very unfavourable interpretation to Camden's borrowings:

But Heaven and Human Laws cannot digest
That such rare fruits of laborious Penn
CAME to be drowned in such a thankless DENN.
And therefore Heaven and all Humanitie doth sue
That LEYLAND dead, may have his Titles due.

The verses are reprinted by Hearne in *The itinerary of John Leland*, 4. iv.

²⁹ *I.e.*, B.L. C. 95. c. 18, and B.L. C. 95. c. 15.

³⁰ See Selden's notes of Michael Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* in J. W. Hebel, ed., *The Works of Michael Drayton*, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1931-41), IV, 23.

Michael Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* contain many references to Leland, whom Selden sees as a poet as well as an antiquary. Thomas Hearne, moreover, even suggests that Selden may have been responsible for the second edition of the *Cygnea cantio* in 1658³¹.

For the much wider issue of riparian themes I must refer the reader to W. H. Herendeen's *The Strong Brown God: a History of the River 'Topos' and a Critical Survey of its Use in English Literature 1545-1678*³². General interest in river poetry obviously owes much more to classical precedents than to Leland's adaptations of the genre³³. Nevertheless, one can establish several connections and here let me begin with the lesser and move to the greater.

(1) In 1610 Philemon Holland translates the lines on Greenwich:

How glittereth now this place of great request,
Like to the seat of heavenly welkin hie.
With gallant tops, with windowes of the best.
What towres that reach even to the starry skie:
What Orchards greene, what springs ay-running by.
Faire *Flora* heere that in this creeke doth dwell,
Bestowes on it the flowers of garden gay;
To judge no doubt of things he knew full well,
Who gave this banke thus pleasant every way,
So fit a name, as did the thing bewray³⁴.

This verse is, I suggest, not without a certain charm.

(2) William Vallans' *A Tale of Two Swannes* is directly based on the *Cygnea cantio*, although it lacks most of the interest—and the grace—of its model³⁵.

³¹ See the preface to his edition of the *Cygnea cantio*. In fact, Selden died in 1654.

³² Unpublished dissertation, University of Toronto, 1976.

³³ In particular, Renaissance writers admired Ausonius' poem on the Moselle, the *Mosella*, which Leland knew well, and from which he made extracts in his *Antiquitates Britanniae*.

³⁴ Philemon Holland, trans., *Britain ... Written first in Latin by William Camden* (London, 1637), p. 327. Holland translates ll. 310-319:

Ecce ut jam niteat locus petitus,
Tanquam sidereae domus cathedrae!
Quae fastigia picta! quae fenestrae!
Quae turres vel ad astra se efferentes!
Quae porro viridaria, ac perennes
Fontes! Flora sinum occupat venusta
Fundens delicias nitentis horti.
Rerum commodus aestimator ille,
Ripae qui variis modis amoenae
Nomen contulit eleganter aptum...

³⁵ W. Vallans, *A Tale of Two Swannes* (London, 1590; rpt. Thomas Hearne, *The itinerary of John Leland*, 5, pp. v-xxv).

(3) Camden's fragment, *De connubio Tamae et Isis*, also derives from the *Cygnea cantio*. In Camden, though, the mood is quite different. The optimism is gone; times seem out of joint. The Thames, for example, tells Windsor to give up its vanity in this decayed world. The only hope for the future lies in the great Elizabeth, who may help us return to a Golden Age³⁶.

(4) Drayton borrows from Leland in the general conception of the *Poly-Olbion* and in specific aspects of his treatment of rivers.

(5) In Spenser's *Prothalamion*, as in the *Cygnea cantio*, the reader finds gentle Zephyr, banks of flowers, garlanded swans glimmeringly white of hue, and detailed descriptions of high towers from the perspective of the Thames. The similarities in imagery and tone between the two poems are noteworthy and it is likely, as Thomas Warton was the first to postulate, that Spenser even made specific borrowings³⁷. The singing swans of *The Ruines of Time*, too, find many parallels in the *Cygnea cantio* and in Leland's shorter verse. The *Epithalamion Thamesis*, which ultimately emerges as *The Faerie Queene*, bk. IV, canto XI, takes at least part of its conception from the *Cygnea cantio*. The similarities between Leland and Spenser are important, but so too are the differences. Unlike Spenser Leland wished to describe the past and the landscape accurately, not to illuminate them. He did not look for patterns of moralization in the physical world and in the end his poetry became subservient to his pursuit of historical facts. For him verse was a medium through which to convey specific information (a sugar coating for the bitter pill of history) rather than the form through which to create a mythology.

My final point concerns the intrinsic literary merit of the *Cygnea cantio*. Some years ago Leicester Bradner suggested that "Leland had a genuine, if slender, poetic talent"³⁸. In the history of Neo-Latin poetry he is preparing J. W. Binns points out that Leland is perhaps the most important of the English Neo-Latin poets of the early Tudor age, that "Leland stands to the Latin poetry of sixteenth century

³⁶ On this topic see Leicester Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae* (New York, 1940), pp. 40-42; also Herendeen, pp. 260ff.

³⁷ See *The Minor Poems*, 2, in Edwin Greenlaw et al., *The Works of Edmund Spenser*, 11 vols. (Baltimore, 1932-1957), IX, 667.

³⁸ Bradner, p. 30.

England as Wyatt and Surrey do to the English"³⁹. Of the talent, there can be little doubt. At best, Leland's verse shows sharpness in observation, lyricism in expression, and originality in conception⁴⁰. His love of landscape, moreover, shines through in the most charming ways⁴¹. The creative impulse behind the *Cygnea cantio* is an interesting one; its execution, alas, is less successful⁴². What Leland conspicuously lacks is a sense of discrimination; he shows little power of organization and meanders up and down unproductive and often irrelevant byways of thought. Polemic, scholarly asides, and trivia all interfere with the execution of any project. In this work, the commentary is often repetitive, on occasion angrily patriotic and in places hopelessly jumbled⁴³. In conception a major work, the reality certainly falls short of the potential. One's admiration for Leland is always tempered by dismay over the clutter of his mind, and yet his value to history largely arises from this latter factor. In many respects he resembles nothing so much as a giant unsorted archive: a challenge to the scholar, often frustratingly confusing to the literary critic.

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³⁹ Unpublished transcript.

⁴⁰ See, for example, his short poems on the taming of a pet squirrel, his invocations to sleep, to Zephyr, to the nightingale, his collection of epigrams on the death of Sir Thomas Wyatt, and his verse epistles to his various friends. In the *Cygnea cantio*, too, the swan himself is portrayed with grace and imagination, the various sites on the banks of the Thames described accurately and pithily.

⁴¹ In the *Genethliacon Eaduerdi principis Cambriae*, for example, the local celebrations of Edward's birth in various parts of the country are recounted in picturesque detail. Local customs make up much of the descriptions.

⁴² This point needs some clarification. Leland's verse, as verse, is well written and technically sophisticated. He has, as Binns establishes, a wide command of complex classical metres. My criticisms are directed toward the *Cygnea cantio* itself as a long and supposedly integrated work of prose and verse.

⁴³ The description of Britain and the Britons, which takes several pages is just one example of the kind of long and diffuse discussion in the commentary; it leaps from source to source and period to period without any clear focus or any close relevance to other parts of the poem or commentary.

D. J. HARTLEY

AN EDITION OF AN UNKNOWN
SIXTEENTH-CENTURY NEO-LATIN PEACE POEM,
THE *DE BELLO SEDATO*
OF IOANNES STEMMONIUS MALMEDIANUS

Introduction

The purpose of this article is to bring to the attention of Neo-Latin scholars a Latin poem published for the first and only time in Rheims in 1559 as part of the widespread celebration of the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, signed in April of that year. Only one copy of the poem, the *De bello sedato, & pace ... Auctore Ioanne Stemmonio Malmediano Coloniensi*, appears to have survived; it is in the library of Aberdeen University¹. The poet himself, as far as I have been able to ascertain, has escaped the attention of Neo-Latin scholars.

The first section of this article contains a brief summary of the Latin circumstantial poetry written to commemorate the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis and other major historical events of the late 1550s, thereby indicating the poem's place in the framework of poetic comment on events of this period. This section is followed by an account of

¹ *DE BELLO SE-* / *dato, & pace, quam cum Phi* / *LIPPO HISPANIARVM* / *REGE HENRICVS 2. GAL-* / *LIARM* [sic], *REX INIIT, AN* / *NO AB ORTV CHRI-* / *STI 1559 CONCILIO* / *in castello Came-* / *racensi facto* / *Mense Martio & Aprili.* / *Auctore Ioanne Stemmonio Mal-* / *mediano Coloniensi.* / RHEMIS, / Excudebat N. Baccanetius, Caroli Cardinalis / Lotharingi Typographus. / 1559.

8°, 8 ff., Aberdeen University library: MN 5 143. The title tells us that the poet was from Malmédy, near Liège; the poem is listed under Malmedianus, Joannes Stemmonius, in H. J. H. Drummond, *A Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed on the Continent of Europe 1501-1600 in Aberdeen University Library*, Oxford, 1979 (item 2644, p. 135). I am grateful to the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland for grants which have enabled me to pursue research into Neo-Latin literature of the Renaissance, including the *De bello sedato*, to Dr. Philip Ford of Clare College, Cambridge and the staff of Aberdeen University library for their generous help.

the information which I have been able to put together concerning Ioannes Stemmonius Malmedianus. The text of the poem, which forms the third part of the article, is accompanied by a commentary which locates the poem in its historical context, drawing a number of parallels between it and other poems arising out of the same event; a number of echoes and imitations of classical authors (notably Virgil) are indicated, as are passages which bear witness to the influence of Erasmian pacifism. While the *De bello sedato* cannot be claimed to be a work of outstanding literary merit, the appearance in print of this unknown peace poem will add to our knowledge of a neglected, but widely practised, literary genre among Neo-Latin poets in France and the Low Countries in the middle of the sixteenth century, that is circumstantial poetry, verse commenting on events of national and international importance².

1. Neo-Latin Circumstantial Poetry in the Late 1550s

The end of this decade saw a remarkable proliferation of such verse. In January 1558 the dramatic capture of Calais by the Duke of Guise produced an outburst of poetic celebration on the part of a large number of poets living in France. George Buchanan³, Jean Dorat, Joachim du Bellay, Petrus Gallandius, Michel de L'Hôpital, Hubertus Morus Ambianus (Hubert Meurier of Amiens), Leodegarius a Quercu (Léger Duchesne), Nicolaus Querculus Rhemus (Nicolas Chesneau of Rheims) and Adrianus Turnebus all contributed Latin pieces to the celebration of Guise's triumph⁴, as did the author of the anonymous

² There appears to be little scholarly work specifically devoted to this poetic field during this historical period; for a general survey, see Paul van Tieghem, *La Littérature latine de la Renaissance: étude d'histoire littéraire européenne* (Paris, 1944), Part II, Chapter IV ('La Poésie de circonstance'), especially pp. 107-109, 'L'Actualité politique et religieuse'.

³ On Buchanan as a circumstantial poet, see I. D. McFarlane, *Buchanan*, London, 1981, pp. 188-189, 304, 507; see also P. J. Ford, *George Buchanan, Prince of Poets*, (Aberdeen, 1982), for Buchanan's secular poetry, the poets who influenced him, and a translation of his *Miscellaneorum liber*.

⁴ For details of these Latin poems, and of other texts on the capture of Calais (Latin prose texts, French texts in prose and verse), see V.-L. Saulnier, 'Deux Œuvres inconnues de Jean Sève et une édition inconnue de Baif', *Bulletin du bibliophile et du bibliothécaire*, 1949 (pp. 265-279), pp. 270-279; Malcolm C. Smith, *Joachim du Bellay's Veiled Victim, with an Edition of the 'Xenia, seu illustrium quorundum nominum allusiones'*, Geneva, 1974, p. 43, n. 63; Jodelle, *Le Recueil des inscriptions 1558: a Literary and Iconographical Exegesis* by Victor E. Graham and W. McAllister Johnson, Toronto, 1972, p. 4, n. 8. Another poem by Dorat, not included in these lists, celebrates the

*Henrico regi, de receptis caletibus Gratulatio*⁵. April of the same year saw the politically momentous marriage of Mary, Queen of Scots to the Dauphin Francis, and the event was commemorated in Latin verse by Buchanan, Du Bellay, Renatus Guillonius (René Guillon), L'Hôpital, Ioannes Mercerius Montacutanus (Jean Mercier, of the College of Montaigu) and Turnebus⁶.

When the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis was signed in April 1559, bringing to an end the conflict between Valois and Habsburg which had dominated the political history of Western Europe for almost fifty years, Latin poems again constituted a major part of the literary celebration of the event; poets involved included Helia Andrea Burdigalensis (Elie André of Bordeaux), Petrus Costalius (Pierre Coustau), Charles Gilmer, Ioannes Laezius Rupellanus (Jean Lezeau of La Rochelle), L'Hôpital, Hubertus Morus, Arnoldus Pujolius (Arnold Pujol), Leodegarius a Quercu, Claudius de Vaulx and the anonymous poet of the *plaque* *Heracliti ad Democritum de pace elegia*⁷. Two of Ronsard's French poems commenting on the negotiations and the Treaty itself also appeared in Latin translation⁸.

capture of Guines, near Calais, which fell to the Duke of Guise shortly after Calais. It is addressed to Margaret of France, the sister of Henry II: *Ad Margarin Valesiam regis sororem, De Guiniana arce recens capta* (in *Io. Aurati Lemovicis Triumphales Odae*..., Lutetiae, ex officina Roberti Stephani, 1558, 8°, BL: 238 m 3(1), b 4r°-v°); text and translation in Dorat, *Les Odes latines: texte présenté, établi, traduit, annoté par Geneviève Demerson*, Clermont-Ferrand, 1979 (Faculté des Lettres et Sciences humaines de l'Université de Clermont-Ferrand II, nouvelle série, fascicule 5), pp. 118-121. See also the four lines of the ode *Ad invictiss(imum) Galliae Regem Henr(icum) II, de horrenda tempestate Caleticam victoriam subsecuta*, quoted in A. M. M. Dekker, 'Dix Odes latines inconnues de Jean Dorat', *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 30 (1981) (pp. 181-193), p. 191: the poem is to be found in the ms. 837 of the library of the University of Utrecht.

⁵ Parisiis, apud Martinum L'Homme, 1558, 4°. This poem, which is not referred to in any of the lists mentioned in the previous note, survives in a copy in the library of Trinity College Cambridge: see H. M. Adams, *Catalogue of Books Printed on the Continent of Europe 1501-1600 in Cambridge Libraries*..., 2 vols, Cambridge, 1967, item H 258 (vol. 1, p. 531), catalogued under 'Henry II, King of France'.

⁶ See J. E. Phillips, *Images of a Queen: Mary Stuart in Sixteenth-Century Literature*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1964, Chapter I, 'Praise by All Parties 1554-1564' (pp. 9-26) for the significance of this marriage and for details of these Latin poems.

⁷ For details of these and other poems arising out of the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, see my article, 'La Célébration poétique du traité du Cateau-Cambrésis (1559): document bibliographique', *BHR* 43 (1981) (pp. 303-318), pp. 306-311.

⁸ Ronsard's *Exhortation pour la paix*... (*Œuvres complètes, édition critique par Paul Laumonier, révisée et complétée par I. Silver et R. Lebègue*, 20 vols, Paris, 1921-1975, vol. IX, pp. 13-26) was translated into Latin by François de Thoor: *P. Ronsardi ad pacem exhortatio latinis versibus de gallicis expressa a Francisco Thorio Bellione*,

Three months later, during a tournament held in honour of the Peace, the French King Henry II sustained a wound which was to prove fatal; he died on 10 July. The major contribution to the poetic commemoration of this tragedy was the collection of epitaphs edited by the Flemish polyglot Carolus Utenhovius⁹, the *Epitaphium in mortem HERRICI* [sic] *Gallorum regis christianissimi, eius nominis secundi* ...¹⁰. In addition to Utenhovius himself, Dorat, Du Bellay, the Portuguese legist Antonio de Gouvea and Camille Morel, the eleven-year-old daughter of Jean Morel (Utenhovius was at the time tutor to Morel's children) contributed Latin poems to this collection. Du Bellay also composed a *Tumulus Henrici secundi Gallorum regis Christianiss.* ..., which appeared in print together with its French translation¹¹; Latin poems by Andrea, Augerius Ferrerius (Auger Ferrier) and Leodegarius a Quercu were also published in the aftermath of the King's death¹².

Parisiis, apud Andream Wechelum, 1558, 4°, BN: Ye 1047; Ronsard's poem *La Paix. Au roy*... (*ibid.*, p. 101-128) was also translated into Latin by the same de Thoor: *P. Ronsardi Pax, ad Henricum II. Galliarum regem, e Gallicis versibus Latinis reddita* ..., Parisiis, apud Andream Wechelum, 1559, 4°, BN: Yc 1224.

⁹ On Utenhovius, see Willem Janssen, *Charles Utenhove, sa vie et son œuvre (1536-1600)* ..., Maastricht, 1939; Pierre de Nolhac, *Ronsard et l'Humanisme*, Paris, 1921, especially pp. 174-176 and 215-218; S.F. Will, 'Camille de Morel: a Prodigy of the Renaissance', *PMLA* 51 (1936) (pp. 83-119), pp. 90-94, 99-104. For a summary of Utenhovius's career, see J.A. Van Dorsten, *Poets, Patrons, and Professors: Sir Philip Sidney, Daniel Rogers and the Leiden Humanists*, Leiden and London, 1962, p. 16, n. 2. See also McFarlane, *Buchanan*, pp. 226-227 and 294-295 (Buchanan's contacts with Utenhovius in France during the 1560s, and the latter's part in the publication of the Scottish Humanist's *Franciscanus et fratres* in 1568), and p. 254 (Utenhovius's role as 'censor' of Buchanan's work).

¹⁰ *Epitaphium in mortem HERRICI Gallorum regis christianissimi, eius nominis secundi, per Carolum Utenhovium Gandavensem, & alios duodecim linguis ... Accesserunt et aliquot ad Illustrium quorundam Galliae hominum nomina Allusiones* ... *Plus, les epitaphes sur le trespas de Joachim Du Bellay Angevin, Poete Latin & Francois*, Paris, Robert Estienne, 1560, 4°, BL: 1213 m 10(2).

¹¹ *Tumulus Henrici secundi Gallorum regis Christianiss. Per Ioach. Bellaium. Idem Gallice totidem versibus expressum per eundem. Accessit et eiusdem Elegia ad illustriss. Principem Carolum Card. Lotharingum* (*Œuvres poétiques, édition critique publiée par Henri Chamard*, 6 vols, Paris, 1908-1931, vol. VI, pp. 75-102).

¹² Andrea, *Epicedium in augustiss. Gall. regem Henricum* [sic] *Valesium*, n.p., n.d., fol. (single sheet), BL: 522 h 24(7); Ferrerius, *Henrici II. Gallorum regis christianiss. epitaphia* ... *Autore Auger. Ferrerio Tolos. medico*, Parisiis, apud Federicum Morellum, 1559, 4°, BL: 522 h 24(6); a Quercu, *Leodegarii a Quercu Votum, pro pientissimo Galliarum rege Henrico, pridie quam moreretur. Eiusdem de eodem Epitaphium*, Parisiis, apud Federicum Morellum, 1559, 4°, BN: Yc 1650.

2. The Author of the *De bello sedato*

Of the poets so far mentioned, some—Buchanan, Dorat, Gallandius, L'Hôpital and Turnebus—are well known, although they are better remembered for their general literary or political activity than for their circumstantial verse. Others, such as Utenhovius, Querculus and Morus¹³, are secondary figures, but nevertheless ones whose work has attracted some attention from scholars and historians. But the author of the *De bello sedato* remains obscure. The liminary piece to the *De bello sedato* is addressed not to a local dignitary, which might have shed some light on the poet, but to the Christian princes who signed the Treaty. Of the bibliographies and works of reference dealing with sixteenth-century writers from the Low Countries which I have consulted¹⁴, none mentions anyone with the name Stemmonius or Malmedianus. The *Biographie nationale, publiée par l'Académie royale ... de Belgique*¹⁵ does not have an entry under either name. If the name Stemmonius is a latinized name, it is not easy to see what the poet's given name could have been (Stemmone, Estémoin?); if Stemmonius was chosen on an etymological basis, it could have been derived from a French or Flemish name such as De la Couronne or Van der Kroon (*stemma* = garland), but no reference to any such name has so far come to light. Monographs and notices devoted to

¹³ Querculus and Morus both later worked for the Cardinal of Lorraine composing tracts on the religious situation in France in the second half of the sixteenth century: see H. Outram Evennett, *The Cardinal of Lorraine and the Council of Trent: a Study in the Counter-Reformation*, Cambridge, 1930, p. 20.

¹⁴ *Bibliotheca Belgica: Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas*, reprint, Brussels, 6 vols, 1963-1970, and vol. VII, *Index général par Joseph De Reuck*, Brussels, 1975; E. Cockx-Indestege and G. Glorieux, *Belgica Typographica, 1541-1600: Catalogus Librorum Impressorum ab Anno MDXLI ad Annum MDC in Regionibus quae nunc Regni Belgarum Partes sunt*, vol. I, Nieuwkoop, 1968; Glorieux, *Belgica Typographica*, vol. II, Nieuwkoop, 1977-1980; A. Roersch, *L'Humanisme belge à l'époque de la Renaissance, études et portraits*, 2 vols, Brussels, 1910-1933; J. Puraye, *La Renaissance des études au pays de Liège au seizième siècle*, Liège, 1949; Aloïs Gerlo and Emile Lauf, *Bibliographie de l'Humanisme belge précédée d'une bibliographie générale concernant l'Humanisme européen*, Brussels, 1965; A. Gerlo and Hendrik D. L. Vervliet, *Bibliographie de l'Humanisme des anciens Pays-Bas, avec un répertoire bibliographique des Humanistes et poètes néo-latins*, Brussels, 1972. J. IJsewijn's indispensable *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies*, Amsterdam, New York and Oxford, 1977, does not mention the poem or its author.

¹⁵ Brussels, 1866-1938, and Supplements, 1962-1970.

the printer of the *De bello sedato*, Nicolas Bacquenois¹⁶, do not mention the name.

The issue is further complicated by the fact that the poet describes himself as 'Ioannes Stemmonius *Malmedianus Coloniensis*'. To link the two place names in this way is strange, since Malmédy did not belong to Cologne in the sixteenth century, but was more or less self-governing. A possible explanation (for which I am grateful to Professor IJsewijn) would be that the poet came from Malmédy, but lived, or had lived—possibly as a student—at Cologne. There was a student whose name, as it appears in the Cologne students' rolls for 1554, might be another version of that of the poet we are concerned with. This is 'Joh. Lapidicidē Col.', the 'Lapidicidē' being a latinized version of Steinmetzer, which could also have been turned into Stemmonius¹⁷.

Although the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris does not have an entry under the name Stemmonius, it does list a number of works under Malmédy or Malmidy. Attributed to Siméon de Malmédy are the following: *Hymnus in laudem divae Ceciliae*; *Iacobi Carpentarii Tumulus*; *Satyra in intempestivas epulas*¹⁸. A further Latin

¹⁶ On Bacquenois, see G. Lepreux, *Gallia typographica ou répertoire biographique et chronologique de tous les imprimeurs de France depuis les origines de l'imprimerie jusqu'à la Révolution...*, série départementale, II, provinces de Champagne et de Barrois, Paris, 1911, pp. 216-221; A. Kolb, *Bibliographie des französischen Buches im 16. Jahrhundert: Druck, Illustration, Einband, Papiergeschichte*, Wiesbaden, 1966, p. 372; Kolb, 'Die Anfänge der Druckkunst in den französischen Städten des 16. Jahrhunderts', *Bibliothek und Wissenschaft* 4 (1967) (pp. 73-119), pp. 99-100 (printing at Rheims); *Répertoire bibliographique des livres imprimés en France au seizième siècle*, *Bibliotheca Bibliographica Aureliana*, LIII, 17, Baden-Baden, 1974, pp. 63-71 and LXXVIII, 30, Baden-Baden, 1980, *Tables*; Henri Jadart, 'Notice sur Nicolas Bacquenois, le premier imprimeur de Reims (1552-1560): mémoire suivi de documents inédits...', *Travaux de l'Académie nationale de Reims* 85 (1888-1889), pp. 179-248 (including a bibliography of Bacquenois's production, pp. 221-245).

¹⁷ See Hermann Keussen, *Die Matrikel der Universität Köln* (Publikationen der Gesellschaft der Rheinischen Geschichtskunde, VIII), vol. II (1476-1559), Bonn, 1919, p. 1079, entry 659. 89, and index in vol. III (Bonn, 1931), p. 960.

¹⁸ *Hymnus in laudem divae Ceciliae virginis, Autore Symeone Malmediano Medico & Professore Regio...*, n.p., n.d., 8°, BN: Yc 8334; *Iacobi Carpentarii Medici & professoris Regii Tumulus novissime collectus ex scriptis Symeonis de Malmedy doctoris Medici & professoris Regii & aliorum quorundam doctissimorum virorum...*, Parisiis, apud Michaelē de Roigny, 1574, 4°, BN: Yc 3542; *Symeonis Malmediani Satyra in intempestivas epulas ... Eiusdem poculum metricum, & Scyphus pro xeniis*, Parisiis, apud Annetum Briere, 1558, 4°, BN: Yc 1510. There is a copy of this last text in the library of Trinity College Cambridge: see Adams, *Catalogue of Books ... in Cambridge Libraries*, item M 302 (vol. I, p. 704).

text, *Ad I. Grovellum de famosis libellis contra Carpentarium editis, admonitio*¹⁹, has a manuscript addition attributing it to the same author: 'verus & genuinus author huius Satyra est Symon Malmedy doctor Med. Paris. & proffesor Regius' (a 2r^o). In these texts the author usually signs himself 'Sym. de Malmedy Prof. Regis', and there is nothing to connect him with a Latin poet called Ioannes Stemmonius Malmedianus²⁰. The *Bibliothèque Française* of La Croix du Maine has a brief entry for 'Simon de Malmédy' which announces that this 'Lecteur du Roi à Paris, Docteur en Médecine' died 'cejour-d'hui, qui est le Vendredi 20^e jour du mois d'Avril l'an 1584 (auquel temps j'ecri [sic] cette Bibliothèque)'²¹; the bibliophile adds, tantalizingly, that Malmédy's death, and the strange circumstances surrounding it, prevent him from commenting further.

Another work in the Bibliothèque Nationale, however, may shed some light on the author of the *De bello sedato*. This is the *Discours veritable de la grand' guerre, qui est au païs de Hongrie ... par Jean de Malmidy*²². The name of the author of this prose text is clearly closer to the name of our Latin poet, though the Stemmonius in the latter remains a mystery. This Jean de Malmidy is interested in Eastern affairs: he insists on a number of occasions on his first-hand experience of the war he is describing, recounting, for example, how he was witness to the transport of cannon across ice, 'chose admirable, et à moy presque incroyable si je ne l'avois veuë' (b 1r^o). This concern with the East is something Jean de Malmidy shares with the poet

¹⁹ *Ad I. Grovellum de famosis libellis contra Carpentarium editis, admonitio* M. A. Guy-marae Ferrariensis, Parisiis, per Gulielmum Megeum, 1564, 8°, BN: Z 17308.

²⁰ Siméon de Malmédy also composed epitaphs for Charles IX: *Caroli Noni Gallorum regis invictissimi tumulus, authore Symeone Malmediano Regio Professore, & doctore medico*, Paris, apud Aegidium Gorbinum, n.d., 4°, Mazarine: 10834(2). (There is also a copy in Newberry Library, Chicago: see Robert O. Lindsay and John Neu, *French Political Pamphlets 1547-1648: a Catalog of Major Collections in American Libraries*, Madison, Milwaukee and London, 1969, item 825, p. 60). There is nothing in this *Tumulus* to connect its author with the poet of the *De bello sedato*.

²¹ *Les Bibliothèques Françaises de La Croix du Maine et de Du Verdier ... Nouvelle édition, dédiée au roi, revue, corrigée & augmentée ... par M. Rigoley de Juvigny*, 6 vols, Paris, 1772-1773, vol. II, p. 414.

²² *Discours veritable de la grand' guerre, qui est au païs de Hongrie, entre Maximilian 2 ... & Jean Weivod, Prince de Transylvanie, allié & defendu de Soltan Soliman ... Ensemble les Monomachies, combats singuliers, & manieres de faire en la guerre, des Hongres & des Turcs. Le tout escrit & colligé sur ledit lieu par Jean de Malmidy*, Paris, Denys du Val, 1565, 8°, BN: Mz 4087.

of the *De bello sedato*, although, as we shall see, many of the irenic poems of 1559 call for war to be carried to the Turk.

One further work from the 1560s will provide information on the authorship of the peace poem. This is the prose *Traicte et brief discours de l'origine et descente de la grandeur ... des Princes ... de la maison de Croï*...²³. In the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale, this treatise is attributed to Siméon de Malmédy. I think this attribution is false. The work contains (d 2v^o-e 3v^o) an *Epistre sur le Discours precedent faict par I S. de Malmedy touchant la maison de Croï* which presumably accounts for this attribution. However, the letter begins 'Monsieur mon Cousin...', refers to the author's travels which he undertook in order to learn about foreigners' modes of warfare, religion and customs, praises the *Traicte et brief discours*, and is signed 'Vostre tresaffectionné Cousin S. de Malmedy'. Clearly, this 'S. de Malmedy' cannot have written the *Traicte et brief discours* itself. The *Traicte* (a 2r^o-d 2r^o) is in fact signed 'I S. de Malmedy' and should in all probability be attributed to the same Jean de Malmidy who was responsible for the *Discours veritable*²⁴. A further link between these two prose texts is provided by the presence in the *Discours veritable* of a dedicatory epistle (a 2r^o-v^o) addressed to 'Monseigneur Antoine de Croy', a member of the family whose genealogy forms the subject-matter of the *Traicte et brief discours*.

There seems every possibility that the author of the *Discours veritable* and the *Traicte et brief discours* was the same as that of the *De bello sedato*, with 'I S. de Malmedy' as the French equivalent of Ioannes Stemmonius Malmedianus, though it is hard to see what 'Stemmonius' could be in French. One can see little justification for ascribing the *Traicte et brief discours* to Isaac de Malmedy, as La Croix du Maine does in his *Bibliothèque Française*²⁵; I have been unable to find any other reference to a writer of this name.

It is clearly impossible to be certain about the identity of the poet who wrote the *De bello sedato*, although there is evidence to link him

²³ *Traicte et brief discours de l'origine et descente de la grandeur, vaillance et splendeur des Princes, Ducs, Marquis, Comtes, Chevaliers & Seigneurs de la maison de Croï, tant habitans en Epire, partie de la Grece, qu'en la Gaille Belgique*..., n.p., 1566, 8°, BN: M 20567.

²⁴ The *Traicte et brief discours* is indeed attributed to Jean de Malmédy in the *fichier* of sixteenth-century printed works compiled by Philippe Renouard and held in the Réserve of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

²⁵ *Ed. cit.*, vol. II, p. 9.

DE BELLO SE-
 dato, & pace, quam cū Phi-
 LIPPO HISPANIARVM
 REGE HENRICVS 2. GAL-
 LIARVM REX INIT, AN
 NO AB ORTV CHRI-
 STI 1559. CONCILIO

in castello Came-
 racensi factio 3

Mense Martio & Aprili.

*Auctore Ioanne Stemmonio Mal-
 mediano Colonienfi.*

RHEMIS,

*Excudebat N. Bacnetius, Caroli Cardinalis
 Lotharingi Typographus.*

1559.

- Fortis cuncta suo solus sub numine torquet : 15
 Et populos placida conservat pace benignus,
 v° Postquam poenituisse videt, quos dira libido
 In varias orbis partes rapiebat atroces,
 Cum tuba terrifico sonitu nova regna petebat :
 Cumque duces litui ad certamina saeva movebant, 20
 Qui dextras pace exoptant coniungere dextris,
 Armis abiectis post horrida tempora belli.
- a 3 De bello sedato, et pace, quam cum Philippo Hispaniarum
 rege Henricus 2 Galliarum rex iniit anno ab ortu Christi 1559,
 concilio in castello Cameracensi facto Mense Martio et Aprili.
- Foedera musa canet, quae non cecinere priores.
 Huc omnes clari intendant, doctique poetae,
 Et quicunque avidi pacis sunt Marte sepulto.
 Enses, et galeas iam iam commutet aratro
 Immanis miles, funesti praemia belli 5
 Non hinc atrox accipiet, non claustra domosque
 Perfringet tollens alieno parta labore :
 Non pecudes rapiet dominis moerentibus hoedos :
 v° Non hinc agricolas flammis, ferrove lacesset :
 Carcere nec claudet manicis, et compede vinctos. 10
 Nam reges inter pax est firmata potentes,
 Hostes plurima moverunt qui bella timendi.
 Quare bellorum fractus sua membra labore
 Miles pacatis furiis, et Marte quiescat,
 Rura habitans rastris colat agros, ducat aratrum, 15
 Urbibus aut (novit si quas) exerceat artes,
 Quaesitis vivat vultus sudore laborans.
 Pacem firmarunt caelesti numine ducti
 Europae domini Gallos, Italosque regentes.
 Non ultra legio magnum sortita periculum 20
 Clausas servabit portas sub moenibus altis :
 Quod non hostis atrox summa cernetur ab arce
 Strenuus aggrediens subitis insultibus urbes,
 Cuniculis tentans, globulisque evertere turres.
 Hinc non luctificum clamorem ad sydera tollent 25
 Matres, atque viri, pueri, innuptaeque puellae,
 Ut nuper muros quateret cum machina belli.

- Non variis circum exultabunt agmina signis
 Civibus extremam flammis minitantiā cladem :
 Nec populabuntur fugientibus arva colonis, 30
- a 4 Arva, quibus nihil est illis preciosius orbe.
 Vastis haud sylvis latitabit rusticus ultra
 Omnibus amissis ingenti turbine rebus :
 Sed bona percipiet, quae cum sudore paravit,
 Et quae sponte solita est producere tellus 35
 Anxius insidiis nullis, et mente quietus :
 Nulla tubae, aut litui certamina dura ciebunt :
 Sed nec ad arma viros horrenda per aequora vectos
 Classica terribili sonitu, atque furore movebunt,
 Nam pax exoptata revixit Marte repulso, 40
 Estque humiles iterum dignata revisere terras :
 Quam superi nobis, homines non arte pararunt
 Post magnos belli motus, variosque tumultus,
 Gallia quos omnis, praesertim belgica sensit
 Tot flammis, ferroque fero perpessa ruinas, 45
 Tot quoque manantes, vidit quae sanguine rivos,
 Corpora tot quae strata solo nunc funere luget :
 Quorum purpureas animas tulit improbus ensis,
 Aut dum stipato certarent agmine castris,
 Aut scalis vellent urbis transcendere muros, 50
 Moenia vel dum arces ferro vellentque tueri.
 Pax caelo rediens niveis gratissima musis
- v° Urbes, regalesque domos ingressa salutat
 Terrarum dominos post horrida tempora Martis
 Fulgentesque acies, Vulcanique arma per auras 55
 Elata, et galeas, clypeos, gladiosque sonantes.
 Omnia quae regum firmissima foedera tollunt,
 Quod non sunt cum Marte fero commercia paci,
 Qua omnia redduntur, quae Mavors abstulit armis :
 Qua reduces notas miseri labentur ad oras 60
 Saevis soluti vinclis, et carcere caeco
 Emissi quondam crudelia vulnera passi,
 Quaerere dum vellent famam, nomenque perenne,
 Pugnantes propter patriam, charosque penates.
 Sic pax firma bonum est, quo non praestantius ullum : 65
 Qua dextras dextris cupiunt coniungere reges

	Hostes inter se nuper qui bella gerebant :	
	Quae sola agricolis fessis solatia praestat :	
	Qua reges, fessique duces post bella quiescunt :	
	Quaque lares profugi patrios atque arva revisunt,	70
	Quaque domo expulsi duris urgentibus armis	
	Iam laeti properant cuncti sua tecta subire,	
	Quae non Vulcanus flammis combussit iniquis :	
	Hac exusta etiam reparant, atque aggere cingunt	
[b 1]	Urbes, evertit quas machina plena furore,	75
	Dum furibunda cohors ignes, scalasque pararet,	
	Dum vellet superare arces festina virum vis :	
	Dum mortem oppeterent crudeli caede cadentes,	
	Hos furor in muros cum ageret non tela timentes,	
	Arma armis contraria, cumque opponeret ardor	80
	Illorum magna, hacque cruenta clade ruentum.	
	Tales iam pereant, hominum qui sanguine gaudent,	
	Aut nunc concilient foelicis pignora pacis,	
	Lites iamque magis cupiant componere reges :	
	Quam tot demergi bellis, et quaerere regna.	85
	An non est multo satius? Quis talia demens	
	Abneget, et semper cupiat contendere bello,	
	Miscerique vetet populos, et foedera iungi?	
	Pax etenim donum est, quo non preciosius ullum.	
	Pace iter est charae cunctis ad limina villae :	90
	Barbarus hac fugiet nostris e finibus atrox :	
	Hac maris unda patet cuivis, portusque fretumque :	
	Hac fluvii omnigenae vectant commercia terrae :	
	Hac omnes aditus, hac muri, et moenia late,	
	Hacque patent cunctis portae custode remoto :	95
	Hac cessant vigilum excubiae per compita, et arces :	
v°	Hac renovatur amor populorum, saeva tyrannum	
	Ira perit, templis placantur numina divum,	
	Hacque Deum populi laudant, sperantque, coluntque :	
	Hac pia religio terris, sanctique probantur,	100
	Estque iter ad musas, et moenia sacra paratum :	
	Hac res exiguae crescent, magnaeque manebunt :	
	Hac quoque florebunt praeclara poemata vatium,	
	Quos multos fovit vario rex munere donans :	
	Hac quoque dona ferunt, Christi qui religionem	105

- Edocti reserunt, ac magno sunt in honore :
 Hac leges vigilant, caeli regnumque merentur,
 Aurea qui iuris tradunt praecepta per urbes :
 Tempore quos aluit nostro soror inclyta regis,
 Magnanimo regi est quae nubere digna marito. 110
 Pace omnes artes, sicut prudentia iuris
 Splendescunt, tanquam fulgentis lumina Phaebi,
 Quas simul ut discant variis ex partibus orbis
 Undique concurrent iuvenesque, virique, senesque :
 Quarum doctores celebres reddentur et urbes 115
 In quibus hi referunt multorum scripta docentes.
 Pace cuique suum reddetur, iura dabuntur,
 Et leges populis aequae, rectumque coletur :
 [b 2] Tempore iustitia hanc placidam comitabitur omni,
 Quae fertur virgo supero Iove nata parente 120
 Nomine clara suo, caetuque verenda Deorum,
 Ut sapiens olim cecinit, magnusque poeta,
 Quam si quis violet, lachrymans sua fata parentis
 It Iovis ante pedes, et lamentabile fundens
 Humanos queritur mores, ac debita poscit 125
 Supplicia in populos, divum qui numina temnunt.
 Pace igitur veri fulgebit principis aula :
 Hac servabuntur, quae princeps imperat aequus :
 Hac procul aufugiet demens discordia regum
 Nostrorum : in turcas bellum, populosque feroces 130
 Hinc procul a nobis ferro renovabitur ingens,
 Qui prius innumeris vastarunt cladibus orbem
 Conculcata Asia, Graiis, Afrisque subactis.
 Nunc quoque crudeles sua sub iuga atrocia mittunt
 Omnes finitimas gentes immanibus armis : 135
 Et captos servos reddunt, gladiisque trucidant,
 Virgineos flores tolluntque libidine foeda :
 Sed nec principibus parcunt, ducibusve feroces.
 Nam genus hoc hominum multo est atrocius ursis :
 Urbes innumerae mores testantur eorum 140
 v° Immanes rabiem, caedes, magnosque furores,
 Bello quas penitus saevo evertere superbi
 Virginitas stuprum passis, castisque puellis,
 Principibus caesis, his vel servire coactis.

- Ast pax, et stabilis regum concordia eorum, 145
 Qui modo discordes facti sunt foedere amici,
 Tollet (si Christo placeat, cui summa potestas)
 Audaces homines, horumque immania facta,
 Qui nulla ratione regunt, aut lege gubernant
 Oppida, quod semper saevo certamine gaudent. 150
 Palantes etenim prorsus rationis egentes
 Passim despectare licet, quo turbine vecti,
 Non secus, ac ventus (nec enim consistere possis)
 In vetitum properent alis pernicipibus acti,
 Et qua vi cupiant cognatas caede nefanda 155
 Exturpare [*sic*] animas, quibus est caelestis origo.
 Hic tibi quid referam crudelia facta gigantum,
 Quos Iove neglecto regnum caeleste furentes
 Affectasse ferunt confecto ad sydera monte?
 Nam sunt corporeis isti ut male viribus usi, 160
 Immanesque Iovem conati extrudere olympos,
 Et sua crudeles tentoria figere caelis :
 [b 3] Non secus ingenium turcae viresque, dedere
 Quas illis superi, et summi regnator olympi
 Ad scelus extorquent, et ad impia bella pararunt 165
 Atroces, superisque rebelles more gigantum.
 Quocirca hos aliae gentes odiuntque timentque :
 His visis diversa metu per littora passim
 Diffugiunt, sylvas, sicubi vel concava dentur,
 Saxa petunt, profugi ponti vada vel trabe verrunt : 170
 Urbes vi captas retinent, sibique oppida servant
 Plurima capta manu per fasque nefasque retenta
 Principibus pulsas, his vel servire coactis :
 In quos ut sic saevirent non causa dabatur,
 Ni quod terrarum dominos, gentemque timendam 175
 Se dici vellent, bello magnosque tyrannos.
 Pro quo, quod sceleris tanta est iniuria gentis,
 Omnes excipiat, tollat, perimatque, potenti
 Caelis cuncta suo qui numine sydera volvit :
 Corpora sint macie illorum confecta, cadantque, 180
 Dum populis rabidi crudelia bella movebunt,
 Hos rapiant pestes dirae, saevaeque volucres :
 Cum gemitu glomerent, manes volvantur ad imos,

- Cyclopumque viae ignari labantur ad oras,
 v^o Quos iuxta horrificis late tonat Aetna ruinis, 185
 Atque etiam scopulos, avulsaque viscera montis
 Erigit eructans, fundoque exestuat imo :
 Quod Christi vera non relligione moventur :
 Quod pulchras leges spernant, et iura recusent,
 Quae summi tenuere viri per plurima secla. 190
 Tantam barbariem tollet concordia regum,
 Inter quos modo pax sancita est foedere firma.
 Non posthac unquam referunt huc arma timendi
 Turcae, aut classe in regna ruent : non aequore vecti
 Obsidione gravi cingent hinc moenia, et urbes : 195
 Undique sed forti nostrorum Marte prementur.
 Expellentque feros nostris e finibus omnes.
 Candida relligio nullis confusa tenebris
 Emerget : Christi virtus, et summa voluntas
 Nota erit, et Christus toto cantabitur orbe. 200
 Rideat omnis ager, sylvae, campique liquentes :
 Exultent urbes belgarum, rura, domusque.
 Non magis has hominum foedabit sanguine miles,
 Miles, qui pateris haustis spumantibus altis
 Posthac gaudebit verbis sua facta referre 205
 Huic ebrio patulas aliis praebentibus aures.
 [b 4] Gallica terra, sororque huius Germania magna
 Laetentur, iubilent, tristisque Hungaria bello
 Non tantum turcas timeat. Resipiscere namque
 Ipsa potest magnis aliorum viribus utens. 210
 Nunc Siculae gentes, omnes quos barbarus atrox
 Sub iuga mittebat devastans rura domosque
 Exultent, divum sanctissima numina laudent :
 Totum laetetur latium, laetentur Iberi,
 Atque omnes populi, quos nuper bella premebant 215
 Et varii armorum sonitus, Martisque furores.
 Agris expulsi patriae reddentur, et arvis.
 Ut cervi, quos turba canum venando fugavit,
 Si olfaciant abiisse canes sua lustra revisunt :
 Sic qui regnorum pulsi sunt limine quondam 220
 Urbibus hostibus emissis sua tecta subibunt :
 Barbarus aufugiet magnis terroribus actus :

Praedo, qui servos reddebat in aequore captos
 Sub iuga iam veniet, longe nisi fugerit errans :
 Hunc tollent terris nostrorum foedera regum, 225
 Cunctaque restituent, quae Mavors abstulit armis.
 Quare adsit manibus ramus foelicis olivae :
 Tot furiis belli sedatis vere tepenti
 v° Carmina vos Iuvenes ornati tempora pictis
 Floribus occinite, et modulos resonante puellae. 230
 Non hinc infoelix volitabit fama per orbem
 Dissidiis labi imperium, belloque potentes
 Corruere immani, et populis sua iura negari.
 Vos qui iustitiam colitis, rectumque tenetis,
 Orate assidue divos, numenque deorum, 235
 Omnes templa quidem ut scandant super aurea coeli,
 Pacem concilio qui quaesivisse feruntur,
 Atque ut sit tandiu nostras pax firma per oras,
 Iusque colant, legesque bonas, et pace fruantur,
 Qui sub utroque polo magno versantur in orbe : 240
 Quandiu quadriugis coelestia Phoebus arabit,
 Immensumque globum curru percurret olympi.
 FINIS.

4. Commentary

In addition to giving the historical framework for the observations made in the *De bello sedato*, the purpose of the notes which follow is twofold. Firstly they are intended to indicate the more important of the echoes of classical authors contained in the poem. Secondly they establish parallels between the *De bello sedato* and other sixteenth-century writing, frequently the work of Erasmus (the poet could not have failed to exploit the rich fund of Erasmian pacifist literature in producing his verse celebration of the 1559 Peace Treaty), and, on other occasions, poems published—like the *De bello sedato*—in France, either in Latin or in the vernacular. Although not a Frenchman, Ioannes Stemmonius Malmedianus would undoubtedly have been aware of the wide-ranging poetic celebration of the Treaty in France, a celebration inspired to a considerable extent by the publication of a series of irenic poems by Ronsard.

Ad omnes principes christiano nomine insignitos...

- title The 'Christian princes' who signed the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis were Henry II of France, Philip II of Spain, Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, and Elizabeth I of England; agreement was reached between France and England on 2 April 1559, and the main Treaty was signed on the 3rd. See Lucien Romier, *Les Origines politiques des Guerres de Religion*, 2 vols (Paris, 1913-1914), vol. II, pp. 341-345.
3. The outcome of the negotiations which led to the Treaty was in doubt until the last minute (Romier, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*), a fact which rendered the impact of the Treaty, when it was signed, all the more dramatic, and which is reflected in the volume of circumstantial verse arising out of it.
4. *et quos Christicolae inter...*: *et qui Christicolae inter* would be clearer (postpositional use of *inter*).
9. *liquido carmine*: cf. Lucretius 4.981.
11. Cf. Ovid ('Naso', 1.9), *A.A.* 3.549 (though modern texts read 'et sunt' instead of 'sunt et').
15. Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* 12.180.
19. *tuba terrifico sonitu*: cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 9.503.
21. Cf. *De bello sedato*, 1.66, Virgil, *Aen.* 1.514-15.

De bello sedato...

- title *in castello Cameracensi*. Cateau-Cambrésis was the seat of the negotiations from 6 February until the signing of the Treaty.
- 4-128. *Tableaux of the state of peace, now established, contrasted with the state of war*. The poet depicts the advantages of peace, in town and country. In peace, soldiers take their rest, prisoners are released, relations between rulers and ruled are sound; trade will now prosper, religion and justice will flourish; the Muses too will profit from peace, with poets benefitting from royal patronage and producing excellent work. These tableaux do not appear to have any precise structure, rhetorical or otherwise, though in general lines 4-96 deal with the advantages of peace as seen from the point of view of the individual, with the remainder of this section concerned more with the abstract side to peace. The influence of Erasmian pacifism is clearly discernible here; in his pacifist writing Erasmus often draws contrasting pictures of war and peace: see for example, the adage *Dulce bellum inexpertis* (*Adagia* IV.1.1.), *Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami Opera Omnia...*, Lugduni Batavorum, cura et impensis Petri Vander, 10 vols, 1703-1706, II (951-970), 953 A-E, 957 D-968 B; *Querela Pacis, Opera Omnia*, Leyden, IV (625-642) and *Opera Omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami recognita et adnotatione critica instructa notisque illustrata*, Amsterdam, 1969-, IV, 2 (Amsterdam and Oxford, 1977) (pp. 1-100),

- fin*; the *Institutio principis christiani*, *Opera Omnia*, Leyden, IV (559-612), 609 D-E and *Opera Omnia*, Amsterdam, IV, 1 (Amsterdam, 1974) (pp. 95-219), pp. 216-217. The poet does not, however, echo Erasmus's belief that the war which the Christian should fight is the war against vice (*Dulce bellum inexpertis*, *Opera Omnia*, Leyden, II, 963 B; *Querela Pacis*, *Opera Omnia*, Leyden, IV, 633 B and *Opera Omnia*, Amsterdam, IV, 2, p. 78; the adage *Sileni Alcibiadis* (*Adagia* III.3.1), *Opera Omnia*, Leyden, II (770-782), 778 B and *Opera Omnia*, Amsterdam, II, 5 (Amsterdam and Oxford, 1981) (pp. 158-190), p. 180; letter to Leo X, *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami denuo recognitum et auctum per P. S. Allen*, 12 vols, Oxford, 1906-1948, II (pp. 79-90), p. 84 and *Collected Works of Erasmus*, III, *The Correspondence of Erasmus, Letters 298-445 (1514 to 1516)* translated by R. A. B. Mynors and D. F. S. Thomson, annotated by James K. McCornica, Toronto and Buffalo, 1976, letter 335 (pp. 99-110), p. 105). Nor does the *De bello sedato* develop the Erasmian lesson that peace is the cornerstone of Christ's teaching (*Dulce bellum inexpertis*, *Opera Omnia*, Leyden, II, 959 C-E; *Querela Pacis*, *Opera Omnia*, Leyden, IV, 628 A-B, 630 D-E and *Opera Omnia*, Amsterdam, IV, 2, pp. 64-65, 72). On Erasmus's pacifism, see the editor's introduction to *Guerre et paix dans la pensée d'Erasme, introduction, choix de textes, commentaires et notes par Jean-Claude Margolin*, Paris, 1973; on the influence of Erasmian pacifism on five irenic texts published in France between 1523 and 1570 (including one by Guillaume Aubert, the *Oraison de la paix*, welcoming the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis), see James Hutton, 'Erasmus and France: the Propaganda for Peace', *Studies in the Renaissance* 8 (1961), pp. 103-127.
4. Cf. Isaiah 2.4, Micah 4.3. For the reversed image, see Joel 3.10 and Virgil, *Georg.* 1.508. Ronsard exploits the image of swords being transformed into plough-shares in his *Exhortation pour la paix*, 11. 189-192 (*ed. cit.*, vol. IX, pp. 24-25); the same image occurs in two of the Latin poems celebrating the Treaty, Helia Andrea's *Carmen de pace*..., Parisiis, apud Federicum Morellum, 1559, 4°, BN: Rés. m Yc 928(1), a 3v°, and Petrus Costalius's *De Pace carmen*, Parisiis, apud Annetum Briere, 1559, 4°, BN: Yc 2646, a 3r°.
 10. *compede victos*: cf. Tibullus 2.6.25.
 13. *bellorum labore*: cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 11.126.
 17. *vultus sudore laborans*: cf. Genesis 3.19.
 20. *legio sortita periculum*: cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 9.174.
 21. *sub moenibus altis*: Virgil, *Aen.* 1.95.
 25. *clamorem ad sydera tollent*: cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 2.222.
 26. *pueri, innuptaeque puellae*: cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 6.307, *Georg.* 4.476.
 27. *muros quateret*: cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 2.610-11; *machina belli*: cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 2.151.
 31. The *illis* either relates to *quibus*, in which case it is redundant, or to the (dative) *fugientibus colonis* of 1.30.

35. The willingness of the earth to produce food without man's participation in the process was a feature of the Golden Age: see Ovid, *Met.* 1.101-102, Virgil, *Ecl.* 4.18-20. Tibullus (1.3.41-46, 1.10.45-50) also associates peace with the easy production of food. Another of the Cateau-Cambrésis poets, Jean d'Abusson de la Maisonneuve, makes similar comments in his *Colloque social de paix, justice, miséricorde, et Verité, pour l'heureux accord de tres Augustes, et tres magnanimes Roys, de France & d'Espagne* ..., Paris, Martin L'Homme, 1559, 8°, BN: Rés. Ye 1739, a 3r°.
38. *per aequora vectos*: cf. Catullus 101.1.
- 40-1. In Virgil's fourth eclogue it is Astraea, the goddess of Justice who is to return to earth with the renewal of the Age of Gold. Many of the poets commenting on Cateau-Cambrésis make Peace a goddess (here they are drawing on Hesiod, for whom Eirene, together with Eunomia (Law and Order) and Dike (Justice) was one of the three *Horai*, daughters of Zeus and Themis—see *Theogony*, 901-903), and associate this personified force with Astraea in their depiction of the renewal which will follow the end of hostilities: see Rémy Belleau, *Chant Pastoral de la paix* ..., Paris, André Wechel, 1559, 4°, BL: 11482 g 37, b 2r°; Costalius, *De Pace carmen*, a 3v°; Guillaume des Autelz, *La paix venue du ciel ... Avec, le tombeau de l'empereur Charles V* ..., Antwerp, Plantin, 1559, 4°, BL: 1073 i 6(1), b 3r°, d 1r°; Jacques Grévin, *Chant de Joie de la paix faicte entre le Roi de France Henri II. & Philippe Roi d'Espagne* ..., Paris, Martin L'Homme, 1559, 4°, BN: Rés. Ye 1016, b 1v°; La Maisonneuve, *Colloque social*, b 4v°; Ronsard, *Chant de liesse au roy* ..., 11.13-24 (*ed. cit.*, vol. IX, pp. 131-132); Jean Sève, *Du Bien et Repos qui provient de la paix. Sonnet*, in his *Supplication aux roys et princes chrestiens de faire la paix entre eux & prendre les armes contre les Infidelles* ..., Paris, Barbe Regnault, 1562, 16°, BN: Rés. Ye 3031, b 3v°.
44. *Gallia praesertim belgica*. The Low Countries and the North-East corner of France had indeed been the theatre for much of the military activity in the years preceding Cateau-Cambrésis. Henry II's occupation of the three bishoprics of Metz, Toul and Verdun in 1552 was followed by a protracted and unsuccessful siege of Metz by the armies of the Emperor Charles V, during which there were heavy losses on the Imperial side; in August 1557 the French were defeated by Philip II's ally Emmanuel Philibert of Savoy at Saint-Quentin, and the Duke of Guise's spectacular capture of Calais (January 1558) was followed by French success at Thionville in June, and defeat at the hands of Egmont at Gravelines in July. The poet's observation reflects historical reality as well as personal concern.
48. *purpureas animas*: cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 9.349.
53. *regales domos*. Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 1.171.
56. *galeas, clypeos, gladiosque sonantes*. Cf. Ovid, *Met.* 12.375.
61. *soluti*: false quantity (first syllable of *solutus* is short); *et carcere caeco*: cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 6.734.

64. *patriam, charosque penates*: cf. ps.-Virgil, *Ciris* 419.
66. Cf. above, *Ad omnes principes*..., 1.21 and note.
74. *atque aggere cingunt*: cf. Virgil, *Aen.*, 7.159
77. *festiva*: *festina* in the original is a misprint.
80. *arma armis contraria*: cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 4.628-9.
84. *lites componere*: cf. Virgil, *Ecl.* 3.108.
85. *quaerere regna*. The need for rulers to refrain from projects of aggrandizement forms an essential element in Erasmus's pacifist writing: see *Dulce bellum inexpertis*, *Opera Omnia*, Leyden, II, 965 A-C; *Querela Pacis*, *Opera Omnia*, Leyden, IV, 637 C and *Opera Omnia*, Amsterdam, IV, 2, p. 88; *Institutio principis christiani*, *Opera Omnia*, Leyden, IV, 607 F-608 C and *Opera Omnia*, Amsterdam, IV, 1, pp. 214-215; the adage *Spartam nactus es, hanc orna* (*Adagia* II.5.1), *Opera Omnia*, Leyden, II, 551-555, *passim*; the adage *Scarabeus aquilam quaerit* (*Adagia* III.7.1), *Opera Omnia*, Leyden, II (869-883), 872 C-D and *Opera Omnia*, Amsterdam, II, 6 (Amsterdam and Oxford, 1981) (pp. 393-424), p. 404. The poet's comments are extremely pertinent to the situation in 1558-1559, the Italian Wars, which were brought to an end by the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, being wars of aggrandizement par excellence. The poets who commemorated the Treaty, while preaching the need for princes to remain within their own boundaries, make an exception for the combined assault on the Turk which Cateau-Cambrésis envisaged; the poet of the *De bello sedato* is in agreement with this approach: see below, 1. 145ff., 1. 191ff.
- 97-118. The following development of the advantageous effects of peace on moral, religious and artistic activity echoes Erasmus's *Dulce bellum inexpertis*:
Pacis tempore, non secus ac si novum quoddam ver rebus humanis adfulserit, coluntur agri, vernant horti, pascuntur laetae pecudes, aedificantur villae, exstruuntur oppida, instaurantur collapsa, ornantur & augentur exstructa, crescunt opes, aluntur voluptates, vigent leges, floret Reipublicae disciplina, fervet religio, valet aequitas, pollet humanitas, calent artes opificum, uberior est quaestus pauperum, splendidior opulentia divitum. Efflorescent honestissimarum disciplinarum studia, eruditur juvenus, tranquillo fruuntur ocio senes, bonis auspiciis nubunt virgines. (*Opera Omnia*, Leyden, II, 957E-F)
107. *caeli regnum merentur*: cf. Matthew 5.20, 7.21, 18.3.
- 109-112. Reference to Margaret of France, sister of Henry II, who, in accordance with the terms of the Treaty, married the Duke of Savoy.
- 117-118. *iura dabuntur, / Et leges populis aequae*: cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 1.507.
118. *rectum coletur*: cf. Ovid, *Met.* 1.90.
- 119-126. See Hesiod, *Works and Days*, 256-264, for Justice's complaints about the conduct of man. This indictment is also reminiscent of some forms of medieval drama, in which the redemption of man is debated in God's presence by Justice, who puts the case for punishment, and

by those who intercede on man's behalf (Mercy, the Virgin Mary, the Saints). Such a debate features in two of the French poems arising out of the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, Ronsard's *Discours à ... monseigneur le duc de Savoye* ..., ll. 199-216 (*ed. cit.*, vol. IX, p. 166), and the anonymous *Discours moral de la Paix faicte entre treshaultz ... Princes, Henry (second du nom) treschrestien Roy de France, Et Philippes Roy des Espaignes* ..., Paris, Barbe Regnault, 1559, 8°, BN: Rés. Ye 3867, b 1v°-b 2r°.

- 129-197. *Diatribes against the Turk*. The poet's anger is directed towards the conduct of the Turks as rulers of peoples they have conquered (ll. 134-144, 151-156, 167-176) and their general disregard for religion and law (ll. 157-166, 188-190). His hopes are for the removal of the Turkish threat as a result of a combined attack by Christian princes now at peace among themselves (ll. 129-133, 145-150, 177-187, 191-197). Many of the poets who celebrated the Treaty took a similar line, urging joint action against the Infidel: Baif, *L'Hymne de la paix* ..., first published in his *Euvres en rime* ..., 4 vols, Paris, Lucas Breyer, 1573, 1572, 8°, BL: 240 e 4, 5 (I, 131r°-134v°), 134v° (see my article 'La Célébration poétique du traité du Cateau-Cambrésis', pp. 315-318, for the suggestion that this poem was originally composed in 1558-1559); Du Bellay, *Epithalame sur le mariage de tres-illustre Prince Philibert Emanuel, Duc de Savoye, et de tresillustre Princesse Marguerite de France* ..., ll. 451-480 (*ed. cit.*, vol. V, pp. 222-223); Bernard de Girard, *L'Union des Princes par les mariages de ... Philippe Roy Catholique des Espaignes, & ... Elizabet de France ... & de ... Philibert Emanuel, Duc de Savoye, & Madame Marguerite de France* ..., Paris, Benoist de Gourmont, 1559, Arsenal, 4° B 3911 (4), a 4v°; La Maisonneuve, *Colloque social*, a 3v°; L'Hôpital, *Ad Carolum cardinalem Lotarenum Mich. Hospit. de pace carmen*, Parisiis, apud Federicum Morellum, 1558, 4°, BN: Yc 1455, a 2v°; Ronsard, *Exhortation pour la paix*, ll. 27-80 (*ed. cit.*, vol. IX, pp. 17-20), *La Paix*, ll. 253-256 (*ibid.*, p. 115), *Chant de liesse*, ll. 121-124 (*ibid.*, pp. 138-139); Sève, *Exortation aux roys et princes chrestiens, de faire la paix entre eux, & prendre les armes contre les infidelles*, in *Supplication*, a 2v°-a 3r°. In making such calls, all these poets were, of course, running directly counter to the tenor of Erasmian pacifism; for Erasmus, 'Holy War' was an oxymoron, although the Humanist was reluctantly prepared to admit that a defensive war against a Turkish invasion might be necessary: see *Dulce bellum inexpertis*, *Opera Omnia*, Leyden, II, 968 B-C; *Querela Pacis*, *Opera Omnia*, Leyden, IV, 637 F-638 B and *Opera Omnia*, Amsterdam, IV, 2, p. 90; *Institutio principis christiani*, *Opera Omnia*, Leyden, IV, 610 D-E and *Opera Omnia*, Amsterdam, IV, 1, p. 218; *Utilissima consultatio de bello turcis inferendo, et obiter enarratus psalmus xxviii* ..., *Opera Omnia*, Leyden, V, 345 C-368 B and extracts in Margolin, *Guerre et paix dans la pensée d'Erasme*, pp. 328-374; letter to Paul Volz (preface to *Enchiridion militis christiani*), *Opus epistolarum*, III (pp. 361-377),

- p. 364; letter to Leo X, *Opus epistolarum*, II, pp. 84-85 and *Collected Works of Erasmus*, III, p. 105.
129. *demens discordia*: cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 6.280.
- 134-135. The *finitimas gentes* would be predominantly the Hungarians (cf. below, 1.208), whose country was under Turkish influence, although never completely controlled by the forces of the Ottoman Empire, after the victory of Sulaiman the Magnificent at Mohács in 1526. Although there were frequent military campaigns involving the Turks and the Emperor Ferdinand (brother of Charles V), the Ottoman Empire was so large that the Sultan was not able to give these campaigns full attention, with the result that, by the time of Cateau-Cambrésis, the Turkish threat to Christendom had probably become less immediate as far as Western Europe was concerned: see *The New Cambridge Modern History*, vol. II, *The Reformation*, ed. G. R. Elton, 1962, pp. 510-533. Stemmonius Malmedianus's account of the conduct of the Turks owes more to popular prejudice than political reality; for many of the peoples subject to Turkish control, their new rulers were preferable to those who had preceded them: see Elton, *Reformation Europe 1517-1559*, 1963, pp. 143-146.
143. *castis puellis*: cf. Propertius 1.1.5.
- 145-146. *concordia ... discordes*: cf. Ovid, *Met.* 1.433, Horace, *Ep.* 1.12.19.
147. *summa potestas*: cf. Matthew 28.18.
154. *alis pernicious*: cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 4.180.
- 157-166. The myth of the Giants, often confused with that of the Titans, was a favourite theme for sixteenth-century writers, many of whom made the myth an *exemplum* of hubris; see Erasmus's adage *Gigantum arrogantia* (*Adagia* III.10.93), *Opera Omnia*, Leyden, II, 948 D-949 A and *Opera Omnia*, Amsterdam, II, 6, pp. 582-584); F. Joukovsky-Micha, 'La Guerre des dieux et des géants chez les poètes français du XVI^e siècle (1500-1585)', *BHR* 29 (1967), pp. 55-92 (Neo-Latin poets are discussed on pp. 63-66).
159. *confecto ad sydera monte*. The Giants piled Mount Pelion on Mount Ossa in their attempt to scale the Heavens: see Virgil, *Georg.* 1.281-2, Ovid, *Met.* 1.151-5.
164. *summi regnator olympi*: cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 7.558, 10.437.
167. *odiunt*: from the post-classical *odio* (*Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*); the poet has made the first syllable short, possibly by analogy with the noun *odium*; or *i* has been taken as a consonant: *j*.
- 168-170. Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 5.676-8.
175. Cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 1.282 ('Romanos, rerum dominos, gentemque togatam').
184. *Cyclopumque viae ad oras*: Sicily, where the Cyclopes forged arms under Etna.
- 185-187. Description of eruptions of Etna, imitated from Virgil, *Aen.* 3.571-7 (see also *Georg.* 1.471-3). In some accounts of the revolt of the Giants, to whom the poet has just compared the Turks (11. 157-166), Typhon's punishment was to be buried under this volcano (in other accounts it is Enceladus who was punished in this way).

195. *obsidione cingent urbes*: cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 3.52.
- 198-242. *Vision of peaceful activity which will now follow the signing of the Treaty; delight shown by each European country.*
- 198-200. Possibly an echo of the hopes that the Treaty would allow the Catholic princes a free hand to tackle the problem of religious dissidence within their countries. It was certainly the case that the spread of the Reformed faith in France was a major factor in Henry II's desire for peace (see Romier, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 286-290), but perhaps not surprisingly those French poets who comment on the Treaty, and who try to present it as an occasion for national rejoicing, tend to underplay the religious problems of their country.
200. *Christus toto cantabitur orbe*: echo of Matthew 24.14.
201. *campique liquentes*: cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 6.724.
202. *urbes belgarum*: see above, note to 1.44.
- 204-206. Cf. Tibullus 1.10.31-2.
204. *pateris haustis spumantibus*: cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 1. 738-9.
206. *ebrio*: false quantity (first syllable of *ebrius* is long); *patulas aures*: cf. Horace, *Ep.* 1.18.70; *aliis praebeantibus aures*: cf. Job. 6.28, Wisdom of Solomon 6.3.
216. *armorum sonitus*: cf. Virgil, *Georg.* 1.474, Lucretius 2.49.
217. *agris patriae reddentur*: cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 11.269.
218. *turba canum*: cf. Ovid, *Met.* 4.723.
220. The original edition has *limime*.
227. *ramus foelicis olivae*: cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 6.230.
231. *infoelix fama*: cf. Virgil, *Aen.* 12.608.
238. *tandiu*: scanned as two syllables—cf. *quandiu*, 1.241.
- 236-237. On the Imperial side, the negotiations had been conducted by the Duke of Alva, the Bishop of Arras, William of Nassau, Ruy Gomez de Silva and Viglius van Zwichem; on the French side, the negotiators had been the Constable Montmorency and Saint-André (both prisoners of war after the disaster of Saint-Quentin), and Charles of Guise, the Cardinal of Lorraine.

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ALCON SIVE DE CURA CANUM VENATICORUM.
KRITISCHE TEXTAUSGABE UND BEMERKUNGEN
ZUR URHEBERSCHAFT

Wilhelmo Rieck nonagenario (22.9.1983)

I

Das kleine Gedicht mit dem Titel *Alcon*, das uns hier beschäftigen soll, wurde erstmals gedruckt im Jahre 1563, und zwar als Werk des Hannibal Cruceius (Annibale della Croce). 1577 erschien es unter dem gleichen Titel mit dem Zusatz *sive de cura canum venaticorum*, jedoch in einer abweichenden Fassung zusammen mit anderen Gedichten des berühmten humanistischen Dichters, Arztes und Gelehrten Hieronymus Fracastorius (Girolamo Fracastoro)¹. Unter Fracastoros Namen wurde es, einzeln und als Teil des Gesamtwerkes, immer wieder veröffentlicht², während mir von Cruceius' *Alcon* außer der Erstpublikation allein deren Wiederabdruck in der zweiten Auflage der *Cominiana* Fracastors (*Hieronymi Fracastorii ... Carminum* ed. II, Patavii 1739, dort Band 1, 176-180) sowie deren Wiederholung auf Seite 43-48 der nur in 160 Exemplaren erschienenen Ausgabe Girolamo Fracastoro, *Alcone ossia del modo di allevare i cani di caccia* (Verona 1972: Druck von Alfio Fiorini) bekannt sind. Dort äußert sich Pino

¹ Vgl. die Übersicht über die Ausgaben in Anmerkung 5. Neuere und ältere Literatur zu Fracastoro verzeichnet der Artikel "Fracastoro, Girolamo", von Bruno Zanobio, im *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, 5 (New York, 1972), 104-107, sowie Pino Simoni (s. Anm. 2).

² Vgl. Pino Simonis Bibliographie in: G. Fracastoro, *Alcone...*, (Verona, 1972), sowie A. Ceresoli, *Bibliografia delle opere italiane, latine e greche su la caccia, la pesca e la cinologia, con aggiunte di mammologia, ornitologia, ittologia ed erpetologia* (Bologna, 1969), S. 253-254. Auf letzteres Werk machte mich Herr Prof. Dr. Dr. h.c. Kurt Lindner, Bamberg, aufmerksam, dem ich auch für manchen anderen Hinweis zu Dank verpflichtet bin.

Simoni auf den Seiten 24-26 zur Frage der Verfasserschaft; er kennt zwei Argumente:

- a) das Zeugnis des Veroneser Geschichtsforschers Onofrio Panvinio (1530-1568), eines Zeitgenossen Fracastors, in seinen *Antiquitatum veronensium libri XIII* (Padua 1648), geprüft an der Handschrift dieses Werkes (Ms. 64 der Biblioteca Angelica, Rom, f. 266, im 6. Buch), datiert 1559; dort äußere Panvinio, der *Alcon* sei Fracastors Werk. Diese Feststellung liege vor der ersten Publikation des Gedichtes im Jahre 1563.
- b) der Herausgeber der Pariser Ausgabe (1577) diskutiere die Zuweisung nicht, sie habe also für ihn kein Problem dargestellt.

Im übrigen "Come è confermato dalla maggior parte degli studiosi l'*Alcone* (in cui si rilevano numerose reminiscenze da Virgilio e da Lucrezio) va annoverato tra le più riuscite delle opere fracastoriane. In questo poemetto, infatti, si fondono, come nella *Syphilis sive De morbo Gallico*, le due più importanti componenti della personalità del Fracastoro: quella del medico-scientista e quella del poeta" (S. 26).

Nun wären Zweifel an Fracastors Urheberschaft wohl niemals aufgekomen, wenn wir den *Alcon* in der kurz nach seinem Tod (1554) in Venedig "apud Iuntas" erschienenen Gesamtausgabe (1555) finden könnten; das Gedicht fehlt ebenso — hier stütze ich mich auf Ceresoli — in den dort erschienenen Gesamtausgaben der Jahre 1574 und 1584 und taucht erstmals in der Lyon 1591³ publizierten auf. Mit anderen Worten — die Druckvorlage kann, wenn wir nicht an eine böswillige Unterschlebung glauben wollen, nur aus Fracastors Nachlaß gekommen sein. (Die Hypothese, es könne sich auch um eine Umarbeitung von Cruceius' *Alcon* handeln, ist aus mehreren Gründen, die unten zur Sprache kommen werden, mit Sicherheit auszuschließen).

Hannibal Cruceius hatte als fast ganz unbekannter Humanist⁴ viel geringere Chancen, die Autorschaft zugesprochen zu bekommen. Immerhin war er, als der *Alcon* unter seinem Namen in Druck ging, noch

³ Ob der Druck in Lyon oder Genf stattfand, bleibt unsicher; vgl. die Ausführungen von Leona Baumgartner und John F. Fulton, *A Bibliography of the Poem Syphilis sive Morbus Gallicus* (New Haven, 1935), S. 63-64 (= Nr. 35/36), mit Fig. 6.

⁴ Zu Cruceius (Luigi Annibale della Croce, 1509-1577) vgl. Mario Emilio Cosenza, *Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Humanists and of the World of Classical Scholarship in Italy, 1300-1800* (Boston, 1962), S. 1154; James Hutton, *The Greek Anthology in Italy to the Year 1800*, Cornell Studies in English, 23 (Ithaka, 1935), S. 235-236.

am Leben; das Gedicht erschien, mit weiteren aus Cruceius' Feder und Werken anderer Dichter, in einer von Giovanni Paolo Ubaldini herausgegebenen und "Consalvo Ferdinando, Cordubae, Suessae duci" gewidmeten Anthologie. Wenn wir einen üblen Scherz, bewußte Irreführung von seiten des Herausgebers ausschließen, wie es nur billig ist, ging Ubaldini jedenfalls von der Verfasserschaft des Cruceius aus; insofern steht die Angabe Ubaldinis gegen die des Herausgebers der Pariser Anthologie von 1576/1577, Giovanni Matteo Toscano.

Wir müssen an dieser Stelle für alle, die die Gedichte oder besser: das Gedicht noch nicht oder nicht vor kurzem gelesen haben, betonen, daß die Ähnlichkeit viel zu groß ist, als daß poetische Inspiration sie erklären könnte. Wer also ist der Plagiator? Fracastoro oder Cruceius (wenn wir die unwahrscheinliche Hypothese ausklammern, beide hätten das Gedicht eines unbekannten Dritten kopiert)?

Das Ansehen beider Männer würde durch den Beweis des Plagiat sehr geschädigt. Hat also Cruceius aus dem Nachlaß des Fracastor dessen unveröffentlichtes Manuskript entwendet, oder eine Kopie angefertigt, das Gedicht dann überarbeitet und als sein eigenes veröffentlicht, da Fracastoro sich nicht mehr wehren konnte? War eine Kopie des Gedichts — von Fracastoro ihm zur Kritik zugesandt oder im Freundeskreis zirkulierend (beides ist in jenen Zeiten belegbar) — in seine Hände gelangt, die er nach Fracastoros, des Verfassers Tod, unter seinem eigenen Namen herausbrachte?

Oder war es umgekehrt gewesen: Cruceius schreibt ein Gedicht, schickt es an Fracastor, um seine Kritik einzuholen; Fracastor fertigt sich eine Kopie — ohne Verfasseramen — an, diese Kopie wird nach Fracastors Tod gefunden und, da in seiner Handschrift und ohne Namen eines anderen Verfassers, als sein Werk angesehen?

Die zuletzt vorgetragene Hypothese kann das Problem auf die angenehmste Art und Weise lösen: weder Cruceius noch Fracastor sind Plagiatoren, Panvinio hat sich, ebenso wie Giovanni Matteo Toscano oder sein Gewährsmann, geirrt, wir wissen, warum Fracastor dieses Gedicht (trotz der oben zitierten Lobesworte Pino Simonis) nicht in der Gesamtausgabe seiner Werke publizierte.

II

Freilich, unser Ziel ist nicht das Schöne oder Angenehme, sondern — die Wahrheit. Die Forschung — oder sagen wir lieber: die Kritik —

hat sich bis jetzt, genau wie wir, auf Hypothesen und Gegenhypothesen beschränkt, ohne dem Gegenstande, um den es geht, die nötige Aufmerksamkeit zu widmen. Wir wollen im folgenden die beiden Fassungen des Gedichtes nebeneinanderhalten, um durch die Beantwortung zweier Fragen Anhaltspunkte für die Klärung der Verfasserschaft zu erhalten :

1. Welche Fassung befriedigt mehr vom poetischen Standpunkt?
2. Welche Fassung ist sachlich besser? Einzelheiten dieser Synkrisis sind dem kritischen Apparat bzw. dem Kommentar zu entnehmen; hier sollen nur die m.E. beweiskräftigsten Punkte zur Sprache kommen.

Unserer Untersuchung und der Ausgabe legen wir den Erstdruck in *Carmina poetarum nobilium Io. Pauli Ubaldini studio conquisita* (Mediolani, apud Antonium Antonianum, 1563) ff. 13^v-16^v, zugrunde, mit folgenden Änderungen :

- Interpunktion, Setzung von u und v, i und j, folgen modernem Brauch;
- die Ligatur bei æ und œ ist nicht berücksichtigt;
- Nasalstrich wird als n bzw. m gegeben;
- q. ist in *que* aufgelöst, für & erscheint *et*;
- zwischen langem und kurzem s wird nicht unterschieden, die Ligatur beider als ss gegeben;
- die Zeilenzählung wurde hinzugefügt;
- in Zeile 6 ist *Icastum* in *Acastum* geändert.

Dieser Druck ist als U zitiert. Das Gedicht unter Fracastoros Namen wird nach der Erstausgabe in *Carmina illustrium poetarum Italarum*, Tomus secundus, (Lutetiae, apud Aegidium Gorbinum, 1577) ff. 25^v-28^v, mit T zitiert, wobei nötigenfalls die gleichen geringen Änderungen wie bei U vorgenommen werden. Der Text späterer Auflagen dieses Gedichtes zeigt keine für das Verständnis relevanten Abweichungen und bleibt deshalb, ebenso wie die Übersetzungen, hier unberücksichtigt⁵.

⁵ Hier die vollständigen Angaben zu den von mir bei meiner Arbeit herangezogenen Ausgaben :

1. *Alcon*, in :

- *Carmina poetarum nobilium Io. Pauli Ubaldini studio conquisita. Cum privilegio ad decennium.* (Mediolani, Apud Antonium Antonianum, 1563), ff. 13^v-16^v.
- *Carmina illustrium poetarum Italarum. Io. Matthaeus Toscanus conquisiuit, recensuit, bonam partem nunc primum publicauit.* Tomus secundus. Ad Ioannem Auratum poetam regium. (Lutetiae, M.D.LXXVII. Cum Priuilegio), ff. 25^v-28^v.
- Girolamo Fracastoro, *Alcone, ossia del modo di allevare i cani da caccia* (Verona, 1972) (mit italienischer Prosaübersetzung von Gian Paolo Marchi und Nota [S. 23-

Wir sind in der überaus glücklichen Lage, die Quelle umfangreicher Abschnitte des Gedichts zu kennen—nämlich das *Kynosophion ac opusculum Phaemonis de cura et conservatione canum, per nobilem et excellentissimum virum, Dominum Rudbertum a Moshaim* ... (Viennae, 1535). Den Nachweis dieser Tatsache bringen wir nachher. Diese Quelle erlaubt uns dort eine Entscheidung, wo die beiden Fassungen inhaltlich differieren. Für die Plagiats-Hypothese bedeutet das (wenn man nicht große Verrenkungen in Kauf nehmen will), daß nur der wahre Verfasser die sachlich richtige oder bessere Fassung herstellen konnte—sonst müßte man annehmen, daß der Plagiator (a) sachliche Fehler erkannte und (b) die Originalquelle des Autors fand und die Fehler danach berichtigte.

U ist nicht nur wegen der Anrede an Kardinal von Granvelle (= Perrenotus)⁶ (186-193) länger, sondern bietet auch sonst noch Zusätze

26] von Pino Simoni sowie reicher Bibliographie [S. 27-39] von demselben und Abdruck von Cruceius' *Alcon* [S. 43-48]).

— Deutsche Übersetzung:

Girolamo Fracastoro's sämtliche poetische Werke. Aus dem Lateinischen zum ersten Mal, im Versmaße des Originals, ins Deutsche übertragen von Alphons Chenneville (Hamburg, 1858) [hier S. 67-72].

2. *Kynosophion*, in:

— *Kynosophion ac opusculum Phemonis, de Cura et conseruatione Canum, per Nobilem et excellentissimum virum, Dominum Rudbertum a Moshaim, Decanum Patauiensem, Grece et Latine eruditissimum, I. V. Doctorem, Regium consiliarium, e graeco in latinum translatum. Canis Encomium: seu de Canum laudibus per eundem Declamatio. Distichon ad lectorem. Quemque canum vires, morbos, artemue medendi, Nosse iuuat paucis, hic cito doctus eris. Iacobus a Moshaim studii Syncerioris cultor, has duas lucubrationes praestantissimi viri Domini Decani Patauiensis amantissimi fratris, illo plane inuito ac inscio (Fateor ingenue male ob id me auditurum) honesto pioque consilio in publicum emisit, sententiae ac humanitatis caussam sequens mea ostendit epistola.* (Viennae, per Io. Singrenium [1535]) (benutzt wurde eine Kopie des Exemplars der Universitätsbibliothek Wien).

— *Claudii Aeliani Varia historia, epistulae, fragmenta. Accedunt rei accipitrariae scriptores, Demetrii Pepagomeni cynosophion* (Lipsiae, 1866), S. 587-599.

— Deutsche Übersetzung:

Max Omieczynski, *Hundezucht und Hundekrankheiten in der Literatur des klassischen Altertums mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Kynosophions* (diss. med. vet. Berlin, 1924), mit einer Übersicht über weitere Ausgaben des *Kynosophions* auf S. 25-26.

— Mittellateinische Fassung:

Hermann Mattheis, *Die Hundeheilkunde des Moamin* (diss. med. vet. Hannover, 1967).

⁶ Antonius Perrenotus, Kardinal von Granvelle, wurde bereits im Alter von 21 Jahren Bischof von Arras (= Atrecht), jedoch erst 1561 Kardinal. Das Standardwerk über ihn ist: M. van Durme, *Antoon Perrenot, bisschop van Atrecht, kardinaal van Granvelle, minister van Karel V en van Filips II (1517-1586)*, (Brüssel, 1953); vgl. auch Cosenza (wie Anm. 4), S. 2665.

in V. 3, 41, 46-48, 69, 177-8. Diese Zusätze sind durch Kursivdruck, sonstige Abweichungen gegenüber T durch Sperrung hervorgehoben. Da der Apparat ein vollständiges Verzeichnis der Abweichungen beider Fassungen — teilweise einschließlich der Orthographica und der Interpunktion — enthält und es schwierig und vor allem langwierig erscheint, die poetischen Vorzüge jeder Änderung argumentativ darzulegen, treffe ich eine kleine Auswahl.

- 23 nequicquam (= nequiquam) U nequaquam T: geändert, weil bei Vergil nur nequicquam belegt ist?
- 40 sagaxque Gelonus U Saxogelonus T: *Gelonus* scheint nur Grattius 157 als Hunderasse belegt zu sein; Grattius 158 charakterisiert ihn als *sagax*. Die Völkerschaft der *Geloni* wird in der heutigen Ukraine lokalisiert, die Verbindung *Saxogelonus* (Sachsenge-lonisch!) ist sprachlich wie geographisch gleich absurd, obwohl das den Übersetzern nie aufgefallen zu sein scheint.
- 59 abstineat U -ant T: Subjekt ist *uterque*; ob man einem Mann wie Fracastor zutrauen darf, *uterque* ohne Zwang mit dem Plural zu verbinden?
- 74 assuescant U incipiat T: Der Wechsel zum Singular gegenüber dem vorhergehenden Satz ist nicht zu rechtfertigen.
- 88 aure U ore T: Das Blut soll einmal aus dem Ohr, ein andermal aus der Schnauze entzogen werden. Die Quelle stützt *aure*.
- 94 fluitantia ova U: (*fl.* an gleicher Stelle des Verses Verg. *Aen.*, 10,306). Die Eier fehlen in T, stehen aber in der Quelle.
- 122 loti U lotii T: Da das *o* lang ist, druckt T einen Solözismus.
- 127 lenteis U lentè T: Im Text von T fehlt das Objekt zu *mollire*; *lenteis* (*lentem* hätte man ohne Mühe konjizieren können!) wird von der Quelle gestützt.
- 151 spectante U auxiliante T.
- 178 albo U auro T: Wieder entscheidet die Quelle (und sachliche Überlegung) für U.

III. TEXTAUSGABE

<HANNIBALIS CRUCEII
MEDIOLANENSIS>

AD ANTONIVM PERENOTVM
EPISC<OPUM> ATTREBATVM
NVNC CARDINALEM,

ALCON

- Assiduis nuper fessus venatibus Alcon
 Aestivi cupiens fastidia longa diei
Fallere, dum latos exurit Seirius agros,
 Corvini qua se nemora excelsissima coelo
 5 Extollunt, gelida consedit lentus in umbra;
 Et iuvenem senior sic est affatus Acastum.
 Me segnes artus, defectaque viribus aetas
 Et superare iuga et latis discurrere campis
 Et torquere levis hastas et ferre pharetram
 10 Nate, vetant densasque indagine cingere sylvas.
 Sed te pulvereas cursu transmittere glebas,
 Ferre aestum glaciemque levisque agitare Molossos
 Et pinguem e sylvis ad tecta avertere praedam
 Nunc decet ac pro me validam exercere iuventam.
 15 En arcum pharetramque tibi iaculumque relinquo.
 Ne tamen usque adeo plenae confide pharetrae,
 Ut postrema canum interea tibi cura putetur.
 Quorum ope velocis poteris praevertere cervos
 Aut aprum ingentem aut fulvum superare leonem.
 20 Ergo age et haec animo memori praecepta reconde.

tir.] eiusdem Cruceii ad... Alcon U Alcon, sive de cura canum venaticorum. T || 2 Falleret aesti i vt T || 5 viridi dum captat frigus T || 6 Dicitur ad iuvenem senior sic fatus Acastum T | Icastum U *correx*i || 9 leves T || 10 densaque T || 11 pulvereum... campum T || 12 frigusque T | leves T || 13 e *deest* in T || 14 val. pro me ex. iuv. T || 18 veloces T || 20 tecum semper mandata reserva T ||

- 3 *exurit Seirius agros*: Cruceius (bei Ubaldini) S. 4.12, Verg., *Aen.* 3,141 || 5 *lentus in umbra*: Verg., *Ecl.* 1,4 ||
 10 *indagine cingere sylvas*: vgl. Verg., *Aen.* 4,121 ||
 14 *exercere iuventam*: Calp., *Ecl.* 5,11 || 17 *postrema canum... cura*: vgl. Verg., *Georg.* 3,404 ||

- Principio ut generosa canum tibi copia nunquam
Desit, quae certam valeat promittere praedam,
Elige degeneri nequicquam semine natos,
Sed quos assidue sylvis exercuit altis
25 Et labor assiduus multarum et pugna ferarum.
Nec vero parvi facias formamve, genusve,
Nam neque sunt animi nec mores omnibus iidem:
Et variae diversa canum dant semina gentes.
Immanes si forte feras te cura tenebit
30 Venari et dubiis caput obiectare periclis,
Spartana de stirpe tibi, de stirpe Molossa
Quaere canes: Libycos illis acresque Britannos,
Pannoniosque truces et amantis praelia Celtas
Adde, nec Hircanos, nec Seras sperne feroces.
35 Sin vero parvos lepores capreasque fugaces
Malueris timidosque sequi per devia cervos,
Petronios agiles volucrisque assume Sicambros.
Quod si te capiat, qui vi praecelet odora,
Et reperire sciat latitantia lustra ferarum,
40 Hoc tibi praestabunt Persesque sagaxque Gelonus,
Suetus et in tectas Metagon penetrare cavernas.
At genere ex omni tu primum delige, quae sit
Corpore nec gracili nec densis aspera villis;
Sed sublime caput, vivacia lumina et amplam
45 Ostendet frontem atque ingentes oris hiatus,
Cui rectae surgant aures (*nisi naris odora*
Si qua erit. Hanc etenim promissae a vertice summo
Ad terram mollesque decent) cui pingua terga

21 numquam T || 23 nequicquam (= nequiquam) U nequaquam T || 25 indomitus, saevarum et praeda T || 26 formamque genusque putaris T || 29 Nam rabidas T || 30 variis T || 32 Lybicos T || 35 Si T || 37 Delige Paeonios agiles, volucresque Sicambros. T || 38-39 Quod tibi si latebras, abstrusaque lustra ferarum / Rimari certa catulorum indagine cordi est T || 40 Hunc usum implebit Perses, et Saxogelonus [sic!] T || 42 praesertim delige quae nec T || 43 sit T ||

30 caput obiectare periclis: Verg., *Aen.* 2,751 || 37 volucrisque... Sicambros: Gratt. 202 ||.

- 38 vi... odora: vgl. Verg., *Aen.* 4,132 || 39 lustra ferarum: Verg., *Georg.* 2,471 || 42-84 vgl. im Kommentar || 89 Bacchica || dona: vgl. Verg., *Georg.* 2,454 || 91 inserto... cornu: Verg., *Georg.* 3,509 ||

- Dividat in caudam descendens spina reflexam.
 50 Sint armi lati, latum sit pectus et ipsa
 Lata alvus, costis qua parte adnectitur imis;
 Ut tamen in spatium sensim se colligat arcum
 Et cava diductis succedant ilia coxis;
 Excipiant siccis quas fortia crura lacertis.
 55 Ima pedum parva signent vestigia planta.
 Huic similem coniunge marem, cum vere tepenti
 Tangit amor genus omne avium, genus omne ferarum.
 Bis quinos tamen ante dies accensus uterque
 In venerem, venere abstineat. Sic aucta cupido
 60 Acrius extimulat viresque ad semina praebet
 Maiores: suboles sic ipsa valentior exit.
 Quae simul in lucem numeroso est edita partu,
 Accipe de multis quos iam praestare videbis
 Pondere, vel stipulae flammis include coruscis
 65 Ingentem turbam. Prolis nam mota periclo
 Egregiam subolem melioraque pignora mater
 Ocyus eripiet flammis, ignava relinquens.
 Ante autem catulis quam firma accesserit aetas,
Hi parvo cursu campos lustrare patentis
 70 Incipiant sensimque humilem conscendere collem
 Et facili rursum sese demittere clivo;
 Hinc tenerum leporem vel crura infirma trahentem
 Sectari capream et praeda gaudere recepta
 Assuescant verbisque viri parere vocantis.
 75 Parva mora est. Ipsis crescunt cum viribus anni.
 Iam potes hos densis tuto committere sylvis
 Perque altos montes ac lustra agitare ferarum,
 Aut spumanti apro aut fulvo obiectare leoni
 (Si modo nec capreas tu, nec dignabere cervos).
 80 Immodicis tum parce cibis. Tum cursibus illos

50 sint aequae pectora lata T || 51 lata alvus, quae sic costis adiungitur imis T || 53 ut T | costis T || 59 abstineant [sic!] T | plena T || 60 exsti- T | praebet. T || 61 Hinc maior soboles, atque inde T || 62 ac sese numeroso protulit ortu T || 63 Selige T || 64 sonoris T || 66 sobolem T || 67 flammis T | inertia linquet T || 68-70 Illi igitur plenis ubi nondum viribus aetas / Accessit, parvum cursu conscendere collem T || 71 molli assuescant T || 73 facilem percurrere campum T || 74 Incipiat [sic!] T || 75 Nulla T | crescant [sic!] T || 76 tuto densis T || 77 per T || 78 Nec minus aut T || 79 vel capreas, vel dedignabere T ||

- Exerce assiduis. Post vero ad tecta reversos
 Vincula ferre iube. Sic demum libera colla,
 Cum res ipsa ususque vocat: maiore feruntur
 Impete nec cursum remoratur pigra sagina.
- 85 Hactenus in sylvas catulos eduximus altas.
 Nunc quae morbosus sit cura adhibenda, docebo.
 Insomnis cum forte canes occulta fatigat
 Vimque adimit febris, putrem tunc aure cruorem
 Ferro emitte levi; dein Bacchica dona rosarum
- 90 Misce oleo et rapidis simul omnia percoque flammis,
 Terque die inserto demitte in guttura cornu.
 Sin vero nimio venandi langueat aestu,
 Butyro lapathi succum Siculique Lyaei
 Pocula contusumque piper fluitantiaque ova
- 95 Prosubige, ut, certi simul ac commista liquoris
 Praetulerint speciem, cupido canis hauriat ore.
 Immodicam sed forte sitim dum sublevat atro
 Fonte canis, lymphae mala si successit hirudo,
 Cimiceo suffire illum nidore licebit,
- 100 Aut oleo ptisanam et spumanti melle subactam
 Excoquere offensoque cani praebere vorandam.
 At cum tetra lues (clavos dixere) palatum
 Afficiet misere, sylvestria sesama et una
 Bacchi acidos latices chartamque assume perustam
- 105 Atque ammoniaci frustum; dein singula in unum
 Confundens tetram placide super illine pestem.
 Iam vero ardentis oculos inimica perurit
 Cum tabes crebraeque cadunt a lumine guttae,
 Tu frondes sacrae myrti, sylvestris et uvae,
- 110 Arentisque rosas diluto concoque Baccho,
 Hisque affecta levi citus ablue lumina dextra;
 Inde oleum atque ovi niveos immitte fluores.

81 ac mox ad tecta reverti T || 82 Vincla pati discant: ita T || 85 silvis... altis T ||
 87 Insomnes T || 88 ore T || 90 concoque T || 92 Si T || 93 succos T || 95 simul omnia
 miscens T || 96 commixa (= commixta) T || 101 Incoquere T | cane [sic!] T || 102 Aut T ||
 103 sesama nec non T || 104 latices et chartam sume T || 105 tetrae caussam superilline
 pestis T || 107 Tum T | ardentes T || 108 fluunt T || 109 Iam T || 110 Arentesque T ||
 112 liquores T ||

104 Bacchi acidos latices: Nemes., Cyn. 199 ||. 112 fluores: Nemes., Cyn. 220 ||

- Quod si nativo stimulaturn coxa dolore,
 Ignitum lapidem (Graii dixere Myliten)
 115 Urina semel atque iterum demerge recenti;
 Cui Bacchi dulcemque acidumque adiunge liquorem,
 Quaque latet pestis molli circumline penna.
 Ast ubi rupta novo manabit sanguine vena,
 Tu murem geminum ac telam pendentis arachnes
 120 Ure foco cineremque undanti impone cruori.
 Proderit et ferro candenti tangere vulnus.
 Obstructo vero loti cum forte meatu
 Vexari aspicias catulum, Cerealiam dona
 Obiice lacte prius simae perfusa capellae.
 125 At contra venis si quando sanguis apertis
 Pro facili urina terram madefecerit atram,
 Conveniet lenteis ferventi lactis ahenis
 Mollire ac tenues coriandri iungere succos
 Infrastructumque piper laticemque undantis olivi
 130 Insertoque cani paulatim infundere cornu.
 Quid taceam, nimio cum decidit ungula cursu?
 Frangere namque iuvat pallentis grana cymini
 Dentibus admotaque pedem lenire saliva,
 Incipientque novi succrescere protinus ungues.
 135 Fit quoque ut immundo catulus iuguletur ab oestro.
 Hic tu sylvestrem rutam crepitantibus ure
 Ignibus et fumo catulum suffire salubri
 Perge, simulque acido vulnus perfunde Lyaeo.
 Quin aures etiam muscarum turba molesta
 140 Usque adeo infestat, mutilatum appareat alte
 Ut caput. Ergo aedum venienti occurre periculo
 Atque illas nucibus viridique putamine tinge.

114 Lemiulum lapidem, Meditem nomine dicunt T || 116 dulces acidosque adiunge liquores
 T || 117 sumpta T || 119 Tum T || 122 lotii T *contra metrum* || 127 lentè T || 128 et T |
 immittere T || 132 Cumini T || 136 At T | crepitantibus et urere rutam T || 137 pariter
 mulcere T || 138 Disce: dehinc acri perfundere vulnus aceto. T || 140 Impetit usque adeo
 T || 141 ipse autem T || 142 Et prius has T ||

123 *Cerealiam dona*: Nemes., *Cyn.* 175 || 127 *aheno*: Calp., *Ecl.* 5,83 || 130 *inserto...*
cornu: vgl. 91 || 140 *usque adeo*: Verg., *Georg.* 4,84 und öfter ||

- Quid cum dura canes inter se proelia miscent
 Alter et alterius percussus dente laborat?
 145 Tunc etenim cervi flammae subiecta voraci
 Ossa teres, oleo subigens frondentis olivae
 Unguinis in morem ac vulnus lethale perunges;
 Quanquam etiam possis ramenta inducere ferri.
 Namque venenifero serpentis saucius ictu,
 150 Quo valeat, scit sponte sua reperire salubre
 Gramen et ipse sibi nullo spectante mederi.
 At mala cum scabies miseros depascitur artus
 Latrantum et foede penetrabile corpus adurit,
 Cerussam abdomenque boum resinamque tenacem
 155 Butyrumque recens viridantibus incoque sensim
 Lentisci foliis et membra affecta perunge.
 Senserit et rabidos ubi morsus, protinus ipse
 Idaeam rutae foliis acidoque Lyaeo
 Iunge picem et laesae haec adhibe medicamina parti.
 160 Sed tum praecipue solerti mente cavendum est,
 Cum rabie accensus nunc hos, nunc impetit illos,
 Ipse infensus hero datque insanabile vulnus.
 Ergo illum primo valida compesce catena;
 Inde rosae agrestis radicem pondere saxi
 165 Contusam vivi fontis consperge liquore,
 Ut potus speciem colo transmissa nitente
 Praeferat. Hac sumpta catulos ad prima reverti
 Obsequia et posita rabie mitescere tradunt.
 Sunt qui sylvestris ficus adipemque vetustum
 170 Contundant. Hederas alii ferventibus undis
 Emollire iubent, donec pars una supersit
 E tribus, ac foliis ipsis tepidoque liquore

144 ut laboret T || 147 perungens T || 151 auxiliante T || 152-156 post 157-159 habet T ||
 153 miserabile T || 154 Cerusam T | bovis T || 156 foliis, infectaque membra T ||
 158 acrique T || 159 laesaeque adhibe haec T || 160 tunc T || 166 lino colata nigranti T ||
 167 pristina tradunt T || 168 Sensa canem, ac T | rursum T || 169 silvestres T || 170 ederas
 T || 172 atque ipsis foliis T ||

143 proelia miscent: Verg., Georg. 3,220; Aen. 10,23 || 149 venenifero: Ov., Met.
 3,85 || 152 miseros depascitur artus: Verg., Aen. 2,215 || 164 pondere saxi: Verg.,
 Aen. 10,381 ||

- Pascere quadrupedem aurora surgente furentem.
 Nil tamen aequae illi prodest ac prima sub ipsum
 175 Principium morbi rescindere semina ferro.
 Nam qua parte imo coniungi lingua palato
 Cernitur, *excrecit vermis similata figurae*
Pustula, nativo fauces quae concolor albo
 Occupat in rabiemque feros agit usque Molossos.
 180 Hanc si quis dextra potuit resecare perita:
 Is tanti abstulerit causam stimulumque furoris.
 Caetera te pauco post tempore, nate, docebo.
 Nunc revocare canes praedamque ad tecta referre
 Admonet invectans sublustris Hesperus umbras
 185 Et qui iam posuit cantus Corydallus acutos.

- At tu, qui magni magno cum Caesare mundi*
Consilio, Perenote, tuo moderaris habenas,
Incultos nostrae cantus ne despice Musae:
Pastorum a parvis ego quam paulo ante cicutis
 190 *Grandia venantum deduxi ad retia primus.*
Sic tua Caesaribus sint acceptissima semper
Obsequia, Eoque dies nascatur ab orbe,
 193 *Qua triplici tandem niteant tibi tempora mitra.*

IV. KOMMENTAR

(1) Die verschiedenen Hunderassen (29-41)

Die Aufzählung der Hunderassen orientiert sich nicht an der Gegenwart des Autors, sondern an antiken Vorbildern. Infrage kommen vor allem (Pseudo-)Oppian, Buch 1 der *Kynegetika*, sowie die Jagdgedichte

174 tandem usque adeo T || 178 et fauces, nativo concolor auro [sic!] T || post 179 add. T (Molossos/) *Vulnificus vermis, suffunditque ora veneno.* || 180 Quem si quis potuit ferro resecare, potentem T || 182-185 Quae superant, olim: nunc praedam ad tecta iacentem / Ferre monet praesens fugientis temporis hora: / Quandoquidem calamos posuit Coridallus acutos. / Et iam sublustris invectat luna tenebras. T.

176 lingua palato: Verg., *Georg.* 3,388 || 184 sublustris... umbras: vgl. Verg., *Aen.* 9,373.

des Grattius und Nemesianus. Eine tabellenartige Zusammenstellung wird die Abhängigkeit, wie ich hoffe, hinreichend deutlich machen; das lateinische Belegmaterial hat freundlicherweise Dr. P. Flury von der Direktion des Thesaurus Linguae Latinae überprüft und dabei zusätzlich *Persa* als Eigenname eines Hundes bei Valerius Maximus (1,5,3) zutage gefördert.

	Grattius	Nemesianus	Oppian	andere
Spartana stirps	212	107; 224	372	Verg., <i>Georg.</i> 3,405
Molossa stirps	181; 197	107; 224	375	Verg., <i>Georg.</i> 3,405; Lucr. 5,1063
Libyci		229		
Britanni	178	225		
Pannonii		227		
Celtae	156		373	
Hircani	196			Lucr. 3,750
Seres	159			
(Paeonii)			371; 395	
Petronius	202; 206			
Sicambri	202			
Perses	158			
Gelonus	157; 195			
Metagon	209; 221; 264			

P.J. Enk, der Kommentator des Grattius, bemerkt zu Grattius 209 *metagontes* "nomen huius generis canum apud nullum alium scriptorem redit"⁷. Damit ist die Benutzung des Grattius wohl gesichert, zumal wörtliche Anklänge diese Annahme zu stützen vermögen. Da die Erstausgabe des Grattius—eine Aldina von 1534—gleichfalls den Text des Jagdgedichtes des Nemesianus bietet, brauchen wir nach der Quelle für die libyschen und pannonischen Hunde nicht weit zu suchen—es war eben jene Aldina. Bleiben die paionischen Hunde; sie sind mir tatsächlich nur aus Oppian und dem Onomastikon des Pollux (5,46) bekannt. Die Erstausgabe des Oppian (im Original und mit lateinischen Versen von Laurentius Lippius) erschien 1517 ebenfalls bei Aldus in

⁷ P.J. Enk, *Gratti Cynegeticon*..., pars 2 (Zutphaniae, 1918) z. St. Jetzt noch ausführlicher Raoul Verdière in seinem Kommentar: *Gratti Cynegeticon libri I quae supersunt. Vol. II. Commentaire* (Wetteren, o.J.), z. St.; dort kann man sich auch über die neuesten Erkenntnisse zu den anderen bei Grattius genannten Hunderassen orientieren. Zu Oppian: Wolfgang Schmitt, *Kommentar zum 1. Buch von Pseudo-Oppians Kynegetika* (diss. phil. Münster, 1969).

Venedig, stand also zur Verfügung. Stutzig macht, daß wir nur an dieser einen Stelle Oppian zugrundelegen müßten, und daß U nicht "Paeonios", sondern "Petronios" liest. Bedenkt man, daß der Versschluß *volucrisque assume Sicambros* (U) *volucresque Sicambros* (T) sich eng an Grattius 202 anschließt (*Petronios haec fama cani, volucresque Sycambros*), ist es allemal wahrscheinlicher, daß Paeonios auf eine Verlesung zurückgeht und von Anfang an Petronios beabsichtigt war. Ein weiterer, ganz offensichtlicher (oben bereits erwähnter) Schreib- oder Lesefehler ist das Ungetüm *Saxogelonus* in T, wo U *sagaxque Gelonus* hat; heißt es doch bei Grattius 157-158: *Geloni, / sed natura sagax: Perses in utroque paratus*.

(2) Die Beschreibung der idealen Zuchthündin (42-55)

Offenbar schließt sich der Verfasser auch hier im wesentlichen an Grattius und Nemesianus an; für einige Angaben habe ich die Quellen nicht gefunden; besonders wird die Suche dadurch erschwert, daß der Sinn der Formulierungen nicht immer klar hervortritt. Moshaims Übersetzung füllt die Lücken leider nicht.

corpore nec gracili	?
nec densis aspera villis	?
sublime caput	<i>celsi voltus</i> : Gratt. 269
vivacia lumina	?
amplam frontem	?
ingentes oris hiatus	<i>os magnum</i> : Gratt. 270
rectae aures	<i>hirtae aures</i> : Gratt. 269
promissae mollesque (aures)	<i>nimis molles aures</i> : Nemes. 113
pinguia terga	?
caudam reflexam	?
armi lati	<i>validis armis</i> : Gratt. 274
latum pectus	<i>pectore lato</i> : Nemes. 109
lata alvus	<i>longum latus</i> : (?) Gratt. 272
costis – arctum	<i>multamque trahat sub pectore lato / costarum sub fine decenter prona carinam, / quae sensim rursus sicca se colligat alvo</i> : Nemes. 109-111
diductis coxis	<i>diductaque coxas</i> : Nemes. 112
cava ilia	<i>adstricti succingant ilia ventres</i> : Gratt. 271
fortia crura siccis lacertis	<i>siccis ego dura lacertis crura velim</i> : Gratt. 277-278
parva vestigia planta	<i>effuge qui lata pandit vestigia planta</i> : Gratt. 276 ⁸

⁸ Selbstverständlich gibt es bereits vor diesem Abschnitt – und später – manche Anleihen aus antiken Dichtern. Ich meine nicht, daß hier durch geduldiges Nach-

(3) Vermehrung und Auswahl der Welpen (55-67)

huic eqs. :	<i>huic parilem submitte marem</i> : Nemes. 114 (<i>iunge pares</i> : Gratt. 263)
genus omne avium :	Ov., <i>Met.</i> 15,387
genus omne ferarum :	Lucr., 1,163
bis – abstineat :	<i>Ubi autem oestro illo amatorio flagrare inceperint, decem diebus in illo ardore libidinis continendi sunt, post statim admittendi, ut libere et intrepide ineant.</i> Moshaim S. 2 = Kyn. 1
pondere :	Gratt. 299, Nemes. 138, Moshaim S. 3 = Kyn. 2. <i>Est et aliud catellos meliores deligendi discrimen. In statera librabis catulos, ponderosioresque eliges, generosioresque iudicabis.</i>
vel – relinques :	Nemes. 140-150 gibt eine längere Beschreibung; von ihm sind der Versschluß <i>periclo</i> (145) und <i>egregiam subolem</i> (150) übernommen. Dieselbe Methode ausführlicher bei Moshaim S. 2 = Kyn. 2.

(4) Aufzucht und Abrichtung zur Jagd (68-84)

Der Verfasser orientiert sich an Nemesianus, ohne daß sich damit alle einzelnen Anordnungen erklären ließen. Ich notiere folgende Einzelheiten :

parvo cursu :	<i>non longo cursu</i> : Nemes. 180
tenerum leporem :	<i>leporem ... non viribus aequis / nec cursus virtute parem, sed tarda trahentem / membra</i> : Nemes. 182-184
crura infirma trahentem (capream) :	<i>tarda trahentem / membra</i> : Nemes. 183-184 (die Qualifizierung ist hier kein <i>epitheton ornans</i> !)
verbisque viri parere vocantis :	<i>consuetae norint hortamina vocis</i> : Nemes. 189
lustra ferarum :	Verg., <i>Georg.</i> 2,471
spumanti apro :	Verg., <i>Aen.</i> 4,158 (und z.B. 1,324)
fulvo leoni :	Verg., <i>Aen.</i> 4,159
dignabere :	Verg., <i>Aen.</i> 10,866
libera colla :	<i>libera ... colla ligari</i> : Nemes. 177 (die

schlagen Vollständigkeit angestrebt werden sollte, denn die Erkenntnis, daß antike Dichter imitiert werden, hat man eh schon, und im Einzelfall ist immerhin möglich, daß einem Neulateiner dieselbe Phrase eingefallen ist wie einem seiner vergötterten Vorbilder. Ein paar Notizen gebe ich unter dem Text.

Anweisung läuft m.E. auf dasselbe hinaus; immerhin ist der wörtliche Anklang nicht zu leugnen, obwohl *libera* einmal Adjektiv und einmal Verb ist). Nemes. 159-160.

sagina (vgl. oben immodicis cibis):

(5) Krankheiten⁹

(a) Fieber (87-91)

Moshaim, S. 4 (*Kyn.* 6)

Febricitantem canem quemadmodum cognoscas, et contra febrem medicina. Febricitans canis aures demittit, vultuque tristior abiectione somno prorsus caret. *Emittes* itaque sanguinem ex auribus et olei rosacei uncias duas cum vino decoquito et ter quoquo die infundito vel rosaceum oleum cum ovis duobus commisceas atque infundas.

vel rosaceum – infundas *om.* UT

(b) Überanstrengung (92-96)

Moshaim, S. 5 (*Kyn.* 7)

Si calore infestatus, vel alias fatigatus fuerit, medicina. Cani, si calore fatigatus sit, sic mederi poteris: *Lapathum* seu rumicem herbam probe conteres, et ova duo resolvens *butyrum* una et vini Siciliensis urceolum unum misceto cum *pipere* communi. Idque ut bibat canis curabis. Vel si quando vehementer calore infestatus a venatione venerit, phuscam cum succo pulegii commixtam in os ipsius inspergito (est autem phusca acetum et aqua calida et ova duo), quam cum oleo rosaceo infunde.

vel si – infunde *om.* UT

(c) Blutegel (97-101)

Moshaim, S. 7 (*Kyn.* 18-19)

Si sanguisugas casu biberit canis. Cimicibus ipsum subfumigare iubeas et revalescet subito. Hordeaceam *ptisanam* electam, oleique puri libram unam decoques et percolato cyatho mellis puri commixto, idque cani infundendum.

Das bei Moshaim und im *Kynosophion* (20) folgende Blutegelrezept fehlt in U und T.

(d) Gaumenpapillome (102-106)

Moshaim, S. 6 (*Kyn.* 16)

Contra *clavos* in palato canis. Si igitur *palatum* clavi invadunt, amo-

⁹ Mit Absicht gebe ich hier Moshaims Text, obwohl inzwischen der griechische Text von Hercher nachgedruckt worden und somit wieder leichter zugänglich ist. Wörtliche Übereinstimmungen mit dem *Alcon* erscheinen kursiv.

niaci quantum satis est, *sisami sylvestris* globulos tres, aceti cratera unum adiuncta *charta* combusta; hisque resolutis ac commixtis palatum canis perungito, et pristinae sanitati restitutum intelliges.

(e) Bindehautentzündung/Konjunktivitis (107-112)

Moshaim, S. 6 (*Kyn.* 13)

Contra lachrymam, inflammationem, seu tumorem oculorum. Primum quidem oculi canis perfundendi et irrigandi aqua calida pariter et vino quo *rosae* flores, *uvae sylvestris* myrtique folia decocta sint. Deinde *oleum* cum albumine commixtum oculis illitum pituitam et lippitudinem sistet, inflammationem et tumorem prorsus abiget et repercutiet.

NB. Die einen anderen Sinn ergebende Lesart οἶνον ἔψησον in Herchers Kynosophionausgabe ist eine Konjektur von Andreas Rivinus für das überlieferte ἐψήθησαν.

(f) Hüftweh (113-117)

Moshaim, S. 9 (*Kyn.* 27)

Si coxendice seu schiatica laboraverit canis. *Lapidem Myelitem* [sic!] in testa *ignitum* et succensum accipito, et hominis urinam inspergito idque rursus facito, quod ubi bis feceris, vinum et acetum admisceto haecque pennula inungito.

Herchers Hss. lesen *μελίτην*; *Meditem* (T) scheint auf eine Verlesung von *Myelitem* (el = d) zurückzugehen; mit *Lemiulum* (T) kann ich nichts anfangen (Gian Paolo Marchi schreibt [S. 14] la pietra di Lemno 'Stein von der Insel Lemnos', aber das ist wohl nur eine Verlegenheitslösung). Bemerkenswert ist, daß in U nicht nur die korrekte Form *Myliten* hergestellt wird (wohl durch Konjektur), sondern daß dies auch als griechische Bezeichnung angegeben wird¹⁰. Dieser eine Vers (114) sollte überzeugen, daß der Vorwurf des Plagiats Cruceius gegenüber weiterer solider Argumente bedürfte.

¹⁰ Noch der gewiß nicht dumme Arzt und spätere Herausgeber des Kynosophions, Andreas Rivinus, kam mit *μελίτην* nicht zurecht, wie seine Bemerkung z. St. zeigt: *μελίτην*: Quis is sit lapis, necdum repperi, quare Graecâ voce pro latinâ usus sum. Nisi fortè quis *μελίτιτην* legendum censeat, quod equidem in medium relinquo. V. Diosc. 5. Cap. 93. (Diosc., *Mat. med.* 5,133 Wellmann) (Φαίμωνος Φιλοσόφου, ἡ Δημητρίου Κωνσταντινοπολίτου Κυνοσόφιον ἄριστον· ἡ βιβλίον περὶ τῆς τῶν κυνῶν ἐπιμελείας. *H. e. Phaemonis ... Liber de cura canum singularis; e IV. MSS. Rhodio, Augustano, & duobus Mediceae Bibliothecae collatus, rectius versus ... a IV. viris*: D. Rudberto a Moshaim, D. Andrea Aurifabro, Dn. Nic. Rigalto, atque Andrea Rivino (Lipsiae, 1654).

(g) Blutstillung (118-121)

Moshaim, S. 9 (*Kyn.* 26)

Pro *vena rupta* restituenda. Canis si venam diruperit, aranei telam cum muribus duobus in cinerem redigito et his sic resolutis vulneri iniicito, et rursus aranei tela succensa cinerem seorsim venae confractae imponito, et *ferro* calefacto et ad locum adhibito sanguine effluentem sistes.

rursus – imponito *om.* UT

(κατάδησον bei Hercher scheint mir fehl am Platz zu sein, denn das zur Blutstillung verwendete Brenneisen wird ja nicht aufgebunden; mir fällt aber die Lösung nicht ein).

(h) Harnverhaltung (122-124)

Moshaim, S. 8 (*Kyn.* 25)

Contra stranguriam seu difficultatem urinandi. Panem *lacte* caprino conspersum et irrigatum bis die in pabulum dato.

(i) Blutharnen (125-130)

Moshaim, S. 8 (*Kyn.* 24)

Canis si sanguinem minxerit. Si sanguinem urinauerit canis, *lentis* sestari(i)um dimidium cum *lacte* decoquendum, et *coriandri succo adiunctis piperis* granis quindecim et olei communis sestario uno, alias sestarium dimidium *lentis* cum *lacte* decoquendum, olei unciis duabus commixtis, haec aegroti immit(t)enda.

(j) Krallenabfall (131-134)

Moshaim, S. 13 (*Kyn.* 42)

Si unguis deiecerit quo pacto restituendi. *Cyminum* ore tibi bene mandendum ac masticandum, saliva deinde ungui deiecto immit(t)enda; id cum diebus decem feceris, unguem renasci haud dubium.

(k) Bremsenstich (135-138)

Moshaim, S. 11 (*Kyn.* 36)

Si *oester* seu tabanus momorderit canem. *Sylvestris* ruta succendenda et vulnus quod tabanus impeggerit fumo leniendum, pariter et aceto inungendum.

(l) Fliegenbefall (139-142)

Bei Moshaim und im *Kynosophion* konnte ich keine Parallele entdecken. Columella 7,13,1 paßt immerhin: "Fere autem per aestatem sic muscis aures canum exulcerantur, saepe ut totas amittant: quod ne fiat, amaris nucibus contritis liniendae sunt." (Vgl. Varro, *Rust.* 2,9,14).

(m) Biß durch einen anderen Hund (143-148)

Moshaim, S. 11 (*Kyn.* 33)

Canis si ab altero morsus sit. Os cervinum in cinerem redigito et cum oleo commixto resolvito, et in formam cerati formato, quocum canem facile restitues.

Moshaim, S. 12 (*Kyn.* 34)

Canis si morsus vel percussus a quopiam. Carnes cum scoria seu excrementis *ferri* vulnere impona(n)tur et sanus evadet.

(n) Schlangenbiß (149-151)

Keine Parallele bei Moshaim oder im *Kynosophion*; auch sonst habe ich vergeblich gesucht. Die Geschichte paßt zu Plinius, Aelianus und dem Physiologos.

(o) Krätze (152-156)

Moshaim, S. 12 (*Kyn.* 39)

Contra scabiem. *Cerusal* una et *resinam*, sebum bubulum, *butyrum* etiam cum lentisco simul misceto et concoquito, canemque *perungito*.

(p) Biß eines tollwütigen Hundes (157-159)

Moshaim, S. 11 (*Kyn.* 35)

Si a rabido cane morsus sit. *Folia rutae* cum *pice* et aceto loco rabie infecto inspergito et sanaveris.

(q) Tollwut (160-173) und Tollwurm (174-181)

Moshaim, S. 5 (*Kyn.* 8-9)

Contra rabiem medicina, eiusque praecognitio. Canem rabidum hoc modo cognoscere licebit. Primum quidem subsistit furore ac insania percitus, et subinde homines rabido morsu petere conatur, et accessu et accersitu difficilis, astans itaque nec proprium quidem agnoscit *herum*. Id cum animadvertis eiusmodi eius potionem exhibeto. *Rosae* sylvestris radices bene terendo in pulverem rediges, et aquae fontanae parum adiuncto commisceas, hisque omnibus per lintheum colatis potionem cani exhibebis et a rabie liberum senties. Et rursus in parte inferiori linguae canis vinculo ac strictura quadam angustatur; fit autem species quaedam in formam *vermis* nervo *albo* similis, quae priusquam augeatur gutturque totum occupet, ex ipsius lingua decidito et hoc uno ingeniose curaveris (θεραπεύσεις τὸν τόπον ἐπιτηδείως 'versorge die Wunde angemessen' Hercher!).

Moshaim, S. 5 (*Kyn.* 10)

Contra rabiem praeservativa medicina. *Sylvestrem* ficum veteri *adipe* comminutam exhibeto vel *hederam* decoquito et ubi ad tertiam partem redacta fuerit, hac canem matutina hora pascito.

NB. Die Entfernung des Tollwurms bringen Moshaim und das *Kynosophion* vor der vorbeugenden Medizin (169-173).

V

Form, Abfassungszeit, Quellen

Nach der Form des *Alcon* befragt, müssen wir es als Lehrgedicht mit bukolischer Einkleidung ansprechen; so empfand auch der Verfasser der deutschen Nachdichtung, Alphons Chenneville, der das Gedicht "Alcon oder die Pflege der Jagdhunde. Ekloge" überschrieb (S. 65). Gibt es dafür ein antikes Vorbild? Mir fiel dazu das 5. Gedicht in den *Bucolica* des T. Calpurnius Siculus ein; dort gibt ein älterer Mann—Micon—seinem "alumnus" Canthus Ratschläge für die Ziegenhaltung, unter Einbeziehung einiger Erkrankungen¹¹. Dazu paßt gut, daß diese *Bucolica* ebenfalls in der Erstausgabe des Grattius und Nemesianus von 1534 abgedruckt sind.

Können wir etwas zu den Personen, Acastus und Alcon, sagen? Beide sind als Teilnehmer an der Jagd auf den Kalydonischen Eber bezeugt, ohne daß dort ein Vater-Sohn-Verhältnis konstruierbar wäre, wie es im 5. bukolischen Gedicht des Calpurnius, V. 9 ("hos tibi do senior iuveni pater") anklingt und doch wohl auch dem *Alcon* zugrundeliegt. Nun taucht der Name Alcon ebenfalls in den bukolischen Gedichten des Calpurnius und Nemesianus auf. Da erscheint es am vernünftigsten, Acastus ("iaculoque insignis Acastus": Ov., *Met.* 8, 306) als erfahrenen Jäger, Alcon hingegen als bukolische Gestalt zu werten.

Nun zur näheren Eingrenzung der Abfassungszeit des Gedichtes. Cruceius nimmt in seiner Anrede an Granvelle (182-193) in Anspruch, als erster diesen Gegenstand dichterisch dargestellt zu haben. Das ist nur dann korrekt, wenn wir darunter Zucht und medizinische Behandlung von Jagdhunden verstehen. Im weiteren Rahmen der Anweisungen für die Jagd waren beide Themen bereits bei Grattius und bei Nemesianus zur Sprache gekommen, und ein neulateinisches Jagdgedicht bringt die Erstausgabe des Grattius und Nemesianus von 1534: sein Verfasser ist Adrian von Corneto¹².

¹¹ V. 72-82. Daß der Anfang der 5. Ekloge des Calpurnius im *Alcon* imitiert wird, bemerkte bereits Wilfred P. Mustard, "Later Echos of Calpurnius and Nemesianus", *American Journal of Philology*, 35 (1916), 73-83, hier S. 77. Mustard sieht, unter Berufung auf die Studie von E. Carrara, *La poesia pastorale* (Milano, 1909), S. 408, in Cruceius den Autor des *Alcon*.

¹² Vgl. die Angaben bei Raoul Verdière (wie Anm. 7), Vol. 1, S. 11; danach wurde diese Ausgabe 1534 in Augsburg bei H. Steyner und 1537 in Lyon bei S. Gryphius nachgedruckt. Sie bringt auch ein neulateinisches (erstmal in Venedig im September

Im Kommentar zur Aufzählung der Hunderassen ist klargeworden, daß der Verfasser des *Alcon* seine Angaben nur aus Grattius und Nemesianus haben kann; das erlaubt uns, die Abfassung unseres Gedichtes auf die Jahre zwischen 1534 (Erstausgabe des Grattius und Nemesianus) und 1563 (Veröffentlichung des *Alcon* in Ubaldinis Anthologie) einzugrenzen.

Eine weitere Präzisierung ist möglich. Ein Vergleich der Verse 87-181 mit dem *Kynosophion* zeigt, daß hier nur Prosa in poetische Form umgegossen wurde, wie es ja in der Renaissance öfter vorkommt (und wohl bereits in der Antike üblich war—freilich läßt sich das mangels Materials nicht belegen). Die Erstausgabe des griechischen Textes des *Kynosophions* erschien 1545 zu Wittenberg¹³. Doch nicht sie, sondern die 10 Jahre zuvor in Wien publizierte lateinische Übersetzung Rudbert von Moshaims muß die Quelle für den Verfasser des *Alcon* gewesen sein.

Das läßt sich durch einen Übersetzungsfehler im Rezept gegen Gaumenpapillome (102-106) erweisen. “*Sylvestria sesama*” (103)—“*sisami sylvestris globulos tres*” bei Moshaim (S. 6)—geht auf ein Mißverständnis des griechischen Originaltextes *κηκιδος σφαίρια τρία* ‘von Galläpfeln drei Kügelchen’ zurück¹⁴. Zur Ehrenrettung Moshaims mag man zugestehen, daß seine Vorlage bereits *ι* und *η* verwechselt hatte und *κηκιδος* las; jedenfalls übersetzte Moshaim *κίκι δος* (oder interpretierte *κηκιδος* als Genitiv des ansich so indeklinablen *κίκι* = Rizinus) und bediente sich für die lateinische Wiedergabe des beim Älteren Plinius (*Nat.* 15,25) dafür überlieferten Namens “*sesamon silvestre*”.

Zur Benutzung der Moshaimschen Übersetzung paßt weiterhin, daß mitunter Ausdrücke direkt in den *Alcon* übernommen worden sind¹⁵.

1505 gedrucktes) Jagdgedicht: *Adriani Cardinalis Venatio*, in dem “una battuta di caccia alle Acque Albule guidata dal cardinale (d.h. Ascanio Sforza)” besungen wird; diese Angaben nach der neuesten Darstellung von G. Fragnito, “Castellesi, Adriano (Adriano da Corneto)”, im *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, Band 21 (Roma, 1978), S. 665-671.

¹³ *Phaemonis veteris philosophi cynosophion, seu de cura canum liber, graece et latine, ante hunc diem nusquam alibi excussus, interprete Andrea Aurifabro*. κυνοσόφιον ἄριστον. (Vitenbergae, 1545) (diese Angaben nach Omieczynski [vgl. Anm. 5], S. 25).

¹⁴ Rivinus (wie Anm. 10) z. St.: Moshaim *sisamum silvestrem* [sic!] vertit, quo consilio, nescio.

¹⁵ Sie sind oben im Kommentar durch Kursivdruck gekennzeichnet.—Wegen des “*silvestria sesama*” kann der Verfasser des *Alcon* auch nicht auf die Hundeheilkunde des Moamin zurückgegriffen haben, die in mittellateinischer Übersetzung u.a. Material

Halten wir zum Schluß die Ergebnisse kurz fest. Das Gedicht *Alcon* hat als formales Vorbild das 5. bukolische Gedicht des T. Calpurnius Siculus. Der Inhalt des ersten Teils geht überwiegend auf die Jagdgedichte des Nemesianus und Grattius, der des zweiten Teiles (über Hundekrankheiten) auf die lateinische Übersetzung des *Kynosophion* durch Rudbert von Moshaim zurück. Sprachlich ist ein starker Einfluß vergilischer Phrasen nachzuweisen, daneben stehen Anleihen bei Nemesianus und Grattius sowie einige wörtliche Übernahmen aus Moshaims Übersetzung. Von den beiden überlieferten Fassungen repräsentiert die zuerst, nämlich 1563 gedruckte (U), eine Überarbeitung im Hinblick auf größere dichterische Vollkommenheit; nur sie gibt in Vers 40, 88, 94, 114, 127 und 178 den aufgrund der Quellen einzig korrekten Wortlaut. Die 1577 unter dem Namen Fracastors publizierte Fassung (T) weist eine Reihe von Unebenheiten und Fehlern auf, die nicht allesamt als Druckfehler erklärbar sind.

Aufgrund dieser Ergebnisse muß die Verfasserfrage neu durchdacht werden, da bisher allein von äußeren und nicht gedichtinhärenten Daten ausgegangen wurde. Eine Möglichkeit ist die von mir vorgelegte Hypothese, die Cruceius als ursprünglichen Verfasser ansieht, dessen unpublizierter Gedichtentwurf in Fracastors Besitz gelangte; dies ermöglichte sowohl Cruceius die Publikation einer überarbeiteten, sachlich korrekten Fassung (U), als auch den Abdruck eines noch unvollkommenen, textlich teilweise entstellten Entwurfs aus dem Nachlaß Fracastors (T)¹⁶.

Berlin,
Freie Universität.

aus dem *Kynosophion* bringt. Der Passus lautet: de medicamine palati. De medicamine bothor qui generantur in palato. Accipe salem et mirram et cartam adustam et pulveriza et misce cum aceto et frica palatum. (Mattheis [s. Anmerkung 5], S. 25). Am Rande sei angemerkt, daß sich die Hundeheilkunde des Moamin auch noch als Einsprengsel in der Hs. Add. 27 626 der British Library, London, ff. 19^r-20^v, findet; diese wurde von einem anderen Schüler Wilhelm Riecks, Gisbert Sponer, im lateinischen Original und in deutscher Übersetzung herausgegeben (*Die Pferdeheilkunde des Ipocras Indicus* [diss. med. vet. Hannover, 1966]). Der Moamintext reicht vom Kap. 111 bis Kap. 124 Sponer. Beanstandet werden muß, daß Sponer, trotz der eindeutigen Überschrift "*Incipit V.* (= als 5. Stück) de medicamine egritudinum caninorum" (sic; obwohl einige Buchstaben undeutlich sind, ist das i genau zu erkennen und jedenfalls nicht "canum" zu lesen), 'Tierkrankheiten' übersetzt (S. 79) und auch auf S. 117 mit keinem Wörtchen auf diese Schwierigkeiten eingeht.

¹⁶ Der Redaktion der *Humanistica Lovaniensia* danke ich herzlich für eine Reihe von Verbesserungsvorschlägen und Nachträgen.

Walther LUDWIG

MULTA IMPORTARI, MULTA EXPORTARIER INDE:
EIN HUMANISTISCHES LOBLIED AUF HAMBURG
AUS DEM JAHRE 1573

Der dänische Humanist, der sich Cimbricus Erasmus Michaelius Laetus nannte (Mag. Kopenhagen 1546, D. theol. Wittenberg 1559, Prof. theol. Kopenhagen 1560, † ebenda 1582) und 1572 von König Friedrich II. von Dänemark ein Stipendium für eine Studienreise nach Venedig erhalten hatte, verfaßte als Gastgeschenk für den Dogen und den Senat der Republik ein lateinisches Lehrgedicht über die Schifffahrt, das er in Basel 1573 bei Thomas Guarino unter dem Titel *De re Nautica Libri IIII. Ad Illustrissimam atque Ampliss. Inclytae et fortissimae gentis Venetae Rempublicam* im ansehnlichen Quartformat und mit der stattlichen Großkursivtype drucken, sowie mit einem ganzseitigen, sein Wappen zeigenden Holzschnitt (auf Bl. 10 v) schmücken ließ (10 Bl., 230 Seiten, 1 Bl.). Das heute sehr seltene Buch enthält auf S. 205-208 ein relativ ausführliches Lobgedicht auf Hamburg, das der Aufmerksamkeit der an der Geschichte dieser Stadt Interessierten bisher anscheinend ebenso entgangen ist wie den Erforschern des humanistischen Städtelobs. Ich zitiere hier deshalb zunächst die entsprechenden Hexameter und lasse eine Prosa-Übersetzung folgen. Zugrunde gelegt wird ein in Privatbesitz befindliches Exemplar, das früher im Besitz der Lincoln's Inn Library, London, war. Die Verszählung ist hinzugefügt, Orthographie und Interpunktion der Vorlage sind beibehalten; in V. 6 wurde das ungrammatische *dent* der Edition — sicher ein Druckfehler — in *dant* verbessert, in V. 79 der metrische Fehler *foro tute* — wohl im Sinne von Laetus — durch Wortumstellung beseitigt.

- An'ne etiam Hamburgum fas sit mihi dicere? sane
 Urbs ea non minimis excellit mercibus : alta
 Quod superet fluctus et amans secet aequora puppi.
 Propenso sedenim fabrilia nautica motu
- 5 Excolit. ac quoniam locus opportuna ministrat
 Littora, vicinis et se dant obvia regnis :
 Multa importari, multa exportarier inde
 Accidit, ac longos ferri in commercia fines.
 Illa etiam procul Islandas urbs aemula terras
- (206) Visit, et Oceani perrumpens iurgia, late
 Puppibus excurrit : Scagasque evecta per undas
 Interiora sinus Gotthani viscera tentat.
 Interdum Danos, interdum Suetica lustrat
 Littora : et e variis dilatat mercibus urbem,
- 15 Quas istisque istisque petit gens sedula regnis.
 Dantisco sedenim plerunque aspirat. ab Albi
 Integra proventus ratio est : quod is alveus acri
 Subnixus fluvio Boihemica regna relinquat,
 Misnensesque fatiget agros : atque inde citato
- 20 Gurgite Saxonicas labendo excurrat in urbes,
 Multiplici inflectens redeuntia brachia gyro :
 Hamburgi donec lepidissima tecta videndo
 Praeterit, ac rapido se mergit in aequora lapsu.
 Non tamen hic nullo fluvius dilabitur usu
- 25 Fontibus a primis, patrijsque e saltibus : omni
 Exundat rerum lucro, pulcherrima secum
 Ligna vehit : seu quae validos navalia malos,
 Seu fortasse domus aequisissima tigna requirant.
 Multa means circum perlabitur oppida, ripis
- 30 Nunc hic, nunc istic deradens moenia : quo se
 Valde opportunum vectandis mercibus offert
 Gentibus obsequio : Hamburgum quas actus in urbem
 Deferat, ac vario iungat commercia flexu.
 Inde iter in Batavos facile est et caetera ponti
- 35 Maxima regna : quibus nunc urbs Hamburgica multis
 Commodat officiis, et rem conatibus auget.
- (207) Quin vero ex Anglis postquam huc translata feracis
 Emporij ratio est, ingentia lucra suasque
 Stipat opes : ratibus cum primas deferat, et se

“Darf ich auch Hamburg bedichten? Wahrhaftig, diese Stadt ragt durch umfangreichsten Handel hervor, da sie die Meeresfluten überwindet und mit ihren hohen Schiffen gern zerteilt. Nachdrücklich nämlich betreibt sie ihren Schiffsbau. Und da der Ort günstige Gestade bietet, die für die benachbarten Reiche leicht zu erreichen sind, wird vieles importiert, vieles von hier auch exportiert, und der Handel wird in weit entfernte Gebiete getragen. Die rege Stadt besucht auch das entlegene Island (10) und fährt, das Toben des Ozeans durchbrechend, mit ihren Schiffen weit hinaus. Sie durchfährt die Wogen des Skagerrak, dringt bis 'ins Innerste des gotischen Meerbusens vor, und kommt bald an die dänischen, bald an die schwedischen Küsten. So vergrößert das geschäftige Volk seine Stadt durch die verschiedensten Handelswaren, die es aus diesem oder jenem Königreiche holt, wobei es meist mit Danzig zusammenarbeitet.

Die Elbe ist die beständige Grundlage für ihren Erfolg. In stürmischem Lauf verläßt dieser Fluß das böhmische Reich, fließt ständig am Gebiet von Meißen vorbei, läuft und gleitet dann in beschleunigter (20) Strömung zu den sächsischen Städten, in Arme sich zerteilend und vielfach kreisend wieder zusammenströmend, bis er Hamburgs so hübsche Häuser sieht, an ihnen vorüberzieht und sich in raschem Lauf ins Meer versenkt. Jedoch nicht ohne Nutzen zu bringen, ergießt sich dieser Fluß aus seinem Quellbereich und seinen heimischen Waldgebirgen: Im Überfluß bringt er Gewinn. Er führt die schönsten Hölzer mit sich, sei es, daß die Werften starke Maste, oder daß vielleicht die Häuser regelmäßige Balken brauchen. Auf seinem Lauf gleitet er an vielen Städten vorbei, (30) bald hier, bald dort die Mauern am Ufer bespülend. So bietet er sich den Anwohnern sehr günstig und willfährig zum Transport von Waren an, um sie zur Stadt Hamburg hinabzubringen und um durch seinen hier- und dorthin führenden Lauf die Verbindungen des Handels herzustellen.

Von Hamburg ist der Weg in die Niederlande leicht, ebenso wie zu den übrigen großen Reichen am Meer, denen die Stadt jetzt viele Dienste erweist. So wächst durch ihre Unternehmungen ihr Besitz. Ja, nachdem aus England sogar das einträgliche Handelskontor hierher übertragen worden ist, erzielt sie riesige Gewinne und mehrt ihr eigenes Vermögen. Die Schiffe sind ihr das Wichtigste, und so ist sie auch (40) ganz damit beschäftigt, durch Handel sich mit fremden Reichen zu verbinden.

Vom Gebrauch der Waffen hat sie sich freilich nicht völlig zurück-

- 40 Mercatu satagat peregrinis iungere regnis.
 Quid quod et armorum penitus non sistat ab usu :
 Si quid forte necesse siet, vel civibus enses
 Stringier, ac subitis defendi moenia bellis.
 Vel ponto res dura geri, res sancta Carinis
- 45 Debeat, ac toto praedator ab aequore pelli.
 Utroque urbs pridem foelix conamine late
 Fortibus innotuit factis. testantur in ipsum
 Stortebeckerium confecta negocia : cui cum
 Praedari libuit, libuit tum civibus isti
- 50 Vincula piratae contraria tendere. nec res
 Adverso superum tentata est numine. vicit
 Conflictu Hamburgum, praedatorique catheras
 Inijcit, ac victo caput a cervice iubebat
 Tollier. Utque etiam non desint caetera laudi
- 55 Ingenuae, doctos pretio dignatur, eosque
 Et colit, et magnis convestit honoribus. illa est
 Cui pridem celebrer cumulabat Krantzius urbi
 Nomina clara. quod Historijs et regna virosque
 In Boream versos, et Vandala littora multo
- 60 Complexus splendore siet : cui Phoebus Apollo
 Ingenium praestans, quod prendere maxima posset,
 Sic dedit, ut facili comprehensa extollere scripto
 Sufficiat. post, hanc devenit Epinus in urbem,
- (208) Et docuit : vir multiplici sic cultus ab arte,
 65 Ut decus officio, officiumque aequarit honori.
 Huic informandae sociumque alacremque iuventae
 Praestabat sese : qui sacro Delius aevo
 Ac operum meritis, primas tum pene gerebat
 Inter honoratos cultissima lumina patres.
- 70 Quem tria lustra suis geminata laboribus unum
 Sic iunxere : nihil Schola maius ut ista Magistro
 Hoc habuisse queat : qui sacras moribus artes
 Intulit, ac pretium monstratis artibus auxit.
 Etsi autem fatis iam pridem is cesserit : urbs haec
- 75 Attamen egregie multos habet omnibus amplos
 Doctrinae studijs : qui quae didicere, tueri
 Et proferre queunt. gens est civilis habetque
 Humanos propter moresque et pectora laudem.

gezogen, falls es etwa nötig wird, daß die Bürger ihre Schwerter ziehen und ihre Mauern gegen einen überraschenden Angriff verteidigen, oder daß die heilige Sache der freie Schifffahrt es erfordert, auf dem Meer zu kämpfen und Seeräuber von ihm zu vertreiben. In beiden Richtungen waren ihre Anstrengungen schon lange vom Erfolg gekrönt. Die Stadt wurde weithin bekannt durch ihre Heldentaten. Davon zeugen die gegen Störtebecker durchgeführten Maßnahmen. Als es ihm gefiel, auf See zu rauben, da gefiel es den Bürgern, diesem (50) Piraten die Fesseln anzulegen. Und nicht gegen der Götter Willen wurde dieses Wagnis unternommen. Hamburg siegte in dem Zusammenstoß, legte den Räuber in Ketten und befahl, den Besiegten zu enthaupten.

Und damit auch das Übrige zum vollen Ruhm nicht fehle, belohnt sie die Gelehrten, pflegt und bekleidet sie mit hohen Ehren. Diese Stadt ist es, auf die der gefeierte Krantzius schon längst Lob und Ruhm häufte. Denn er behandelte in seinen Geschichtswerken die Männer und Reiche im Norden und die vandalischen Küsten mit großem (60) Glanz. Phoebus Apollo gab ihm einen Geist, der nicht nur das Größte erfassen konnte, sondern auch in der Lage war, das Erfasste flüssig und gefällig darzustellen. Danach kam Epinus in diese Stadt und lehrte in ihr, ein durch vielfältige Gelehrsamkeit so gebildeter Mann, daß seine Würde seiner Aufgabe und seine Aufgabe seiner Ehre gleichkam. Ihm gesellte sich als eifriger Helfer in der Unterrichtung der Jugend Delius zu. Durch sein verehrungswürdiges Alter und das Verdienst seiner Werke gewann er beinahe den ersten Rang unter den ehrenvollen Ratsherren, diesen hervorragend gebildeten Männern. (70) Er allein war zweimal drei Lustren bei seiner Arbeit, so daß diese Schule nichts Größeres gehabt haben kann als diesen Lehrer, der die heiligen Künste und Wissenschaften mit Charakterbildung verband und so ihren Wert mehrte. Auch wenn er schon aus dem Leben geschieden ist, so hat diese Stadt doch für alle wissenschaftlichen Disziplinen viele ausgezeichnete Männer, die, was sie gelernt haben, bewahren und verbreiten können.

Die Bevölkerung ist höflich und verdient auch Lob wegen ihrer humanen Art und Gesinnung. Denn was immer man auf dem Markte kaufen wird, alles wird (80) nicht so teuer angeboten wie in vielen anderen Städten, obgleich in dieser Beziehung jedoch Lübeck Hamburg besiegen dürfte, und Rostock Lübeck, und Stettin wieder alle anderen

- Nam quae tute foro deduxeris, omnia prostant
80 Non ita difficili, ceu multa per oppida, nummo.
Quamquam hac parte tamen Lubecum vicerit : atque hoc
Rostochium : at cunctas Stetinum : Dania cuius
Exsuperat laudem : minimo qua vivitur. ast quid
Haec ego nunc tenui consector magna labore?
85 E caelo populis benedictio creverit. ipsis
Adscribas superis quae sunt amplissima. Virtus
Res est grata : sed haec caelo sine vindice nusquam
Magna erit, at caelo semper sub vindice magna est :
Atque alit in quosvis tutissima pharmaca casus.

Städte, welches seinerseits durch Dänemark überboten wird, wo man am billigsten lebt.

Doch was verfolge ich jetzt so wichtige Dinge mit meinen bescheidenen Versen? Vom Himmel erwächst den Völkern wohl der Segen. Den Göttern selbst soll man das Größte zuschreiben. Tüchtigkeit ist immer willkommen. Aber ohne Hilfe des Himmels wird sie nie groß sein, wogegen sie mit seiner Hilfe immer groß ist und die sichersten Heilmittel gegen alle Schicksalsschläge bereitet”.

Die Hexameter stehen bei Laetus innerhalb des vierten Buchs von *De re nautica* in folgendem Zusammenhang: Er stellte zuvor fest, daß viele Städte durch ihre zu Handels- und Kriegszwecken verwendeten Schiffe weithin bekannt sind (S. 202), wies aber nur kurz auf Genua (von Venedig hatte er früher gehandelt) und die seefahrenden Nationen der Spanier, Franzosen, Schotten, Engländer und Dänen hin, um dann drei Dänemark benachbarte Städte durch ausführlichere Darlegungen hervorzuheben: Lübeck (S. 203 f., in 25 Versen), Danzig, das — vom Namen her — als dänische Gründung bezeichnet wird (S. 204 f. in 34 Versen), und Hamburg, das mit 89 Versen am ausgiebigsten vorgeführt wird. Nach einer Abbruchsformel (S. 208 f., *Sunt aliae nostris vicinae gentibus urbes / Multae etiam: simili quae commoda laude sequuntur / Et varijs adeunt terrasque ac regna Carinis*) kommt er noch auf die Seefahrt der Niederländer zu sprechen, Bremen und Emden erhalten zusammen eineinhalb Verse (S. 209, *priscisque obnoxia rixis / Brema, vel Emdenos quae gens colit aemula muros*), und die Schlußverse dieser größeren Einheit von S. 202-209 heben dann noch einmal den leitenden Gesichtspunkt hervor:

*Omnibus his studium est pontum lustrare, citásque
Commoda in ampla rates, firmásque aptare Carinas.*

Entsprechend wird auch in dem Hamburg gewidmeten Teil zuerst der dortige Schiffsbau und der Reichtum bringende Handel mit fernen Ländern, insbesondere mit Island, Dänemark, Schweden und der Hansestadt Danzig aufgeführt (V. 1-16). Anschließend beschreiben die Verse den Lauf der Elbe von ihrem Ursprung bis ins Meer und vergegenwärtigen ihre Bedeutung als Handelsweg (V. 16-33), worauf wieder die Handelsschiffahrt auf dem Meer, diesmal besonders die nach den Niederlanden, in den Blick rückt (V. 34-40). Der Hinweis auf das *ex Anglis* nach Hamburg übertragene Handelskontor wird sich wohl auf die englische Kompagnie der Merchant Adventurers beziehen, die sich nach ihrer Vertreibung aus Antwerpen 1567 in Hamburg niederließen und der Stadt erhebliche Gewinne brachten (*ex Anglis* meint also einerseits 'von den Engländern', andererseits deshalb letztlich auch 'aus England'). Aus dem von Laetus gesetzten Thema heraus ist es verständlich, daß dem Preis des Handels der der Kriegstüchtigkeit der Hamburger folgt (V. 41-54). Die Hinrichtung Klaus Störtebeckers († 1401) durfte da nicht fehlen.

Über den durch die Schifffahrt gesetzten thematischen Zusammenhang hinaus führt nun aber der nächste, dritte Abschnitt, der Preis

der Hamburger Gelehrten und der Förderung, die die Stadt ihnen angedeihen ließ (V. 54-77). Speziell wird auf drei Persönlichkeiten hingewiesen: auf (Albert) Krantzius (D. theol., 1492 Canonicus und Lector primarius am Dom, 1508 Decan des Domkapitels, † Hamburg 1517) und auf seine beiden Werke zur skandinavischen Geschichte und Geographie (*Regnorum aquilonarium Daniae, Suetiae, Norvagiae Chronica*, Straßburg 1546, *Wandalia, in qua de Wandalarum populis, et eorum patrio solo, ac in Italiam, Galliam, Hispanias, Aphricam et Dalmatiam migratione*, Köln 1518, zusammen neu gedruckt Frankfurt am Main 1575), auf (Johann) Epinus (sonst meist Aepinus geschrieben, 1529 Pastor St. Petri, 1532 Superintendent und Lector primarius am Dom, D. theol. Wittenberg 1533, † Hamburg 1553, Melanchthon hat ein Epitaphion auf ihn verfaßt) und auf (Matthaeus) Delius (imm. Wittenberg 1520, Mag. ebenda, verheiratet mit einer Freundin von Melanchthons Frau, seit 1529 Conrector am Johanneum, seit 1537 Rector, † Hamburg 1565) und seine dreißigjährige Lehrtätigkeit an der Hamburger *Schola*. Mit diesem Preis der Hamburger Gelehrsamkeit (in den Lübeck und Danzig gewidmeten Abschnitten findet sich nichts Analoges) weitet sich das zunächst der Hamburger Handelschiffahrt und der damit zusammenhängenden Kriegstüchtigkeit gewidmete Lob zu einem allgemeinen, das geistige und kulturelle Leben einbeziehenden Loblied auf die Stadt (vgl. besonders den Einsatz in V. 54; in V. 72f. klingt die berühmte Horazstelle, *Ep. 2, 1, 156f.*, an: *Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artes / intulit agresti Latio*—ein besonderes Kompliment für Delius!).

Laetus fügt danach in einem kurzen Abschnitt noch einige Bemerkungen über die Bevölkerung im allgemeinen und das Hamburger Preisniveau hinzu (V. 77-83) und bricht dann mit einem Bescheidenheitstopos und einer religiösen Sentenz ab (V. 83-89).

Seine Reisen haben ihn offenbar über Hamburg geführt. Er hat Informationen über die jüngste Vergangenheit (1565, 1567) und persönliche Erfahrungen mit den Preisen. Vielleicht war das Loblied auch durch gewisse Hoffnungen auf eine ihm gemäße Anstellung in Hamburg (etwa am Johanneum) motiviert. Gewiß hat er mindestens ein Exemplar mit einer persönlichen Widmung nach Hamburg geschickt. Es scheint sich nicht erhalten zu haben, und es ist mir aus anderen Quellen auch nichts über seinen Besuch in Hamburg bekannt.

Mit Sicherheit läßt sich nun aber nachweisen, daß Laetus für die Niederschrift seines Hamburg-Lobs das einzige humanistische Gedicht

benützt hatte, das ihm in der Behandlung dieses Gegenstandes vorausgegangen war: *Ad D. Iustum Jonam, Ioannis Frederi Pomerani, in laudem clarissimae urbis Hamburgae Carmen, Cum praefationibus Philippi Mel. et Iusti Jonae*, gedruckt Wittenberg 1537 (November oder Dezember), ohne Angabe des Druckers (StB Hamburg scrin. A/214; neu gedruckt Hamburg 1602 und bei J. A. Fabricius in den *Memoriae Hamburgenses*, Vol. I, 1710, Bruchstücke werden mit einer wenig verständnisvollen Beurteilung zitiert von E. Kelter, *Hamburg und sein Johanneum im Wandel der Jahrhunderte 1529-1929*, Hamburg, 1928, S. 21 ff.). Johann Freder, der, aus Köslin stammend, nach seinem Studium in Wittenberg (imm. 1524, Mag. 1537) 1537 als Conrektor ans Hamburger Johanneum berufen wurde (dort bis 1540, Lector secundarius am Dom 1540-1547, † 1562 als Superintendent in Wismar), hatte sich nach seiner Ankunft und Anstellung in Hamburg durch ein Lobgedicht auf die Stadt erkenntlich zeigen und empfehlen wollen. Seine 1315 Hexameter wurden im Druck durch eine kurze Elegie aus der Feder des Melanchthonschülers und später bekannten humanistischen Dichters Johann Stigel (imm. Wittenberg 1531, † 1562 als Professor der Rhetorik in Jena), durch einen Empfehlungsbrief von Melanchthon selbst und durch einen Brief des mit einer Base von Freders Frau verheirateten Adressaten Justus Jonas (Mag. Erfurt 1510, D. theol. Wittenberg 1521, Professor ebenda 1521-1541, † 1555 als Superintendent in Eisfeld) eingeleitet (S. A 1^v-A 4^v). Als Jonas 1540 Johann Freder für eine Hofpredigerstelle in Dessau den Fürsten Georg und Joachim von Anhalt empfiehlt¹, hebt er ausdrücklich dessen Fertigkeit im Verfassen lateinischer Verse hervor und nennt als eines seiner *erudita Carmina* das, das er "in druck geben an ... den rath zu Hamburg". Später (1562) schrieb Freders gleichnamiger Sohn (imm. Rostok 1562, † 1604 als Professor der Theologie ebenda) in einem elegischen Epicedion auf den Tod seines Vaters² über dieses *Hamburg-Carmen*:

Denique praeclaras sublimi carmine laudes

Hamburgae ad coeli sidera celsa tulit.

Laetus dürfte das Buch bereits bei seinem Studium in Wittenberg,

¹ G. Kawerau, *Der Briefwechsel des Justus Jonas* (Halle, 1884-1885; Nachdruck Hildesheim 1964), Nr. 509.

² Abgedruckt bei J. A. Fabricius, *Memoriae Hamburgenses*, Vol. I (Hamburg, 1710), S. 973 ff.

wo er noch Melanchthon hörte (1560 erschienen dort seine *Bucolica* mit einem Vorwort desselben), kennengelernt haben. Möglicherweise wurde er sogar schon in Kopenhagen durch Ludolph Priggus (= Prigge) auf das Gedicht aufmerksam gemacht. Dieser, ein gebürtiger Hamburger, imm. Wittenberg 1536 und auf Melanchthons Empfehlung 1549/50 Professor in Kopenhagen, hatte zu dem Druck von Freders *Carmen* auch drei empfehlende Distichen beigesteuert³. Auf direktem oder indirektem Weg haben Laetus seine Beziehungen zu Wittenberg mit dem Gedicht Freders bekannt gemacht; ein Vergleich zeigt, daß er es bei seinem Hamburg-Lob auch benützte.

Nach einer einleitenden Anrede an den Adressaten berichtet Freder von seiner Ankunft in Hamburg und den verschiedenen Einladungen, die ihm von Mag. Johann Gartz (Pastor St. Petri), D. Med. Vitus Scarpus (Apotheker), Mag. Hermannus Roverus (Ratssekretär 1528, Ratsherr 1540, † 1543), Mag. Johann Pape (Apotheker), Joachim Mollerus (Ratsherr 1529, † 1558) und Mag. Nicolaus Rodenberg (Fünfehnerrat St. Petri 1529, † 1557) zuteil wurden, und rühmt in V. 128 *Cognita nulla mihi gens est humanior umquam* (vielleicht klingt dies bei Laetus in V. 78 nach, obgleich der Preis der *humanitas* der Bewohner einer Stadt zu den konventionellen Motiven des humanistischen Städtelobs gehört und ihre Höflichkeit schon in mittelalterlichen Stadtgedichten hervorgehoben wird).

Die Beschreibung Hamburgs beginnt mit der Herrlichkeit seiner Bauten (V. 176ff., von Laetus an dieser Stelle nicht aufgegriffen, ein Reflex jedoch bei ihm in V. 22 *lepidissima tecta*) und geht dann bald zu einem Preis der Waren auf dem Markt und des Handels allgemein über. Vgl. dabei besonders V. 231ff.:

... e variis novus advena terris
multus semper adest merces portansque vehensque
 ...
Quis memorare queat commercia maxima largi
perpetua illa fori, vendente et emente referti
tam magna turba ...

mit Laetus V. 2ff., besonders V. 7f., wo er die Fredersche Antithese *portansque vehensque* bzw. *vendente et emente* mit dem zuerst von ihm in einem Vers gebrauchten Verbenpaar *importare/exportare* variiert; er folgt dabei juristischem Sprachgebrauch, vgl. Dig. 50, 16, 59 'portus'

³ Dort auf S. A 4^v.

appellatus est conclusus locus, quo importantur merces et inde(!) exportantur—diese Definition Ulpian's ist wegen der mehrfachen Übereinstimmung der Worte wahrscheinlich von Laetus sogar unmittelbar für seine Vergestaltung benützt worden. Bei Freder schließt sich eine Liste der mit Hamburg Handel treibenden Nationen an (V. 255ff.); ebenso, mit stärkerer Auswahl, Laetus V. 9ff. und 34ff.

Freder kommt dann auf die Ebbe und Flut unterworfenene, an Hamburgs Häusern vorbeifließende Elbe zu sprechen (V. 330ff.). Laetus, dessen geographisches Interesse auch sonst in *De re Nautica* zu erkennen ist (vgl. z.B. die Beschreibung der Ostseeküste und ihrer Inseln S. 94-98, 115-118), gestaltet diesen Abschnitt zu einer Elbbeschreibung von der Quelle bis zum Meer um und betont damit einen wichtigen Grund für Hamburgs wirtschaftliche Stärke. Das Bild der die *tecta* Hamburgs sehenden Elbe ist deutlich abhängig von der entsprechenden Stelle Freders, wo die Elbe die *tecta* der Hamburger Bürger grüßt; vgl. Freder V. 340-341:

*Omnes multiplici(!) diffindens tramite vicos
nulliusque fere civis non tecta salutans*

mit Laetus V. 21 f. Freder schildert darauf die Reichtum bringenden *commoda pacis* (V. 369ff.); im Sinn entspricht dem der folgende Abschnitt bei Laetus bis V. 40.

*Non coluere tamen sic ocia mollia pacis,
ut desint illis animosae in proelia vires* (V. 373-374)

So wird bei Freder, ähnlich wie später bei Laetus in V. 41, danach die Besprechung der kriegerischen Tüchtigkeit Hamburgs eröffnet. *Testis et est Knipshoff, Stortbek et Gotke Michael* (V. 391); Laetus hat sich auf einen besser latinisierten Störtebecker als Zeugen beschränkt (V. 47f.).

Freders Hauptteil (V. 414-995) bezieht sich auf die durch den Hamburger Senat gegründete *Schola*, das Johanneum, und preist nach einem allgemeinen Exkurs über die Kindererziehung und die Bedeutung der Bildung für den Menschen der Reihe nach insgesamt zwölf Vertreter des geistigen (und geistlichen) Lebens in Hamburg. Der von Laetus in dem analogen Abschnitt zuerst erwähnte Albert Krantz ist nicht darunter, da Freder nur auf Männer, die zu seiner Zeit lebten, Bezug nimmt. Krantz wurde jedoch in der Vorrede des Melancthon eigens als besondere Zierde Hamburgs an erster Stelle von drei Namen genannt, und Laetus, der seine Werke zur skandinavischen Geographie und Geschichte selbst kannte (er benützte sie auch für

sein poetisches Werk *Rerum Danicarum libri undecim*, Frankfurt am Main 1574), wollte auf ihn nicht verzichten. Freder beginnt seine Gelehrtenreihe mit Aepinus, der bei Laetus an zweiter Stelle steht (V. 693 ff.; vgl. V. 697 *Praesul hic est urbis, decus est et gloria nostrae* mit Laetus V. 65). Dem Domsuperintendenten als dem ranghöchsten Hamburger Geistlichen folgen bei Freder die Pastoren der Kirchen St. Catharinae, St. Petri, St. Jacobi und St. Nicolai, Mag. Stephan Kemp, Mag. Johann Gartz, Johann Fritz und Mag. Joachim Franck, die vier Doktoren der Medizin Vitus Scarp, Michael Olckaw, Caspar Funck und Jacob Rennersperck, der Ratssekretär (seit 1535) Mag. Johann Ritzenberg und die zwei bisherigen Rectoren der *Schola Johannea*, Mag. Matthaeus Delius und sein soeben verstorbener Vorgänger Mag. Gotfrid Hermelates Theophilus (die beiden letzten hatte auch Melanchthon in seinem Einleitungsbrief nach Krantzius rühmend erwähnt). Laetus hat davon nur Delius übernommen (vgl. auch V. 955 *Artibus ingenuis et pectora culta polivit* mit Laetus V. 72 f.). Die drei von Laetus genannten Personen sind also Freder Gedicht und Melanchthons Vorrede zu demselben entnommen. Bei der Auswahl scheint sowohl persönliche Wertschätzung (im Falle des Albert Krantz) als auch sein Wunsch eine Rolle gespielt zu haben, im Anschluß an die Frederische Anordnung die ersten Männer der Hamburger Kirche (Epinus) und Schule (Delius) zu ehren, wobei es sich gut traf, daß beide wie er in Wittenberg studiert hatten.

Die Praeteritio, mit der Freder seine Prominentenschau abbricht (V. 989 *Sunt et multi alii docti clarique piique*), hat Laetus später nach Ende seines Hamburg-Lobes benützt (nach V. 89: *Sunt aliae nostris vicinae gentibus urbes / multae etiam ...*, s. oben S. 294). Was bei Freder folgt (Gärten außerhalb der Stadt, Picknicks am Elbufer, das *convivium musicum*, sowie die Schönheit der Hamburger Mädchen, V. 996-1190), findet bei Laetus keine Entsprechung. Auch die Motive des Frederischen Epilogs (V. 1191 f.), der eine erneute Anrede an Justus Jonas, eine nachher noch zu besprechende Apostrophe des Humanisten Helius Eobanus Hessus und persönliche Mitteilungen (darunter die lobende Erwähnung des gesundheitsfördernden Hamburger Bieres) enthält und mit Grüßen unter anderem an Melanchthon schließt, wurde von Laetus verständlicherweise nicht aufgegriffen, wenngleich auch er am Ende von einer persönlichen Erfahrung spricht.

Trotz der wesentlich kürzeren Fassung des Hamburg-Lobes bei Laetus sind seine thematischen, strukturellen und phraseologischen

Anleihen bei Freders *Carmen* nicht zu verkennen. Gegenüber Freder hat er ganz auf die bei jenem nach humanistischer Manier häufigen Vergleiche mit Stoffen der antiken Mythologie verzichtet und sich — in seinem im allgemeinen härteren, weniger flüssigen und öfters ziemlich prosaischen Stil — auf die rühmende Beschreibung der realen, allerdings mehr allgemein als detailliert gesehenen Verhältnisse beschränkt. Die Thematik ist dabei — bedingt durch das Thema des Gesamtwerks und die persönlichen Interessen des Verfassers — auf die Handelsbeziehungen und das Bildungswesen der Stadt konzentriert. Auch in dieser Beschränkung bleibt das Hamburg-Lob innerhalb seines Gedichts *De re nautica* relativ umfangreich. Der Grund dafür dürfte sowohl in seinen vermutlichen persönlichen Beziehungen zu Hamburg, als auch in seiner literarischen Vorlage zu suchen sein.

Das beschreibende Lobgedicht auf Städte war eine unter den deutschen Humanisten des 16. Jahrhunderts beliebte Textform. Eine erste und noch etwas summarische Übersicht hat William Hammer in seiner an der University of Chicago gefertigten Dissertation gegeben: *Latin and German Encomia of Cities*, Chicago, 1937. In jüngster Zeit hat P. G. Schmidt, *Mittelalterliches und humanistisches Städtelob*⁴ die Eigentümlichkeiten der humanistischen Stadtgedichte gegen die ihrer Vorgänger abgehoben, und C. J. Classen, *Die Stadt im Spiegel der Descriptiones und Laudes urbium in der antiken und mittelalterlichen Literatur bis zum Ende des zwölften Jahrhunderts*, hat eben diese Vorgänger eingehend dargestellt⁵.

Wenn Freder auch mit seinem *Carmen* in dieser Tradition insgesamt zu sehen ist, so kann doch vor allem ein Gedicht namhaft gemacht werden, das der unmittelbare literarische Ausgangspunkt für sein *Carmen* auf Hamburg gewesen zu sein scheint. Es ist die berühmte 1387 Hexameter umfassende *Urbs Noriberga Illustrata carmine Heroico, per Helium Eobanum Hessum, Anno M. D. XXXII.*, zuerst gedruckt bei J. Petreius, Nürnberg 1532, danach erstmals nachgedruckt in der Gesamtausgabe der Gedichte *Operum Helii Eobani Hessi Farragines duae*, 1539⁶.

⁴ A. Buck (Hrsg.), *Die Rezeption der Antike. Zum Problem der Kontinuität zwischen Mittelalter und Renaissance*. Wolfenbütteler Abhandlungen zur Renaissanceforschung, Bd. I (Hamburg, 1981), S. 119-128.

⁵ Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft, 2 (Hildesheim-New York, 1980).

⁶ Vgl. die Neuausgabe von J. Neff, *Helius Eobanus Hessus Noriberga Illustrata und andere Städtegedichte*. Lateinische Litteraturdenkmäler des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts, 12 (Berlin, 1896).

Freder muß die Ausgabe von 1532 schon während seines Studiums in Wittenberg kennengelernt haben. Vermutlich hatte ihn dort Justus Jonas selbst darauf aufmerksam gemacht, der seit seiner Studienzeit in Erfurt mit Eobanus Hessus eng befreundet war und dem dieser seine Gedichte zu schicken pflegte⁷. Eobanus Hessus (geboren bei Frankenberg in Hessen 1488, † Marburg 1540, seit 1536 Professor daselbst) war auf Melanchthons Empfehlung 1526 von Erfurt an die in Nürnberg neu gegründete St. Aegidien-Schule gekommen, wo er bis 1535 als Lehrer tätig war. Freder, der gleichfalls auf Empfehlung Melanchthons nach Hamburg gekommen war, befand sich also in einer Hessus vergleichbaren Situation, als er sich zu seinem *Carmen* entschloß, auch wenn dies bereits gleich nach seiner Ankunft der Fall war und nicht wie bei Hessus erst nach einem mehrjährigem Aufenthalt.

Daß Freder durch die *Noriberga Illustrata* motiviert wurde und sie als Vorbild vor Augen hatte, wird durch V. 1205-1236 evident, wo er in einem Bescheidenheitstopos erklärt, als poetischer Anfänger der Größe seines Gegenstandes kaum gewachsen zu sein (V. 1207-1208 *nec satis est infans tanto mea Musa labori | arenti tenuis cui manat flumine vena* bot Laetus vielleicht eine Anregung für V. 83f.), und dann fortfährt (V. 1210-1211):

*Materia haec plectro dignissima carminis esset,
Hesse, tui (esset onus tantis hoc viribus aptum).*

Hiermit erinnert er an die *Noriberga Illustrata* und deutet an, daß Hamburg einen ebenso würdigen Gegenstand biete und Eobanus Hessus für ein solches Gedicht der geeignetste Verfasser sei. Anschließend wird Hessus in Übereinstimmung mit seiner damaligen außerordentlich großen Reputation unter den deutschen Humanisten⁸ als Dichter gepriesen (V. 1212-1215):

*Hesse novenarum decus immortale sororum
Teutonicique soli clarissima fama, perenne
Hessiaca lumen, laus, lux et gloria terrae,
Cuius fama volat totum diffusa per orbem ...*

V. 1213 scheint sich auf das Titelepigramm zu beziehen, das Eobanus Hessus selbst seinem ersten größeren Werk, den *Bucolica* 1509 vorangestellt hatte:

⁷ Vgl. G. Kawerau, a.O., bes. Nr. 1, 21, 34, 48, 59, 69, 121, 231, 351, und C. Krause, *Helius Eobanus Hessus, Sein Leben und seine Werke* (Gotha, 1879), S. 145, 225f.

⁸ Vgl. allgemein die grundlegende Darstellung von C. Krause, a.O.

*Primus Teutonico pavi pecus orbe latinum,
Sive ea fama aliquid, sive ea fama nihil.*

Freder erklärt in V. 1216ff., Hessen sei durch Hesus zu Ruhm gekommen wie Mantua durch Vergil, Verona durch Catull oder Sulmo durch Ovid. Als erster habe er die Musen vom Parnaß nach Deutschland (*nostras ... in oras*) gebracht (wieder ein Bezug auf das erwähnte Epigramm!), so daß sie sich hier im Norden schon wohler fühlten als an der griechischen Musenquelle. Eobanus wird schließlich sogar als hessischer Orpheus dargestellt (V. 1227-1230):

*Attonitae et stupidae sublati auribus astant,
Quotquot ubique ferae vastis in saltibus errant,
Hessidos in celsis pugnacis rupibus orae
Hessiacum blando mirantes Orphea cantu.*

Man könnte annehmen, dies sei ein gängiger Vergleich im Lob eines herausragenden humanistischen Dichters. Seine Herkunft läßt sich hier jedoch klar bestimmen. Freder führte hier einen Vergleich aus, den Justus Jonas wenige Monate zuvor in seinem Empfehlungsbrief zu der lateinischen Psalmenübersetzung des Hesus benützt hatte (der Brief ist datiert 1. August 1537, zuerst gedruckt in: *Psalterium univsum*, Schwäb. Hall März 1538; Freder kannte ihn also im Manuskript⁹). Nachdem Jonas dort zuerst *illius Hessici Davidis(!) citharam* gerühmt hatte, schrieb er: *Et mirum non sit, si ad sic expolitae Davidicae illius citharae dulcissimum et vere musicum sonum non solum omnes, qui literis, musis aut fidibus non inimici sunt, sed et veluti ad Orphea quendam arbores atque saxa accurrant*. Freder konnte der besonderen Zustimmung von Jonas sicher sein, wenn er in das an eben diesen adressierte Gedicht ein Kompliment für Hesus aufnahm und weiterentwickelte, das Jonas soeben für seinen Freund Hesus verwendet hatte (auch Hesus' Marburger Freund und Kollege Johann Drach bezeichnet im Anschluß an Jonas den ersten 1539 als 'hessischen Orpheus' und 'zweiten David'¹⁰). Jonas und vielleicht auch Freder waren sich dabei gewiß bewußt, daß Eobanus Hesus selbst den Begriff eines hessischen Orpheus zuerst geprägt und seinen Freund und Lehrer Mutianus Rufus so bezeichnet hatte. Im *Epicedion* auf denselben schrieb er 1526 (zuerst gedruckt 1531; *Farr.* S. 292):

*Interiit fatis crudelibus Hessicus Orpheus,
Musarum patriae gloria Rufus erat.*

⁹ Siehe auch Kawerau, Nr. 351.

¹⁰ Siehe C. Krause, a.O., Bd. 2, S. 213.

*Rufe per Hessiacos quondam notissime colles,
Quis tua flere satis funera moesta queat?*

Hessus hatte damit einen Vers aus dem antiken griechischen Grabgedicht auf den Bukoliker Bion (um 100 v. Chr.) adaptiert (Ps.-Moschos, *Epitaph. Bion.* 18: ἀπώλετο Δώριος Ὀρφεύς/), welchen er selbst in seiner Übersetzung des Gedichts (zuerst 1531) mit den Worten *Interiit fato crudeli Dōricus Orpheus/* wiedergegeben hatte. — Freder spricht an der erörterten Stelle schließlich die Erwartung aus (V. 1231 ff.), daß sein Hamburg-Gedicht, wenn nicht aus anderem Grund, so doch als ein aus einer guten Absicht entsprungener Versuch von der Stadt wohlwollend aufgenommen wird, wenigstens bis ein anderer glücklicherer Dichter dereinst ihr Lob auf glänzendere Weise (*splendidiore ... carmine*) singen wird.

Bezeichnet Freder auf diese Weise die *Noriberger Illustrata* als das poetische Vorbild für sein etwa gleich umfangreiches *Carmen in laudem urbis Hamburgae*, so sind in seinem Gedicht auch eine Reihe von aus der *Noriberger* direkt übernommenen Motiven und Ausdrucksweisen zu beobachten. Hessus ließ am Anfang seines Gedichts die Musen an der Pegnitz bei Nürnberg sich niederlassen (V. 1 ff.), Freder spart das Motiv für den Schlußteil seiner Beschreibung auf. V. 1083 ff. haben die Musen an der Elbe bei Hamburg ihren Aufenthalt genommen. Auch das Motiv, literarische Vorgänger und Vorbilder zu nennen, hat Freder mit seiner preisenden Nennung eben von Hessus auf das Ende seines Gedichts verschoben. Hessus nannte in V. 140 ff. als seine Vorgänger die spätantiken Dichter Ausonius mit seinen Gedichten auf Trier und Bordeaux (7 bzw. 41 Verse) und Sidonius Apollinaris mit seinem Lob der Stadt Narbonne (*Carm.* 23 mit 512 Versen, die jedoch nicht ausschließlich dem Städtelob gewidmet sind), sowie den Humanisten Hermann Buschius († 1534) mit seinem Gedicht auf Leipzig (1504, 435 Verse). In dem allgemeinen Preis der Bauten Nürnbergs schrieb Hessus V. 163-165:

*Dii, quales arces, dii, qualia moenia cerno
Qualibus urbanas exstructas molibus aedes,
Qualia perpetuo surgentia culmina saxo;*

Freder übernimmt einen Teil der Vorstellung und den Versschluß, wenn er an analoger Stelle von den Hamburger Backsteinbauten spricht (V. 182-183):

*Nulla lutosa domus datur hic spectanda, sed omne
Coctilibus surgunt in maxima culmina saxis*

(vgl. auch Ovid, *Met.* 4, 57f. über die Mauern Babylons / *Coctilibus muris*; die Stelle bei Hessus scheint im übrigen ihrerseits von Buschius, *Lipsica*, V. 239ff., beeinflußt zu sein: *Huius quam(!) celso consurgunt aggere muri, / Quam(!) cingunt crebris munitam turribus urbem! / Quam(!) late occurrunt omni sine sorde plateae! / Hic pulchros alte fastigia tollere cernis(!) / Undique et aequata procedere fronte penates.*.) Freder schildert ferner den Umfang der Stadt mit ähnlichen Ausdrücken wie Hessus (*ambitus urbis* jeweils am Versende, in V. 207 bzw. V. 225, Maßangabe jeweils in *stadia*). Auch Hamburgs rege Handelstätigkeit beschreibt Freder mit Worten, die er der *Noriberga* entnahm; vgl. dort V. 828-832:

*Tam celebris non pauca fori commercia possem
Si numerare velim, quae vulgi postulat usus
Omnia quae populo venduntur, emuntur, aguntur
In medio conventa foro, quod tempore nullo
Cessat et insano strepitat prope murmure turbae*

mit Freders V. 231ff., zitiert oben S. 299. (*Venduntur, emuntur* bei Hessus wird bei Freder zu *vendente et emente*; die Antithese ist im juristischen Sprachgebrauch heimisch, im antiken Latein aber schon bei Plautus belegt, so daß ihre Herkunft schwieriger zu fixieren ist als die des analogen Paares *importare/exportare* bei Laetus; vgl. jedoch vor allem Cicero, *Or. pro Cluentio* 148, der aus einem Gesetzestext zitiert, *quicumque fecerit, vendiderit, emerit, habuerit, dederit*, und von Hessus möglicherweise direkt verwertet worden ist, da das Verbenpaar *vendere/emere* sonst meist in umgekehrter Reihenfolge gebraucht wird und es hier wie bei Hessus mit einem asyndetisch gestellten Verbum des Tuns verbunden ist).

Die Segnungen des Friedens heißen bei Freder und Hessus—jeweils am Versschluß—*commoda pacis* (V. 369 bzw. V. 231), der Rat der Stadt wird—jeweils am Versschluß—verherrlichend *sancti sacer ordo senatus* genannt (V. 634 bzw. V. 69, vgl. Buschius, *Lipsica*, 251, *sanc-tique senatus*/). Die Gärten außerhalb der Stadt und die *convivia* im Grünen werden am Ende beider Gedichte mit ähnlichen Worten geschildert.

Es ist jedoch auch nicht zu verkennen, daß Freder seinen Lobpreis gegenüber dem des Eobanus Hessus stark umakzentuierte. Hessus hatte die Bauten Nürnbergs ausführlich und ins Einzelne gehend beschrieben, bei Freder wird dies mit dem allgemeinen Preis in V. 176ff. abgetan. Dagegen ist die Schule, auf deren Errichtung in

Nürnberg Hessus erst in V. 1313ff. relativ kurz zu sprechen kam (vielleicht weil er ihr schon 1526 eine eigene Elegie gewidmet hatte), bei Freder ins Zentrum nicht nur des Textes, sondern auch seiner Aufmerksamkeit gerückt—(V. 428 ff.), und zu der Prominentenliste Freders V. 693-995 findet sich bei Hessus vollends nichts Vergleichbares. Das Schwergewicht liegt deshalb bei Freder nicht mehr auf der Beschreibung der äußeren Erscheinung der Stadt, sondern auf dem Enkomion ihrer geistig führenden Schicht. Damit machte er das Gedicht noch offener und unmittelbar seinem Zweck, sich diese zu verbinden, dienstbar. Durch diese Ausrichtung ist das Gedicht zugleich stärker zeitgebunden und wohl auch deshalb im sechzehnten und siebzehnten Jahrhundert weniger nachgedruckt worden als die *Noriberga Illustrata*, deren Beschreibungen im wesentlichen auch noch in den folgenden Jahrhunderten gültig waren (Neuaufgaben erschienen 1539, 1549, 1564, 1665, 1697) und die allerdings auch das voraus hatte, daß sie von dem humanistischen Dichterkönig Eobanus Hessus stammte.

Die einzige literarische Produktion, auf die Freders *Carmen* nach unserer gegenwärtigen Kenntnis einen erheblichen Einfluß ausübte, ist das hier vorgestellte Loblied auf Hamburg aus der Feder des Laetus. Dieses gewinnt durch seine Einfügung in den Kontext von *De re nautica* freilich noch eine neue Funktion, und zwar in Hinsicht auf den Adressaten des Lehrgedichts, die Republik Venedig. Die lobende Beschreibung von Lübeck, Danzig und Hamburg dient dem Ziel, Bedeutung und Gewicht der nordeuropäischen Seestädte den Bewohnern der wichtigsten südeuropäischen Seestadt vor Augen zu rücken und darüber hinaus zu zeigen, daß der Handel auf Nord- und Ostsee dem auf dem Mittelmeer nicht nachsteht. Laetus hatte schon zuvor innerhalb des dritten Buches (S. 93 ff.) die Küstenlinie des Mittelmeers und anschließend die der Ostsee beschrieben und betont, daß das im Norden gelegene Meer, der *Gotthicus sinus*, an Ausdehnung, Gestalt und Nutzen dem Mittelmeer ähnlich sei (S. 94). Die Parallelisierung von Ostsee und Mittelmeer wird am Ende der Beschreibung noch durch folgende Verse unterstrichen (S. 98):

*Haec equidem duo sunt Europae lumina, cunctos
Quae populos et regna beant: quibus ista Tonantis
Arbitrio data bona putes, ut plurima nostris
Usibus aequa ferant, et inundent commoda regnis.*

In diesem Sinne dient auch das Lob Hamburgs, seiner Schifffahrt

und seines geistigen Lebens, dem Bestreben, den Norden gegenüber dem Süden aufzuwerten und seine venezianischen Gastgeber wie die humanistisch Gebildeten allgemein davon zu überzeugen, daß die Welt des Nordens, aus der er kommt, einen Vergleich nicht zu scheuen habe. Mit der Präsentation eines lateinischen Lehrgedichts in Venedig verfolgte der dänische Humanist natürlich letztlich das gleiche Ziel.

Wie weit sein Anspruch berechtigt war und ob er die Venezianer überzeugen konnte, muß dahingestellt bleiben. Auf diesen größeren Zusammenhang einzugehen, ist hier nicht möglich. Unser Versuch, die Hamburg-Verse des Laetus in ihrer historischen Situation zu erklären und in ihre poetische Tradition einzuordnen, hat aber wohl einen Beitrag zum Bild dieser Stadt im Spiegel des Humanismus geliefert. Zugleich ist an einem neuen Beispiel sichtbar geworden, welche Bedeutung Wittenberg für die Entwicklung und Verbreitung der humanistischen Dichtkunst in Deutschland und darüber hinaus hatte. Eobanus Hessus, Justus Jonas, Johann Freder, Ludolph Priggius, Johann Stigel, Johann Aepinus, Matthaeus Delius und Erasmus Michael Laetus, die Dichter und die Bedichteten, sie waren alle Freunde und meist Schüler Melanchthons¹¹.

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¹¹ Ich möchte auch an dieser Stelle Prof. Dr. W. W. Ehlers, Hamburg, und Prof. Dr. C. J. Classen, Göttingen, für die hilfreichen Bemerkungen danken, die sie zu einem Entwurf dieses Aufsatzes beisteuerten. Sein Inhalt wurde auf der Wissenschaftlichen Sitzung der Joachim Jungius-Gesellschaft in Hamburg am 5. Februar 1982 vorgetragen. Nachtrag: Meiner Schülerin Chr. v. Seht, die an einer Dissertation über das humanistische Stadtgedicht arbeitet, verdanke ich zwei wichtige Ergänzungen. (1) In seiner 1574 in Frankfurt am Main veröffentlichten Dichtung *De re publica Noribergensium libri III ad Amplissimum ac Sapientissimum Inclytae Noribergensis Senatum*, in der übrigens auch Eobanus Hessus gerühmt wird (Bl. 39), beschwert sich Laetus, daß die "einäugigen" Venezianer sein Werk *De re Nautica* nicht angemessen belohnten (Bl. 16): *Nautica nam Venetis defero nostra; maritam| interea amitto: solatia nulla Cyclopes,| praemia nulla meis aequata laboribus addunt.* (2) Das Verbenpaar *importare/exportare* findet sich kurze Zeit später erneut in einem Hamburg-Gedicht. In der *Hypotyposis arcium, palatiorum ...*, Hamburg 1591, des Peter Lindeberg (1562-1596) steht S. 216f. ein Gedicht *Urbs Hamburga* in 30 Versen, von denen V. 10f. lautet: *Per varias gentes, per regna, per oppida fruges| navibus exportat procul importatque vicissim| omnigenas merces.*

James A. PARENTE, Jr.

TYRANNY AND REVOLUTION
ON THE BAROQUE STAGE:
THE DRAMAS OF JOSEPH SIMONS*

... for on lustful kings
Unlook'd—for sudden deaths from Heaven are sent;
But cursed is he that is their instrument.

Beaumont and Fletcher
The Maid's Tragedy (c. 1611)

During the second half of the sixteenth century, Jesuit educators promulgated the use of Latin school theater to revivify Catholic doctrine. Drawing on the Bible and early Church history, the Jesuits sought to apotheosize Catholic heroes, reinforce the faith of their viewers and warn against the perils of a godless life. "Ecclesia militans" was the watchword of the Counter-Reformation, and Constantine the Great, Godfrey of Bouillon and the order's own missionaries to the Far East all served to demonstrate the Church's victory over paganism¹. Hagiographical and biblical topics initially dominated the Jesuit repertoire, but in the early 1600's a new kind of religious tragedy arose, derived from Byzantine and western medieval history, in which the conflict between heretical kings and the Church were portrayed².

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¹ Consider, for example, the grand festival plays of the Jesuit dramatists active at the Wittelsbach court in Munich during the late sixteenth century in which casts of hundreds celebrated the victories of the Church over pagans, heretics and Turks. See the 1574 *Constantinus Magnus de Maxentio victor* (Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm. 573); the 1596 *Drama de Godefrido Bullone* (clm. 549 and clm. 19757²), and the 1597 *Triumphus Divi Michael Archangeli* (clm. 19757²).

² Two tragedies by the French Jesuit, Nicholas Caussin, *Theodoricus* and *Hermene-gildus* (both printed 1620), for example, demonstrate the misfortunes which beset Arian rulers who fail to heed the warnings of their orthodox advisers. See E. M. Szarota,

Although such historical dramas clearly fulfilled an ecclesiastical purpose, viz., the idealization of the Church's hegemony over the state, the same material was also used to develop an uniquely secular type of Jesuit drama. The five tragedies of the English Jesuit Joseph Simons (written in the 1620's and first printed together in 1656) exemplified the transformation of religious theater into political drama. The popular tyrants and martyrs of the preceding decades were no longer regarded exclusively as exempla of moral or immoral behaviour but as the tragic victims of courtly intrigues.

Simons' plays were the only works of an English Jesuit dramatist ever printed. Indeed, the popularity of three of the tragedies resulted in separate editions in Rome, Antwerp, and Liège before they were published again in the 1656 collected works³. The tragedies were, moreover, circulated in manuscript copies—just like the school plays of Simons' fellow Jesuit Edmund Campion⁴—for program sheets from

Geschichte, Politik und Gesellschaft im Drama des 17. Jahrhunderts (Munich and Bern, 1976), pp. 19-40.

³ C. J. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, vol. VII (Paris, 1890-1932), cols. 1214-15. *Zeno* was printed twice: *Zeno. Tragoedia Iosephi Simonis Angli ... Romae, Typis Haeredum Francisci Corbelletti*, 1648 and *Zeno ... Antverpiae, Typis Francisci Canisii*, 1649. *Mercia* was also printed by Corbeletti in 1648 in the same volume; it appeared in the Antwerp printing along with *Zeno*. A copy of the Antwerp volume, which was thought to, be lost (William H. McCabe, "The Play-List of the English College of St. Omer 1592-1762", *Revue de littérature comparée*, XVII (1937), p. 363, n. 2) is in Ghent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, shelf number BL 1770. McCabe also cites manuscript versions of *Zeno* and *Leo Armenus* located in Cambridge at the University Library and St. John's Library and at Stonyhurst Library (McCabe, p. 364, n. 2). The St. John and Stonyhurst manuscripts also include an anonymous *S. Damianus* play (performed St. Omer 1626) which McCabe attributes to Simons despite its structural differences (three acts instead of five, and ca. 1000 lines instead of Simons' customary 2500-3000). McCabe (p. 364, n. 1) also corrected Sommervogel's error about the date and printer of Simons' *Theoctistus*. McCabe cites *Theoctistus sive Constans in Aula Virtus* (Leodii: Steel, 1653). Sommervogel had falsely attributed the printing to Joannes Mathias Hovius and did not cite any date. In preparing this paper I used the 1656 edition of the tragedies: *Iosephi Simonis Angli ... Tragoediae Quinque ... Leodii, Typis Joannis Mathiae Hovii*, 1656 located in the Stadtbibliothek Trier. According to Sommervogel (col. 1215), Hovius printed the tragedies again in 1657 (copy in the B. L., London); they were subsequently reprinted at Cologne by Paul Metternich in 1680 (copies in the B. L., London and Staatsbibl. Bamberg) and 1697.

⁴ Edmund Campion wrote three plays for public performance while teaching at the *Clementina*, the Jesuit academy in Prague: two dramas in 1577, one on Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac, another on Saul. His most successful work, *Tragoedia Ambrosiana* was performed in 1578. Campion's dramas were never printed. The *Ambrosiana* was performed in Munich in 1591, and was reportedly copied at the behest of Jacob Gretser into a manuscript anthology of late sixteenth-century plays performed at Dillingen a.D. (cod. Dill. 221). See Jos. Simons (ed.), *Ambrosia: A Neo-Latin Drama by Edmund Campion*, S.J. (Assen, 1970), pp. xi-xii.

Switzerland and Italy indicate the influence of Simons while he himself was still teaching in the Low Countries⁵. Simons' own career typified the internationalism of his order⁶. Born in Portsmouth in 1593 (or 1594) as the Anglican, Emmanuel Lobb, Simons was converted to Catholicism by the English Jesuit Henry Floyd in Portugal around 1605 where he had been sent to prepare for the life of a merchant. For several years thereafter he studied at the English College at St. Omer. In 1616 he moved to Rome where he professed minor orders, and in 1619 he was received into the Jesuits at Liège. Simons' dramatic works were written during his tenure as master of rhetoric and poetry at St. Omer between 1623 and 1631. After professing his vows in 1632, Simons returned to Liège as professor of theology, philosophy and sacred scripture. In 1647 he was appointed rector of the English college at Rome on whose stage Simons' tragedies continued to enjoy much success. In 1650 he became rector of the English Theologate at Liège where his five tragedies were printed together in 1656. Simons was later sent on the English Mission and became Father Provincial for England in 1667. In that capacity Simons played

⁵ Simons' *Zeno*, first presented at St. Omer, 1631 (McCabe, p. 362), was performed at the Jesuits' English College in Rome in 1634 when Simons was supposedly teaching theology at Liège: Suzanne Gossett, "Drama in the English College, Rome, 1591-1660", *English Literary Renaissance*, 3 (1973), p. 92. A slightly altered version of *Zeno* was presented at the Jesuit school in Lucerne in 1642. According to the German program sheet, the play, though performed in Latin, was retitled: "Wol-Bewärte Tugend Pelagii. Umb welcher wegen ihme Zeno der Lasterhaftige Kayser/hat lassen das Leben nehmen". The program is reprinted in E.M. Szarota (ed.), *Das Jesuitendrama im deutschen Sprachgebiet: eine Periochen Edition*, vol. II, part I (Munich, 1980), pp. 491-502. It is also interesting to speculate whether Simons' plays had any connection to contemporary Jesuit drama in the Low Countries. There are records of a *Zeno* play performed in 's-Hertogenbosch in the 1620's as well as a "Tragedie van den goddelosen Keyser Zeno Isauricus" presented at Cassel in 1620 (a possible source for Simons?). See L. van den Boogerd, *Het Jezuitendrama in de Nederlanden* (Groningen, 1961), p. 225 and p. 245. Simons' tragedy on the Byzantine emperor Leo the Armenian may have inspired a drama presented at the Jesuit College in Luxembourg in 1630 even though both plays approach the subject differently. See Charles Rahlenbeck, "Le Théâtre..." p. 90 and Willi Harring, *Andreas Gryphius und das Drama der Jesuiten*, Hermaea, V (Halle, 1907), pp. 126-148. There Harring also provides program sheets for two 18th-century German Jesuit adaptations of Simons' *Leo Armenus*: the first was performed in Hildesheim in 1718; the second in Jülich, 1755.

⁶ The most complete version of Simons' life is contained in Henry Foley, *Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus*, vol. I, First Series (London, 1877), p. 272, n. 52. The DNB entry on Simons (vol. XVIII, pp. 257-258), a condensation of Foley's account, has provided the basis for subsequent popular descriptions: G.P. Sandham, "An English Jesuit Dramatist: Fr. Joseph Simeon, 1593-1671", *The Month* (London), n.s., 24 (1960), pp. 308-313.

a major role in attracting the future James II back into the Church and he died shortly thereafter in 1671.

Simons' tragedies easily fall within the two most popular categories of Jesuit drama at the time: tyrant and martyr plays. Indeed, in many instances tyrant and martyr dramas were not mutually exclusive, for tyranny was frequently demonstrated by the persecution of an innocent Christian. The designation of a work as a tyrant or martyr play depended on the title. Accordingly, Simons wrote three martyr dramas: *Vitus sive Christiana Fortitudo* on Diocletian's execution of St. Vitus; *Mercia seu Pietas Coronata* concerning the murder by the pagan king Ulferus of Mercia of his two Christian sons, and *Theoctistus sive Constans in Aula Virtus* on the assassination of the virtuous teacher and regent of the Byzantine boy emperor Michael III. Two other works, *Leo Armenus seu Impietas Punita* and *Zeno sive Ambitio Infelix*, portray the overthrow of heretical Byzantine emperors whose reigns were characterized by the unjust persecution of orthodox Christians. Simons' innovative treatment of these stock themes distinguished his work from his contemporaries, dazzled his school audiences with novel stage effects, and led to the politicization of religious drama.

In order to assess Simons' contribution to Neo-Latin dramatic history, it is necessary to consider the literary influences on his work. Like most Renaissance Latin tragedians, Simons adopted several formal and linguistic motifs from Senecan tragedy. "Sententiae", stichomythia, messengers, wise old men, vengeful ghosts, tyrannical ravings and soliloquies on the mutability of Fortune and the perils of kingship were cleverly inserted into each tragedy without disturbing the dramatic action. Although Simons doubtlessly had an intimate familiarity with Seneca's plays, he was not a slavish imitator⁷. He rejected many Senecan motifs common to the English and continental Neo-Latin stage in favor of variety and realism. In the brief prefatory note to his collected dramas, Simons excused the absence of a chorus on the grounds that musical interludes—none of which have survived—provided greater diversion between the five acts:

⁷ Simons' Senecan style has been previously noted in William H. McCabe, "An Introduction to the Jesuit Theater", unpublished dissertation, Cambridge, 1929. By the early seventeenth century, Senecan language and motifs dominated religious tragedy to such a degree that scholars have spoken of a "Seneca christianus" tradition. See Louis A. Schuster (ed.), *Henry VIII. A Neo-Latin Drama by Nicholas Vernulaeus* (Austin, 1964), p. 32, n. 17.

Paucis te monitum volo, Amice Lector, Tragoedias has Actioni potissimum ac Theatro destinatas fuisse. Hinc pro Choris data Interludia. Hinc Personarum eventorumque varietas major, quàm quae apud Antiquos. Ita nimirum, Veteris Tragoediae legibus benignius explicatis, novi saeculi fastidio consulendum fuit⁸.

Here Simons differed not only from Seneca, but also from other Senecan religious tragedians such as the Jesuit, Nicholas Caussin, and the Louvain school dramatist, Nicholas Vernulaeus, who had used the moralizing choruses to impart a theological message to the audience. Simons also dispensed with the familiar "nutrix" figure⁹, for his tragedies did not in fact contain any female roles. Certainly the absence of women was in keeping with the 1599 *Ratio studiorum* of the Jesuits which regulated such practices¹⁰. But rules alone did not determine Simons' method of composition. Other Jesuits continued to include women in their plays even though the *Ratio* forbade it¹¹. Simons' excessive pains to contrive dramatic situations without women—even to the point of modifying his sources¹²—arose from his efforts to create a realistic setting for his male actors. Female roles, be she seductress or saint, were undoubtedly considered of lesser

⁸ Simons, *Tragoediae Quinque ... Leodii, 1656*, sig. A2^v. All further quotations from Simon's plays are drawn from this edition.

⁹ Dramatists in the Christian Senecan tradition occasionally transformed Senecan characters, such as the cautious "nutrix", into foils for the Christian hero so that the latter's exemplary virtue might be more apparent. See J. A. Parente, "Counter-Reformation Polemic and Senecan Tragedy: The Dramas of Gregorius Holonius (1531?-1594)", *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 30 (1981), pp. 168-169.

¹⁰ G. M. Pachtler, *Ratio studiorum et Institutiones Scholasticae Societatis Jesu per Germaniam olim vigentes*, vol. II (Berlin, 1887), pp. 234ff. in which "Regula 13 Rectoris" ordained "nec persona ulla muliebris vel habitus introducatur".

¹¹ An exception was almost immediately granted to French Jesuit writers: Henri Fouqueray, *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus en France*, vol. II (Paris, 1910-1925), p. 717. German Jesuits continued to present female heroines—though, of course, portrayed by boys—despite the interdict; female martyrs were especially popular: St. Catherine of Alexandria appeared in 1602 (Munich; Dillingen a.D.) and again in 1606 (Innsbruck); St. Caecilia appeared in 1603 in Graz. See Johannes Müller, *Das Jesuitendrama in den Ländern deutscher Zunge*, vol. II (Augsburg, 1930), p. 101. For a discussion of Jesuit presentations of virgin martyr plays, see J.-M. Valentin, *Le Théâtre des Jésuites dans les pays de langue allemande*, vol. I (Bern, Frankfurt, Las Vegas, 1978), pp. 412-416, and J. A. Parente, Jr., "Martyr Drama of the German Renaissance", Diss. Yale 1979, pp. 181-225.

¹² The elimination of female roles posed a special problem in *Zeno*, for Zeno's wife, disgusted by her husband's epilepsy and alcoholic excesses, had him buried alive. As will be shown below, the absence of the empress allowed Simons to convey an important political message to his audience.

pedagogical value than the rhetorical practice a student actor could gain from impersonating a king or minister. Simons' conception of character was in fact more sophisticated than many of his Jesuit counterparts. Instead of introducing the allegorical figures so popular in the works of Jacob Bidermann to illustrate the psychology of the main characters¹³, Simons allowed their personalities to develop through dramatic action. Simons distanced himself from the familiar character typologies of Jesuit drama—just as he had from its didactic choruses—in order to create a theater in which his viewers were introduced to the complexities of human behaviour.

Simons' deviation from the dramatic practice of his fellow Jesuits was most likely due to his knowledge of contemporary English vernacular drama. Like other enterprising English Neo-Latin playwrights such as Matthew Gwinne¹⁴, Simons introduced formal elements of Elizabethan tragedy—dumb shows, plays-within-plays, and ghosts of a tyrant's slaughtered victims—into his works to achieve startling visual effects¹⁵. A more important borrowing, however, was Simons' adaptation of the Machiavellian intriguer and the motif of personal vengeance whose Senecan origins had been refined by the Elizabethans (one thinks first of Thomas Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* (c. 1585) and the numerous avengers in Shakespeare). Intriguers had appeared on the

¹³ Bidermann best employed allegorical figures to amplify his characterizations in *Cenodoxus* (performed 1602) where Philautia (Self-Love) and Cenodoxophylax (Cenodoxus' guardian angel) vied for the soul of the protagonist.

¹⁴ In his *Nero* of 1603, Matthew Gwinne outdid the Elizabethan imitators of Seneca by including numerous ghosts, dumb shows and suicides in his drama. Gwinne, like Simons, also printed elaborate stage directions with his plays. For further examples of the Neo-Latin dramatists' imitation of Seneca, see J. W. Binns, "Seneca and Neo-Latin Tragedy in England", in C. D. N. Costa (ed.), *Seneca* (London and Boston, 1974), pp. 205-234.

¹⁵ Whenever Simons' dramas have been discussed in the past, references have always been made to his exotic stage directions and their cost to the Jesuit colleges. *Zeno*, with its several dumb shows and battles, was very expensive to produce in Rome (Gossett, pp. 69-70). Simons also included several ballets and musical interludes in his tragedies to cater to the popularity of song and dance on the St. Omer stage: William H. McCabe, "Music and Dance on a Seventeenth-Century Stage", *The Musical Quarterly*, 24 (1938), pp. 313-322. Jakob Zeidler suggested that the importation of these Elizabethan stage effects no doubt appealed to an audience of English schoolboys who may already have been familiar with popular English vernacular theater: J. Zeidler, *Studien und Beiträge zur Geschichte der Jesuitenkomödie und des Klosterdramas*, Theatergeschichtliche Forschungen, IV (Hamburg and Leipzig, 1891), p. 38. Zeidler's study was flawed by his oversight that Simons himself was an Englishman.

Jesuit stage before—consider Caussin's *Theodoricus*¹⁶—but only as tools of the devil or as personifications of a particular sin like envy or greed. In contrast, Simons' transference of Elizabethan vengeance into a Christian context significantly altered the focus of standard Jesuit tyrant and martyr plays. Raging pagans who had formerly been impelled by religious objections to eradicate all Christians were now shown to be motivated by the political ambitions and fears of the Elizabethan villain.

A brief comparison of Simons' first play, a martyr drama on St. Vitus (performed 1623)¹⁷ and a near contemporary work, *Felicitas* (published 1620) by the French Jesuit Nicholas Caussin can serve to demonstrate the effect which Simons' importation of Elizabethan characterizations had on Jesuit martyr tragedy. As a strict imitator of Senecan form, Caussin concentrated on a single dramatic action: the martyrdom of St. Felicitas and her sons by the emperor Marcus Aurelius. Beginning with the arrest of Felicitas and her family, the tragedy was primarily concerned with the Roman High Priest's persuasion of the emperor to execute the Christian prisoners and the ensuing nobility of their deaths. Characters were derived from hagiographical conceptions of pagans and Christians so that the audience might best be encouraged to emulate the martyrs during the present era of religious persecution¹⁸. Simons was likewise attracted to the martyr topic for inspirational reasons since most of his students would one day participate in the trials of the English Mission where they might well be compelled to perish for the Church¹⁹. Simons' mode of presentation, however, revealed an intricate secular motivation for the protagonist's suffering rather than the customary animosity

¹⁶ Caussin frequently introduced traducers who bear false letters maligning innocent men to the king in order to precipitate the tragedy. In *Theodoricus*, the Arians, Cyprianus and Basilius, jealous of the Catholic Boethius' and Symmachus' enjoyment of Theodoricus' favor, produced letters which erroneously accused their enemies of treason and thereby brought about their ruin. Where Caussin used court intrigues to portray religious persecution, Simons adapted the same technique for political ends.

¹⁷ McCabe, "Play-List", p. 361.

¹⁸ Like other Jesuit dramatists, Caussin relied primarily on Laurentius Surius (*Historiae seu Vitae Sanctorum*, 1575), Aloysius Lipomanus (*De vitis Sanctorum*, 1565) and Caesar Baronius (*Sacrum Martyrologium Romanum*, 1586) for his hagiographical source material.

¹⁹ For an account of the perils awaiting Jesuits who returned to England as missionaries in the early seventeenth century, see Bernard Bassett, *The English Jesuits from Campion to Martindale* (London, 1967).

between Christians and Romans. Simons was not content to concentrate on a martyrdom alone; he was interested, rather, in presenting a panoramic view of Diocletian's court and the influence of Christianity on it. To this end, Simons focused on Diocletian's amorous passion for the boy Vitus and thereby shifted a major portion of the drama away from the martyrdom and onto the schemes of the emperor's jealous courtiers to regain his favor²⁰. In contrast to Caussin's adherence to his hagiographical source, Simons invented three different intrigues against Vitus, none of which were motivated by religion. The high priest Urbanus detested Vitus because the saint's cure of Diocletian's son threatened his own power and influence. Three of Diocletian's former lovers ("ephebi") were similarly troubled that the Christian boy might lure the emperor away from them. In contrast, the courtier Lupus (who, with Urbanus, shared a revealing name) hoped to exploit Diocletian's passion for the youth by converting him to paganism and thereby advance his standing at court. The dangers posed by each of these various plots, not the threat of paganism, resulted in the martyr's downfall. Tragedy no longer arose from the mere persecution of the defenders of the just faith, but from the unreliability of the world in which honest men perished because of political intrigue.

Simons continued his secular presentation of the martyr's opponents in his second tragedy, *Mercia* (first performed in 1624)²¹. As in *Vitus*, the several intrigues devised here to incite the pagan king of Mercia, Ulferus, against his Christian sons are attempts by various courtiers to harm the king for personal rather than religious reasons. The Christianity of the two young princes does not trouble the high priest Theargus as much as the king's rudeness towards him; similarly, the courtier Verecundus desires to punish Ulferus for condemning him to death despite years of loyal service. Simons' emphasis on the evil ministers rather than the king allowed him, moreover, to attain a

²⁰ Simons' emphasis on Diocletian's homosexuality in this play and on the homosexuality of the frivolous boy emperor, Michael III, in *Theoctistus* (where one of Michael's lovers is literally charred to death by lightning for his promiscuous behavior) leads one to suspect that homosexuality may have been a major problem in several Jesuit colleges. Perhaps the English colleges' strict disapproval of male actors playing female roles (McCabe, "Play-List", p. 361, n. 4) was a further precaution against such excesses.

²¹ McCabe, "Play-List", p. 363.

secondary pedagogical goal. Despite Ulferus' murder of his sons, his ultimate conversion and closing wish for a united Britain served to induce the young Jesuit viewers—many of whom still had Anglican parents—to hope for future Catholic successes in England. But, as will be seen, Simons' notion of how England should be guided back into the Church, reflected a cautious rather than evangelical spirit. The militant figures in Simons' plays were not the Christians but the conspirators and intriguers who sought to determine, if not benefit from, the workings of Divine Providence.

Simons' interest in conspiracy led him to derive three of his subjects from the bloody chronicles of Byzantine history. Byzantium had been a favorite topic among Jesuit dramatists since the 1570's, for it represented an ideal union between Church and state. Constantine and Justinian typified the exemplary Christian ruler while Theodosius the Elder and Mauritius portrayed the misfortunes which could befall those emperors who neglected the advice of the Church²². For Simons, however, Byzantium was the Christian version of the exotic and treacherous Mediterranean locales of Elizabethan drama. Simons did not share his order's positive view of the Eastern Empire; he preferred rather to portray the tyranny and revolutions of the Byzantine court for they enabled him to convey a timely political lesson.

English students no doubt recognized the parallels between Byzantine theocracy and Stuart absolutism, especially as outlined in the controversial speeches and essays of James I²³. The present plight of the English Catholic Church in exile was due in fact to the Stuart insistence

²² Besides the 1574 festival play in Munich (see note 1), Constantine subsequently appeared numerous times on the seventeenth-century Jesuit stage, most notably in Nicholas Avancini's *Pietas Victrix*, presented in Vienna in 1659 (Müller, p. 103). Justinian was characterized as an obedient and magnanimous ruler in Bidermann's *Belisarius* (presented 1607 in Munich). Theodosius the Elder was upbraided for his cruel devastation of Thessalonica (390 A.D.) by St. Ambrose in Edmund Campion's *Ambrosiana* (Act IV). The heartless refusal of the emperor Mauritius to ransom his imprisoned army from the Avar khan and his subsequent atonement for this crime was treated by the German Jesuit Jacob Keller in Ingolstadt, 1603. Since Mauritius continued to neglect his soldiers' welfare, he and his family were later slaughtered by the rebellious armies of Phocas who then succeeded him (Szarota, pp. 14-16).

²³ James I outlined his concept of the divinity inherent in kings in *The True Law of Free Monarchies* (1598) and the *Basilikon Doron* (1599), and continued to explicate it further in his speeches to Parliament. See C. H. McIlwain (ed.), *The Political Works of King James I* (Cambridge, USA, 1918) and H. Witte, *Die Ansichten Jakobs I von England über Kirche und Staat* (Berlin, 1940).

on Anglicism as the sole state religion. The recent controversy between Bellarmine and James I over the rights of the Papacy to interfere in temporal matters further increased Jesuit suspicions if not open belligerence, against the English crown²⁴. Thus in dramatizing two Byzantine revolutions against emperors who have renounced Christian orthodoxy, Simons appeared to be endorsing the Jesuit dream that Protestant rulers might one day be toppled from their thrones.

Simons' two revolution dramas, *Leo Armenus* (first performed between 1624 and 1629)²⁵ and *Zeno* (first performed in 1631)²⁶, do not, however, support the Jesuit hope that English Catholics may one day regain power through political activism. They are, rather, carefully written plays against the horrors of revolution. Simons' revolutionaries are the same ambitious characters who schemed for the execution of the innocent Christians in the earlier martyr plays. In his first Byzantine drama, *Theoctistus* (performed 1624)²⁷, Simons had transformed the basic conflict between pagan and Christian into a struggle between several courtiers eager for political power and the virtuous minister Theoctistus. By flattering the boy emperor Michael III, the Machiavellian intriguers had been able to gain Michael's permission to murder their innocent opponent. Similar aspirations impelled the revolutionaries in *Leo Armenus* and *Zeno*, where Simons complicated the issue by introducing the question of tyrannicide. In *Leo Armenus*, Michael Balbus, Leo's favorite advisor, planned the emperor's assassination after his political hopes were dashed by Leo's appointment of his own son as co-regent. Because of Leo's tyranny, Michael's revolt quickly gathered popular support, and after one abortive attempt, Balbus' henchmen finally succeeded in murdering Leo during Christmas services in Hagia Sophia.

Simons' attitude towards Balbus' revolution is not immediately clear. In fact, Simons' reluctance to publish *Leo Armenus* as a separate

²⁴ For a brief overview of this dispute, see James Brodrick, *Robert Bellarmine: Saint and Scholar* (London, 1961), pp. 264-303. On Bellarmine's political theory, see John C. Rager, *Political Philosophy of Blessed Cardinal Bellarmine* (Washington, D.C., 1926), especially pp. 44-57, and F. X. Arnold, *Die Staatslehre des Kardinals Bellarmin* (Munich, 1934), especially pp. 229-254. In addition, the Jesuit involvement in the Gunpowder Plot (1605) and James' subsequent enforcement of the Oath of Allegiance to the English monarchy further contributed to Catholic unrest.

²⁵ McCabe, "Play-List", p. 364.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 366.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 364.

volume might have been due to his own ambiguous reaction to the work. On the one hand, Michael shares all the characteristics of the condemnable pagan intriguers of the earlier plays: he is ambitious, worldly and deceitful. Conversely, as is evident from the title (*Leo Armenus seu Impietas Punita*), Simons presents the iconoclastic emperor as an enemy of orthodoxy. In the opening scene Leo sentences six Catholics to death for image-worshipping. But the haste with which the trial is conducted and the indifference of Leo's court to his decision suggests that the episode may have been added later to justify Balbus' actions²⁸. Similarly, Simons allowed the ghost of the murdered patriarch Tarasius to declare Balbus the instrument of God's vengeance (I.2) even though Balbus himself never refers to the divine righteousness of his actions. On the contrary, Balbus does not call on heaven but rather on the Furies to bless the success of his scheme:

Quacumque Avernii parte, Furiarum satrix,
Nox atra sedem figis, aspira meis
Secunda coeptis: vimque, mucrones, necem
Mecum auspicare. Molior vastum scelus,
Regem peremptum²⁹.

Only after learning of Tarasius' prophecy does Balbus interpret his own ambitions as God's will:

Amplector omen. Noctis augurium probo.
Me, me nefasti vindicem capitis Deus
Designat ultro. Moveor, impellor, trahor.
In execrandae pestis exitium feror³⁰.

In this way, Simons has separated the revolutionary as an individual from the revolutionary as an extension of the arm of God (a "vindex Dei"). There is little doubt that to Simons' mind Leo deserves a severe punishment because of his oppression of innocent Christians. It does not follow, however, that Balbus' actions are praiseworthy; he is merely an unwitting tool of God while he himself is pursuing

²⁸ The opening scene is primarily concerned with a debate among Leo's courtiers about whether a king, wine or truth wields the strongest power over man. The sentencing of the Catholics is dealt with in the first nine lines and then never mentioned again. It is interesting to note that the future revolutionary, Balbus, does not support the idea that all men are subject to the eternal laws and truth of God, but rather to the effect of too much wine on their minds.

²⁹ Simons, *Tragoediae Quinque*, p. 464.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 465.

his own questionable goals. Leo has been justly chastised, but the actions of the unscrupulous revolutionary are also reprehensible, for he has pursued his goal with the same ruthlessness of the tyrant he has overthrown.

Simons addressed the motivations for revolution further in his last tragedy, *Zeno*. Zeno was an unusual choice of subject for portraying a "coup d'état", for there is no evidence in any Byzantine source that Zeno was deposed and murdered by his successor Anastasius³¹. To be sure, Zeno was characterized as a tyrant by Byzantine and Counter-Reformation historians alike who all related numerous examples of his bloodthirstiness³². But the revolution of Anastasius was Simons' own invention and his artful inclusion of Zeno's execution into Anastasius' intrigue served to reinforce his unfavorable portrait of political upheaval.

Like Balbus, Anastasius was offended by the emperor's indifference to him. Slighted by the advancement of Zeno's cruel brother Longinus to the purple, Anastasius resolved not only to overthrow both tyrants but also to eliminate all other contenders to the throne. To this end, Anastasius unscrupulously incited his competitors to attack Zeno only to betray the same would-be revolutionaries to the emperor in the end. Anastasius' manipulation of the nobleman Pelagius in this manner provided Simons with an opportunity to juxtapose two different reactions towards tyranny. Anastasius and Pelagius both objected to the cruelty of the co-emperors, but, despite the immorality of the court, Pelagius held that revolution would only lead to greater chaos. He himself soon suffered the consequences of his conservatism, for he was subsequently executed on the basis of false evidence. Nonetheless,

³¹ Simons' primary source for Zeno's death is Caesar Baronius' *Annales Ecclesiastici*, A.D. 490, where the various opinions of the Byzantine chroniclers, Cedrenus, Zonaras and Evagrius were recorded. Evagrius only noted that Zeno died of an epileptic fit. Cedrenus and Zonaras believed that Zeno, seemingly dead on account of a wound (Cedrenus) or disease (Zonaras), was buried alive. In both cases, the empress Ariadna, who disliked her husband, forbade that Zeno's tomb be opened despite his calls for help: C. Baronius, *Annales Ecclesiastici*, Tom. VI (Antverpiae ex officina Plantiniana, 1658), pp. 462-463.

³² Baronius described the martyrdom of the courtier Pelagius in great detail (*Annales*, pp. 463-464). Cedrenus not only mentioned Pelagius' execution but also Zeno's murder of the rhetor Gazeus which Simons then included in his play: I. Bekker (ed.), *Georgii Cedreni Historiarum Compendium*, CSHB (Bonn, 1838), p. 622. Gazeus is forced by Zeno's co-emperor, Longinus, to drink poison (*Zeno*, II.3).

Simons made it quite clear that Pelagius' passive resistance which culminated in his martyrdom was a far better solution to tyranny than Anastasius' machinations. Pelagius' adoration of the crucifix as he relished the executioner's blows ("Nec semel satis est tamen / Fudisse; fas sit, morte numerosa frui")³³ contrasted sharply with Anastasius' preference for simulated virtue to genuine piety:

O quantum bonum est
 Simulata virtus! Saepe mendaci gradus
 Patuit honoris, vera dum pietas stetit
 Procul repulsa. Me meus fovet dolus.
 Facies theatrum, vultus actorem refert...
 In ore pietas fulget, in oculis pudor,
 In voce pondus, candor in verbis, modus
 Gestus per omnes: Corde sub nigro lues,
 Fraus, livor, ira, fastus, invisum scelus,
 Et Styx, et Orcus, et Furiae, et avidum Chaos!³⁴

In the end Zeno was punished for his crimes through a horrible death—Anastasius had him buried alive—but Anastasius himself hardly appeared a worthy reformer of the state. Indeed, Simons employed a vengeful ghost as prologue and epilogue to comment on the dangers awaiting all rulers who like Zeno and Anastasius lust after earthly power³⁵. Because of their reliance on their ambitions rather than their submission to God, both revolutionaries and tyrants expose themselves to the vagaries of Fortune. In contrast, true faith can only be evidenced by the forbearance of Pelagius and Simons' earlier martyr heroes who have renounced the courtly world.

The astonishing aspect of Simons' dissemination of this commonplace seventeenth-century opposition between Fortune and Piety³⁶ was

³³ Simons, *Tragoediae Quinque*, p. 86.

³⁴ Ibid., pp. 28-29.

³⁵ The shade of the tyrant Basiliscus whom Zeno ousted to regain the throne in 476 (only twenty months before, Basiliscus had seized power from Zeno) laments his earlier quest for the purple in the opening monologue. Overturning a table upon which symbols of power ("corona, sceptrum, trabea, liber, gladius, caeteraque imperii insignia") have been placed he declaims:

... Ite sanguineae domus
 Monumenta, triste sortis augurium meae.
 Devota furiis decora, queis merui Stygem.

(Simons, *Tragoediae Quinque*, p. 7).

³⁶ The recurrence of the Baroque theme of the mutability of Fortune and the fortitude man requires to withstand it was first detected in Simons by Julius Rüttsch, "Ein Barock-Monolog", *Trivium*, 4 (1946), pp. 1-19. Rüttsch's observations were based on an analysis of a monologue spoken by prince Ulfadus (*Mercia*, V. 1) as he was awaiting martyrdom.

that the instruments of Divine Vengeance were just as condemnable as the tyrants themselves. Though new to Jesuit theater, this complication did not originate with Simons. The problems arising from man's assumption of God's avenging role ("Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord", *Rom.* 12:19) had precipitated many tragedies in Elizabethan revenge plays. Avengers such as Hieronimo in Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* (c. 1585) and Vindice in Tourneur's *Revenger's Tragedy* (1607) had become so possessed by their desire to rectify the injuries sustained by their families that they lost control of their reason. Their excessive quest for vengeance only led to further bloodshed and their own destruction³⁷. Although Simons' intriguers were dominated by ambition rather than the more personal blood-revenge of Kyd and Tourneur, they shared the illicit fury of the Elizabethan avengers. Simons merely transferred the implicit conflict in the vernacular plays between God and man as avengers into a clearly Christian context in which man was faulted for his failure to recognize the folly of his actions. Indeed, to emphasize God's exclusive role, Simons dedicated his collected five tragedies to "Deo Trino et Uno optimo maximo Scelerum Vindici Virtutum Remuneratori"³⁸. Vitus, Theocistus and Pelagius were the models Simons encouraged his students to emulate for they realized man's inability to repulse injustice without God's assistance.

Anglican polemicists would have no doubt been surprised that such conservatism was being preached in the Jesuit schools abroad. After all, as Lewis Owen had declared in his scandalous *Running Register* of 1626, the English exiles learned only "Equivocating, Lying, Cheating, Fornication, yea Treason, and the murdering of Kings and Princes"³⁹. Such enthusiasm for political action was, however, completely foreign to Simons' intentions. It is well known, of course, that the fears of Owens and other detectors of Jesuitical stratagems had not been entirely unfounded. Many Englishmen still remembered the vehement outburst of the first generation of English Catholics

³⁷ For a thorough discussion of Kyd and contemporary writers of dramas of revenge, see F. Bowers, *Elizabethan Revenge Tragedy* (Princeton, 1940; 1971³), especially pp. 62-153.

³⁸ Simons, *Tragoediae Quinque*, sig. A2.

³⁹ Lewis Owen, *The Running Register: Recording a True Relation of the State of the English Colleges, Seminaries and Cloysters in all forraigne parts* (London, 1626), p. 53.

abroad, especially the militancy of William Allen and Robert Persons, who were dedicated to the reconversion of England to the Church⁴⁰. Until recently tyrannicide had been considered a drastic but permissible means for deposing an heretical ruler by many Jesuit thinkers. Indeed, Juan de Mariana's promotion of tyrannicide in his notorious *De Rege et Regis Institutione* (1599) had greatly contributed to the creation of the revolutionary cloak-and-dagger Jesuit stereotype which Protestant polemicists used to defame their opponents⁴¹. Only the intervention of the Jesuit General Aquaviva in 1610 and again in 1614 could induce the order's political theoreticians from supporting the violent removal of a monarch. By the 1620's, the Jesuits had realized that insurrection was not the best means for them to secure a lasting political influence in consolidated European states like France and England⁴². Simons' political tragedies on the follies of revolution were most likely written to promote this newly formulated conservatism. To be sure, Simons early martyr dramas, *Vitus* and *Mercia*, still contained exhortations to English youths to endure whatever persecution might befall them on their return to England. But the Byzantine plays were clear warnings to separate piety from political ambitions. Even Persons himself in his later years learned to temper his aspirations: he no longer pleaded for reconversion but for toleration and religious

⁴⁰ For a good overview of the Jesuits' stormy relationship to the English crown around 1600 and their involvement in the Gunpowder Plot, see E. L. Taunton, *The History of the Jesuits in England* (London and Philadelphia, 1901), pp. 274-331.

⁴¹ Mariana's handbook in which the assassination of Henri III by the Dominican Jacques Clément was lauded contained the frankest exposition of an individual's right to depose an heretical and/or tyrannical king. Other Jesuit political writers, such as Francisco Suarez and Luis de Molina, adopted the more cautious view that tyrannicide should be used only as a last resort, if at all. Indeed, Bellarmine in his late writings disavowed his earlier support of political action by the people against a tyrant and relied instead on the right of prudent Papal intervention to heal the religious ills of a nation. For a summary of Jesuit opinions on tyrannicide, see Valentin, *Le Théâtre des Jésuites*, vol. I, pp. 151-162.

⁴² Aquaviva addressed his decree of 1610 against the promulgation of tyrannicide to the French Jesuits whose reputation had recently been harmed by the assassination of Henri IV by the Catholic fanatic Francois Ravaillac. Despite Aquaviva's warnings to the Provincials not to support Mariana's teachings, Jacob Keller (*Tyrannicidium* 1611) and Suarez (*Defensio fidei catholicae*, 1613) favored tyrannicide in dire circumstances. To counteract the increasing tendency to categorize all Jesuits as revolutionaries, Aquaviva forbade any writing on tyrannicide or in favor of the temporal power of the Pope in 1614. See Guenter Lewy, *Constitutionalism and Statecraft during the Golden Age of Spain: A Study of the Political Philosophy of Juan de Mariana, S.J.* (Geneva, 1960), pp. 146-151.

freedom⁴³. The inherent pessimism of Simons' attitude towards revolution arose from this same tacit, but prudent, acknowledgement that Catholicism would no longer be the dominant religion in England. The primary task of the new English missionaries was therefore not so much to proselytize as to minister to the Catholic minority. With the establishment of a Jesuit Province for England in 1623, the Jesuits no longer regarded themselves exclusively as Catholic missionaries to an heretical land, but as priests with spiritual responsibilities to a growing Catholic laity⁴⁴. The private piety of Theoctistus and Pelagius, not the secret intrigues of Balbus and Anastasius, was the most effective way to counter the instability of a Catholic's spiritual life in early seventeenth-century England. By portraying the revolutionary as unfavorably as the tyrant, Simons reminded his zealous countrymen that only God, not man, retained the power to alleviate the trials of human existence.

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⁴³ In his *Judgment of a Catholicke English-man* (1608), Persons tried to convince James I that forcing Catholics to take the Oath of Allegiance would only engender further violence like the Gunpowder Plot. Peace could only be assured, Persons argued, if the king would tolerate the different religious beliefs of his fellow Englishmen. See W. K. Jordan, *The Development of Religious Toleration in England* (Cambridge, USA, 1936), pp. 501-503, and T. H. Clancy, *Papist Pamphleteers* (Chicago, 1964), pp. 125-158.

⁴⁴ The new English Provincial, Richard Blount, consolidated the administration of the Jesuit colleges abroad with internal affairs in England. His judicious direction of the Province greatly contributed to the Jesuits' stable relationship to Charles I who in turn granted them a modicum of religious toleration. See Bassett [n. 19], pp. 139-224.

Andrée THILL

JACOB BALDE (1604-1668) ET VIRGILE

Le Bimillénaire de la mort de Virgile, célébré avec éclat en 1981, a replacé le plus grand poète de Rome au centre des études latines et nous a invités à nous interroger davantage sur les prolongements de l'influence virgilienne dans les siècles modernes. Plus modestement, le Colloque international sur «Jacob Balde (1604-1668) et son temps», qui s'est tenu à Ensisheim, en Alsace, en octobre 1982, a montré la renaissance de l'un des derniers et des plus importants poètes néo-latins. Il m'a semblé intéressant, dans ce contexte, de voir quelle a été la part de l'imitation de Virgile chez le poète jésuite et comment se manifeste la présence de Virgile à Jacob Balde.

On sait que Jacob Balde a été considéré à son époque comme un Horace : «*teutscher Horatio*», disait-on, titre honorifique à la manière des anciens, décerné à une série de poètes¹. C'est en effet par un recueil lyrique—quatre livres d'*Odes*, ou *Lyrice*, suivis d'un livre d'*Epodes*—que Jacob Balde a conquis, dès leur parution en 1643, une réputation européenne². Lyrique par tempérament et par goût, il a imité Horace pour la métrique et le ton, pratiquant comme lui l'ode morale et politique, avec une volonté délibérée de lui donner, par la forme générale et le style, un équivalent moderne et chrétien.

Mais Horace n'est pas, tant s'en faut, le modèle unique du poète jésuite, qui savait écrire dans la manière de n'importe quel poète latin classique ou tardif et qui se réfère aux plus grands d'entre eux dans son *Art poétique* (*Dissertatio praevia de studio poetico*, 1657). Il a suivi Sénèque dans sa tragédie biblique *Jephtias* (1637), Stace dans les *Sylvae* (1643), Boèce dans *Philomela* (1645), Ovide dans

¹ Cf. l'ouvrage de E. Schäfer, *Deutscher Horaz. Die Nachwirkung des Horaz in der neulateinischen Dichtung Deutschlands* (Wiesbaden, 1976).

² L'édition la plus accessible actuellement est Jacob Balde, *Carmina Lyrica recognovit annotationibusque illustravit P. Benno Müller*, Regensburg, 1884 (réimpression Olms, Hildesheim, 1977).

Urania Victrix (1663). Pour Virgile, ce n'est pas du côté des genres littéraires qu'il faut chercher. Balde n'a guère pratiqué la poésie en hexamètres, sauf dans des poèmes de circonstance et dans une œuvre de jeunesse, la *Batrachomyomachia Homeri* (1628), qui n'est pas virgilienne.

Pourtant Virgile est présent dans l'ensemble de l'œuvre de Jacob Balde. Dès l'antiquité, et surtout depuis l'époque alexandrine, l'imitation avait franchi la barrière des genres. La tendance à la bigarrure n'a fait par la suite que s'accroître et la complexité changeante des formes est un trait commun à tous les grands écrivains latins tardifs³. Si l'on veut l'exemple d'un poète chrétien, l'influence de Virgile chez Prudence est manifeste surtout dans la *Psychomachia*. Mais elle n'est pas absente pour autant de ses œuvres non épiques comme le *Peristephanon* ou le *Cathemerinon*.

Ainsi, en parcourant des odes de Jacob Balde qui présentent jusque dans les détails les caractéristiques de l'ode horatienne, il arrive plus d'une fois que l'on rencontre une strophe tout inspirée de Virgile. Bornons-nous à un exemple.

Le poète qui a dû quitter de bonne heure sa province natale lors des premières dévastations de la Guerre de Trente Ans, a consacré une série de poèmes à l'exil. Ce sont de longues odes morales, écrites après la prise de Brisach par Bernard de Saxe-Weimar en 1638, où il adresse des exhortations stoïciennes à des compatriotes réfugiés en Suisse ou au Tyrol⁴. Or voici comment il dépeint celui qui est contraint de quitter sa petite patrie :

Ode *Ad exules Alsatas*, *Lyrice* III,34, v. 25 à 32 :

*It torvus exul Vinmario fugam
mandante, qualis colle Lucretili
depulsus, aut qua valle primum
cornua circumiere nata,

taurus reducto pascua ruminat
linquenda visu. Stat prope candida*

³ Cf. J. Fontaine, *Études sur la poésie latine tardive d'Ausone à Prudence* (Paris, 1980), p. 775.

⁴ Cf. A. Thill, «Jacob Balde (1604-1668) : une ode de l'exil (*Lyr.*, III,34)», in *Études rhénanes. Mélanges offerts à Raymond Oberlé* (Genève, 1983), et «L'Alsace et l'exil dans l'œuvre de Jacob Balde», in «Jacob Balde», volume à paraître en 1984.

*conjux et armenti magister
attonitus : nemus omne mugit.*

«Il s'en va, l'exilé, l'air farouche, quand Vinmarius
l'assigne à la fuite, semblable au taureau qui, chassé
de la colline du Lucretile ou de la vallée qu'ont
d'abord reconnue ses cornes naissantes,

rumine d'un regard qu'il tourne vers eux les pâturages
qu'il lui faut quitter. Auprès de lui se tient sa blanche
compagne ainsi que le maître du troupeau, frappé de stupeur :
tout le bois n'est que mugissements».

Voici transposé en strophes alcaïques un passage de la *Troisième Géorgique*, v. 223-228⁵, que Balde transforme en une métaphore après l'avoir détaché de son contexte d'origine, la toute-puissance de l'amour chez les animaux. En effet, le taureau de Virgile, vaincu par un rival dans sa lutte pour une belle génisse, «s'en va et s'exile au loin sur des bords inconnus» et «les yeux souvent tournés vers son étable, il a quitté le royaume de ses aïeux». C'est Virgile aussi qui, dans le même passage, a parlé de la participation de la nature et de ce «vaste mugissement que renvoient les forêts».

Les éléments virgiliens que Balde a regroupés dans les deux strophes de l'ode en question ont surtout une valeur ornementale et symbolique. Mais on y retrouve aussi une émotion, adaptée certes à un contexte humain (la génisse est devenue curieusement la «blanche compagne» qui partage le malheur de l'exilé), mais qui est déjà présente dans les vers des *Géorgiques*.

Il est légitime de penser que la sensibilité de Virgile, sa compassion aux souffrances des êtres n'ont pas été étrangères au choix de cette image pour illustrer un poème où Balde s'apitoie sur le sort de ses concitoyens. Cette impression est confirmée par les nombreux échos de la *Première Bucolique* que l'on entend dans ces mêmes odes sur l'exil et la dépossession :

⁵ Cf. Virg., *Géorg.* III,219-228 (223sq.):

*... reboant silvaeque et longus Olympus.
Nec mos bellantis una stabulare; sed alter
victus abit longeque ignotis exsulat oris
multa gemens ignominiam plagasque superbi
victoris, tum quos amisit inultus amores :
et stabula adspectans regnis excessit avitis.*

«maintenant l'épée ennemie du Goth (entendez du Suédois)
a moissonné tes champs et sa soif brutale a dévasté tes
vignes»

*nunc arva postquam messuit hosticus
ensis Gothunni et bruta sitis tuas
vastavit uvas...* (Lyr. III,6,9-11)

Ces vers rappellent la plainte de Mélibée :

*Impius haec tam culta novalia miles habebit?
Barbarus has segetes?* (Buc. I,70-71)

Nous verrons d'autres exemples où Balde a lu Virgile comme le poète fraternel des misères humaines.

Plusieurs fois aussi on rencontre, sinon une strophe, du moins un vers de Virgile placé à un endroit privilégié où il attire l'attention. Écrivant à la manière d'Horace, qui a souvent introduit une ode par un vers-hommage à Pindare ou à Alcée (l'exemple le plus célèbre est *Nunc est bibendum*, Ode I,37), Jacob Balde donne pour *motto* à une ode horatienne un vers de Virgile.

L'une de ses plus belles odes à la Vierge Marie, celle qui conclut le recueil, IV,40, et qui est intitulée «À la Vierge Mère», commence par ces mots :

O quam te memorem, dea?

paroles d'Enée à sa mère Vénus qu'il n'a pas encore reconnue, au L.I, où elle a pris l'aspect d'une vierge chasseresse : *O quam te memorem, virgo* (on notera que c'est Virgile qui écrit *virgo*, et Balde, *dea*⁶). Ne s'agit-il, pour le poète néo-latin, que de la reprise d'une formule comode, ou faut-il voir au-delà? Il me semble que, par la citation de Virgile, le poète catholique veut suggérer, dès l'ouverture du poème, qu'il s'adresse à la Vierge Marie *comme un fils à sa mère* et qu'il se met sous sa bienveillante protection. Il l'appellera plus loin, en parodiant Horace, «mère aimable des désirs purs», *decentium / mater blanda cupidinum*⁷, convertissant, si l'on peut dire, Vénus elle-même!

⁶ Le changement s'explique par une raison d'ordre métrique : l'avant-dernière syllabe du vers glyconique doit être brève. Mais Jacob Balde n'a pas hésité, en général, à appeler Marie *nympha*, *diva* et même *dea*.

⁷ Horace écrit, C. I,19.1 : *Mater saeva cupidinum*.

Nous retrouverons, dans un contexte très grave et religieux, le procédé qui consiste à introduire un poème par un vers important de Virgile.

On saisit, à propos de tels exemples, la complexité du problème de l'imitation chez ce poète moderne et chrétien : comment démêler, en présence d'un emprunt, la part qui revient à la figure rhétorique, ou à la langue poétique, et celle d'une inspiration qui touche aux idées et aux sentiments ?

Il faut d'abord éviter de s'attacher à des mots ou à des expressions *isolés*, innombrables et qui ne signifient rien, sinon que le poète néo-latin écrit avec les matériaux de *tous* les poètes anciens qu'il a appris par cœur à l'école des Jésuites (on sait que Virgile occupait dans le *ratio studiorum* une place privilégiée, surtout en classe de seconde, qui est la classe de poésie)⁸. En revanche, il existe de nombreuses réminiscences volontaires liées à des thèmes et des motifs dont le remploi peut donner des indications sur l'image que notre poète a de Virgile. Laissant de côté ce qui ne relève que d'une « intertextualité » générale, j'ai regroupé une série d'exemples où l'imitation de Virgile est manifeste et indiscutable. Ils feront apparaître les formes multiples de l'utilisation de modèles virgiliens, allant d'un puzzle un peu extérieur jusqu'à une transposition hautement significative.

La densité de l'imitation n'est pas directement proportionnelle à sa profondeur. C'est pourquoi je n'insisterai pas le plus sur un texte tel que l'*Ode* I,8, intitulée *Equus Trojanus*, écrite dans sa plus grande partie avec des groupes de mots venus en droite ligne du Livre II de l'*Enéide*.

Il s'agit d'un poème emblématique, où Jacob Balde, pour qui la Guerre de Trente Ans est une répétition de la Guerre de Troie, compare les Suédois, appelés en Allemagne par la faction protestante, aux Grecs enfermés dans le cheval de bois que les Troyens, pour leur malheur, accueillirent imprudemment dans leurs murs. Ce symbolisme n'est pas nouveau : il remonte au fameux *Intus, intus est equus Trojanus* des *Catilinaires*. L'ode de Jacob Balde, écrite en mètres alcaïques et dans la manière allusive de l'ode et de l'élégie, suit en revanche de près, quant à la langue, l'épisode du Livre II de l'*Enéide*, au point que certaines strophes semblent presque un *centon virgilien*. Imitation directe, précise, mais néanmoins assez formelle, qui ne donne pas

⁸ F. de Dainville, *L'éducation des Jésuites (XVI^e-XVIII^e s.)* (Paris, 1978), p. 170 sqq.

d'indication pour la relation profonde de Balde à Virgile et témoigne seulement de sa parfaite connaissance du texte de son modèle et de son éblouissante virtuosité métrique⁹.

Outre ces réminiscences textuelles «*en situation*», on trouve disséminés dans l'œuvre lyrique de Jacob Balde une *grande variété d'éléments virgiliens* provenant en particulier des *Bucoliques*. Le poète néo-latin a emprunté à Virgile des traits charmants qui font partie du genre pastoral (très en honneur à son époque, notamment en Allemagne) et qui s'intégraient particulièrement bien aux poèmes consacrés à ce qu'on appelait dans ce pays la «Jesu- und Maria Minne».

Ainsi, en une sorte de parodie chrétienne, le poète a transféré à la Madone l'offrande de fleurs choisies par le berger Corydon pour le bel Alexis. Au début de *Philomela* il s'adresse à un enfant qui doit confectionner une guirlande de telle sorte que fleurs claires et fleurs sombres alternent à intervalles réguliers, 5 et 10 — comme les perles d'un rosaire, dirait-on, une imitation assurément originale!

*Lilia cum rosis,
alterna post myrtum ligustra,
ut series sit amoena, misce.
Flos quintus album, flos decimus nigrum
distingat apto nexilis ordine.*

«Mêle aux roses les lys, place après le ligustre le myrte, afin que la couronne soit aimable. Que la cinquième fleur fasse ressortir le blanc, la dixième le noir, tressées qu'elles seront en ordre habile».

On reconnaît les *alba ligustra* de Virgile, les *lilia*, le *myrtus* et, plus loin, les *violae*. Le contraste *albus/niger* provient également de la *Deuxième Bucolique*¹⁰. Les roses et les lys sont les fleurs de Marie et le symbolisme chrétien se mêle aux souvenirs de Virgile. Étrange destinée : la guirlande composée autrefois dans une épigramme par Méléagre de Gadara pour sa bien-aimée Héliodora (*A.P.*, V,147) est devenue

⁹ Voici, à titre d'exemple, deux vers de l'Ode I,8 *Equus Trojanus* :

... *ovanti
pars similis pedibusque lapsus
et provehenteis subiiciunt rotas*

Cf. Virg., *En.* II,235 :

... *pedibusque rotarum
subiiciunt lapsus*

¹⁰ Cf. Virg., *Buc.* III, v.18 : *Alba ligustra cadunt, vaccinia nigra leguntur* ; v. 47 : *pallentes violas* ; v. 54 : *et te, proxima myrte*.

chez le poète jésuite, en passant par le poème philopédique de Virgile, la parure de la Vierge Marie!

Philomela contient d'autre part un «Chant près de la crèche», dans lequel l'Ame «fondant de joie» parle à l'Enfant Jésus. Dès le début elle compare l'enfantelet, sous forme hymnique, aux créatures les plus tendres et les plus délicates de la nature, et l'on entend comme un écho de la *Septième Bucolique*, où Corydon appelle hors des flots, également sous forme hymnique, la blanche Galatée :

*Nerine Galatea, thymo mihi dulcior Hyblae,
candidior cycnis, hedera formosior alba* (Buc. VII,37-38)

«Fille de Nérée, Galatée, plus douce pour moi que le thym de l'Hybla, plus blanche que les cygnes, plus belle que le lierre blanc».

Virgile stylisait ainsi l'appel de Polyphème à Galatée, dans Théocrite, qui la disait «plus blanche que le lait caillé, plus tendre que l'agneau, plus fringante que la génisse, plus luisante que le raisin vert»¹¹.

De manière tout à fait analogue, mais en vers adoniques, *Philomela* entonne avec une *série de comparatifs* sa Berceuse pour l'Enfant Jésus :

<i>Pusio solis</i>	<i>Christe rubenti</i>	<i>pusio miti</i>
<i>purior igni,</i>	<i>pulchrior ostro,</i>	<i>dulcior uva,</i>
<i>pusio sudis</i>	<i>parvule verna</i>	<i>Christe Britanno</i>
<i>clarior astris</i>	<i>gratior aura</i>	<i>mollior agno.</i>

Très virgiliens sont les comparatifs *dulcior* et *mollior*, ainsi que le nom *aura*¹².

«Petit enfant, plus pur que le feu du soleil, petit, plus brillant que les claires étoiles, Christ, plus beau que la pourpre éclatante, petit, plus charmant que le souffle du printemps, Enfant, plus doux que le raisin mûr, Christ, plus tendre que l'agneau de Bretagne»¹³.

Un chant de ce type s'inscrit dans une tradition à la fois chrétienne et germanique, celle des «Krippenlieder» que l'on rencontre aussi chez un contemporain allemand de Balde, Angelus Silesius. L'une

¹¹ Theocr., *Id.* XI, *Le Cyclope*, v. 19-21.

¹² Cf. *Buc.* VII,37: *thymo mihi dulcior Hyblae*; VII,45: *Muscosi fontes, et somno mollior herba*; *Géorg.* IV,417: *illi dulcis spiravit crinibus aura*. Mais Balde écrit *pulchrior* pour des raisons d'ordre métrique, à la place du virgilien *formosior*.

¹³ On trouvera une traduction de l'ensemble du poème dans Jacob Balde, *Choix de poèmes lyriques* traduits par Andrée Thill (Université de Haute Alsace, Centre de Recherches et d'Études Rhénanes, 1981), p. 46.

de ses *Geistliche Elegien* a pour titre «Die Psyche seuffzet nach ihrem Jesu wie ein einsam Turteltäublein nach seinem Gemahl» (L'Ame soupire après son Jésus comme une tourterelle esseulée après son époux), thème identique à celui de *Philomela* (qui est l'Ame chrétienne soupirant comme un rossignol pour son Bien-Aimé). Mais si on considère le début du poème de Silesius : «Du allerschönstes Bild, wem soll Ich Dich vergleichen? (ô la plus belle des images, à qui dois-je te comparer?)», on saisit immédiatement la différence par rapport à Balde. Car, tandis que le poète allemand recourt à des comparaisons courantes dans l'hymnique chrétienne médiévale (fleurs, étoiles, anges), le poète néo-latin superpose à celles-ci un modèle virgilien qu'il fait sien et que l'on reconnaît cependant. Jacob Balde écrit en humaniste qui a à sa disposition, pour toutes circonstances, un riche arsenal de moyens d'expression, de métaphores et d'autres figures d'origine antique. Avec un art consommé il les adapte à son sujet. Ainsi, dans la série que nous venons de voir, il compare l'Enfant Jésus au *raisin* et à l'*agneau*, présents dans le *Cyclope* de Théocrite, modèle des vers en question de Virgile, mais qui font partie également de la symbolique chrétienne.

L'une des caractéristiques de l'art de Balde est justement la fusion harmonieuse de représentations bibliques et de formulations païennes. Or Virgile se révèle souvent comme le poète qui se prête le mieux à cette fusion — et ce n'est sans doute pas un hasard.

Le poème de Balde resté le plus célèbre est l'*Epinicium Divini Amoris* ou *Chant de Triomphe de l'Amour Divin*, composé sur le modèle du *Pervigilium Veneris*¹⁴. L'Ame délivrée y fête ses noces célestes avec le Christ. Mais avant que la mort ne la délivre de ses entraves terrestres, elle doit connaître la souffrance, pareille au cerf blessé qui aspire à la source où se désaltérer :

*Impotens cruenta ferre Mens Amoris spicula,
currit illa, currit instar fixa cervi saucii,
cuius haeret acta tergo canna venatoria.
Ut sitim desiderato fonte ponat igneam,
per vepreta, per fruteta fertur atque retia,
donec ad scaturientem lassus undam concidat.*

¹⁴ Voir A. Thill, «La Philomela de Jacobus Balde. Création poétique dans une paraphrase néo-latine», *Revue des Études latines*, 58 (1980), 428-448.

«Impuissante à porter les traits sanglants de l'amour, l'Ame court, elle court comme le cerf blessé, *qui porte au dos fiché le roseau du chasseur*. Pour étancher sa soif de feu à la source désirée, il court par les buissons, par les fourrés et les filets, jusqu'à ce qu'il tombe, épuisé près de l'eau jaillissante».

Le point de départ de ce passage est le *Psaume 41*, que l'on chantait autrefois dans la liturgie des morts : 1. *Quemadmodum desiderat cervus ad fontes aquarum, ita desiderat anima mea ad te, Deus*. Cette comparaison avec le cerf assoiffé a été reprise en de multiples variations par les poètes baroques allemands comme Angelus Silesius et Paul Gerhardt. Mais Jacob Balde, lui, «contamine» le verset biblique avec une comparaison semblable venue de Virgile, le passage du Livre IV de l'*Enéide* où l'errance de Didon est celle d'une biche blessée : *qualis coniecta cerva sagitta ... haeret lateri letalis arundo*. Dans le psaume, le cerf a soif, et il a été souvent représenté buvant à la source sacrée. Mais chez Balde il est, de plus, *blessé*, et *c'est cette blessure qui va devenir l'essentiel* : elle est à la fois brûlure et jouissance.

L'imitation de Virgile va bien au-delà de l'emprunt formel. À l'arrière-plan se lit la tragédie de Didon. (Une analyse des termes de la première strophe de l'*Epinicium divini Amoris* m'a montré que tout le début du L. IV de l'*Enéide* est présent à l'esprit du poète)¹⁴. Voulant peindre la blessure mortelle qu'inflige à l'Ame chrétienne l'Amour divin, c'est à Virgile, peintre de la passion, que le poète baroque a eu recours. Philomène, pécheresse repentie, dont l'amour fatal s'adresse au Christ, est une Didon à qui la grâce n'a pas manqué. La comparaison de Virgile sert à l'expression du *paradoxe mystique* qui s'exprime dans la strophe suivante : *Dulce votum, grata mors est occumbendo vivere*, «Doux désir, chère mort que de vivre en succombant».

Nous sommes ainsi parvenus à des formes d'imitation virgilienne où les termes sont inséparables des idées et de la sensibilité. Après Virgile, poète de l'amour, c'est Virgile, poète de la souffrance humaine et de la mort qui inspire Jacob Balde.

Et ceci dans un poème où l'on pourrait croire à première vue que Balde fait de Virgile une utilisation toute symbolique, comme dans l'Ode *Equus Trojanus*. Il s'agit de sa première œuvre importante, le *Poema de Vanitate mundi* (1636), où l'anéantissement de Troie sert d'*exemplum* initial. Il est hors de doute que Balde imite avec des intentions morales le L. II de l'*Enéide*, où Saint Augustin voyait déjà un *dulcissimum spectaculum vanitatis*. Il imite également Lucain, chez

qui les ruines de Troie, visitées par César, préfigurent pour ainsi dire le thème de la *vanitas* : *etiam periere ruinae* (Bell. civ. IX,969). Au Moyen-Age et à la Renaissance, Troie est un *exemplum* que l'on rencontre toujours à nouveau, et Balde écrit dans sa Préface au *De vanitate mundi* qu'il a «allumé (sa) torche à l'incendie de Troie». Il ne cite pas comme source les poètes latins, mais seulement la parole de l'Ecclésiaste, chère à Bossuet : *Vanitas vanitatum et omnia vanitas*.

Mais l'idée biblique est à nouveau illustrée avec les termes de Virgile. Le *Poema de Vanitate mundi* commence ainsi :

*Fuere Troes, Ilium,
Tros Ilium fuere,
fuit, fuit, domus inclyta,
nomenque Dardanorum.*

Or dans l'*Enéide*, L. II, v. 324-326, au moment où Troie est perdue, le prêtre Panthus, sauvant les objets sacrés, dit à Enée :

*Venit summa dies et inexorabile tempus
Dardaniae. Fuimus Troes, fuit Ilium et ingens
gloria Teucrorum.*

Balde a transposé les hexamètres de Virgile en un mètre plus populaire (trochées et iambes), en reprenant les mots importants qu'il fait résonner comme un glas. Ce n'est pas l'exemple seulement qu'il a repris, mais aussi la formulation si impressionnante de Virgile. Les poètes qui traitent ce thème ne remontent pas généralement jusqu'à Virgile, mais sans doute Balde a-t-il reconnu que Virgile est le premier à parler de Troie comme déjà détruite. Dans les profondeurs de son subconscient, d'où surgit le songe où lui apparaît Hector, Enée porte avec lui le tragique souvenir de la dernière nuit de Troie, qu'il raconte avec une douleur indicible à la demande de Didon :

Infandum, regina, iubes renovare dolorem (En. II,2).

Ce qui, chez Homère, n'était que menace pour l'avenir¹⁵ est devenu réalité dans l'*Ilioupersis* et sert de passé à l'*Enéide*. Ainsi Panthus peut dire à Enée : *Fuimus Troes, fuit Ilium*.

Jacob Balde a vu en Virgile un peintre de la douleur humaine.

¹⁵ Il., VI,448 : «Il viendra le jour où elle périra, la sainte Ilion». C'est le pressentiment d'Hector.

C'est à lui qu'il recourt dans un poème consacré à la Mère de Jésus au pied de la Croix (*Epod. XIII*). Cette épode suit dans son déroulement le *Stabat Mater* de Jacopone da Todi et les *Planctus* médiévaux, dont on retrouve à la fois les thèmes et les termes. Mais tout au début est placé le mot virgilien si puissant : *Infandum*, au même endroit du vers : *Infanda pateris, Virgo*, «Indicibles, ô Vierge, sont tes douleurs». Le poème tout entier est embrassé par cet *infandus dolor*¹⁶. Il faut encore évoquer dans ce contexte un autre passage significatif. Jacob Balde a décrit la face du Christ crucifié avec les termes mêmes qu'Enée emploie pour dépeindre le fantôme d'Hector et son corps martyrisé :

*squalentem barbam et concretos sanguine crines
vulneraque illa gerens, quae circum plurima muros
accepit patrios...* (En. II,278).

Les vers correspondants de Balde se trouvent dans l'*Urania Victrix* (ou Combat de l'Ame contre les assauts des Sens), où l'héroïne répond à un peintre envoyé par Visus, qui cherche à la séduire. Au lieu de peindre son portrait à elle, comme il offre de le faire, Uranie, l'Ame chrétienne, lui conseille de peindre le Christ en croix :

Suffixus clavis, concretus sanguine crines.

Et une autre expression provenant du même passage virgilien se retrouve dans un *Planctus* de la Mère de Dieu (*Elegiae Variae VII*) où Balde écrit d'après le modèle d'*Enéide* II,286 :

quales aspicio plagas, quae vulnera cerno?

La démarche poétique de Balde mérite que l'on s'y arrête pour l'utilisation qu'il fait des textes païens par rapport au récit christique. Dans la tradition chrétienne, les scènes du *Nouveau Testament* sont préfigurées par celles de l'Ancien, comme par exemple la mort du Christ par le sacrifice d'Abraham. Chez les pères de l'Église, le Christ «homme de douleur», correspond à l'Ebed Javeh, le serviteur souffrant du Dieu d'Israël¹⁷. Chez le poète néo-latin, émule des classiques de

¹⁶ On trouvera une traduction de l'*Epode XIII* dans notre anthologie, p. 42, citée en note 13.

¹⁷ *Isaïe*, 52.13-53.12 : «Voici, mon Serviteur prospérera; il montera, il s'élèvera, il s'élèvera bien haut. De même qu'il a été pour plusieurs un sujet d'effroi, tant son visage était défiguré, tant son aspect différait de celui du Fils de l'Homme, de même

Rome, s'ajoute à cette figure biblique, du moins dans la formulation, une figure virgilienne, celle d'Hector, qui a été aussi, pour la sensibilité latine, un «homme de douleur» qui s'est sacrifié pour les siens. C'est ainsi que l'ont vu les poètes tragiques, comme Ennius, que Virgile imite dans le songe. Lorsqu'Enée s'apitoie sur les plaies de son ami : *Heu mihi, qualis erat!* le disciple de Saint Ignace pouvait rapprocher son émotion de celle qu'il ressentait lui-même devant les souffrances du Christ en croix, dans la contemplation recommandée par les *Exercices spirituels*.

Virgile est le poète des larmes et de la compassion¹⁸, un poète qui connaît la mort, mais aussi l'au-delà et l'immortalité. Telle est la lecture qu'en a faite Jacob Balde, comme il apparaît dans un cycle d'odes des *Sylves*, intitulé *Apiarium*. Cet ensemble particulièrement important pour notre sujet est consacré à un miracle, comme en rapportait une tradition populaire. À Heidhausen en Bavière, le poète a vu une fois un essaim d'abeilles venu se fixer sur un crucifix au milieu des champs. Dans la plaie du côté du Christ, les abeilles jouissent d'un *hospitium* divin. Jacob Balde a repris ici un thème fondamental des *Géorgiques* et l'a transposé dans un registre chrétien. *Secura in Cruce quies* est la «parodie chrétienne»¹⁹ de la *secura quies* qu'offre la campagne de Virgile (*G.* II,467-471) et qui a déjà chez lui un sens presque religieux, puisque cette *secura quies* est un vestige de l'âge d'or²⁰. Les «abeilles virginales» (le XVII^e siècle les considérait encore comme telles) ont été conduites vers le crucifix par un «instinct divin» :

*Virgineae volucres, divina quis impetus egit
intrare Christi viscera.*

Or, pour Virgile, les abeilles ont part au divin qui pénètre tout :

esse apibus partem divinae mentis et haustus (*G.* IV,220).

Si les *Géorgiques* sont présentes comme toile de fond dans l'ensemble

il sera pour beaucoup de peuples un sujet d'étonnement... Méprisé et abandonné des hommes, homme de douleur et habitué à la souffrance... nous n'avons fait de lui aucun cas. Cependant, ce sont nos souffrances qu'il a portées».

¹⁸ Virg., *En.* I,462 : *Sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt.*

¹⁹ Cf. l'ouvrage de M. H. Müller, *Parodia christiana. Studien zu Jacob Baldes Oden-dichtung* (Zurich, 1964).

²⁰ Cf. Virg., *Géorg.* II,473-474 : *extrema per illos / iustitia excedens terris vestigia fecit.*

de l'*Apiarium*, dont certains passages sont écrits entièrement avec des mots de Virgile²¹, Jacob Balde s'est souvenu en particulier de la bougonie (G. IV, 281-285) qui lui a semblé l'expression du merveilleux. Sans qu'il y ait une référence expresse, le poème intitulé *Aenigma Samsonis* suppose la bougonie : une armée d'abeilles recouvre le corps du crucifié ; du miel coule de ses yeux et de ses blessures, de même que, chez Virgile, un nouvel essaim d'abeilles naît des chairs putréfiées des taureaux sacrifiés aux mânes d'Orphée, et que de la mort renaît la vie²². À nouveau, dans ce texte, l'imitation virgilienne se greffe sur la reprise d'un thème biblique (en l'occurrence celui du *fortis leo*). Je n'insiste pas davantage sur l'*Apiarium*, la question ayant été traitée de façon détaillée dans l'ouvrage de Urs Herzog, *Divina poesis*. En résumé, on ne peut que souscrire au jugement du germaniste zurichois : « Quand une dévotion baroque à la Croix et une piété attachée à la Passion peuvent être mises en parallèle avec un quiétisme bucolique antique et le mytheme de la bougonie, il se produit quelque chose qui est bien plus qu'un flirt rhétorique d'humaniste : une *parodia christiana* d'une profondeur qui manque généralement à l'imitation d'Horace »²³.

À ce propos, je voudrais donner un dernier exemple, personnel cette fois, tiré de l'*Urania Victrix*, qui m'a conduite à des considérations analogues. Cette grande œuvre mystique (1663) devait avoir une suite que la mort du poète, en 1668, a interrompue. Mais il reste de celle-ci quelques élégies en forme d'héroïdes chrétiennes. Uranie, l'Ame, a écrit à son Bien-aimé divin en se plaignant amèrement de son absence. Le Christ lui répond qu'il est toujours présent auprès d'elle sous l'hostie. Et c'est là que, dans le mètre ovidien, nous entendons un écho parfaitement reconnaissable de Virgile :

*An non sum praesens candenti Panis in orbe?
 Angelicum sumis, mystica liba, cibum,
 meque simul. Nonne hac nivea sub nube recumbo?
 abditus at vere, totus Homoque Deus.*

²¹ Cf. U. Herzog, *Divina Poesis. Studien zu Jacob Baldes geistlicher Odendichtung* (Tübingen, 1976), qui a montré le « dialogue » de Balde avec Virgile dans l'*Apiarium*.

²² Cf. Virgile, *Géorg.* IV, 554-558.

²³ *O.I.*, pp. 4-5, « Wenn barocke Kreuzandacht und Passionsfrömmlichkeit mit anti-kem bukolischem "Quietismus" und dem Vergilischen Mythologem der Bugonia sich in Vergleich bringen, dann geschieht hier, was mehr ist als ein rhetorisch-humanistisches Kokettieren : *parodia christiana* in einer Tiefe, die der Horaz-Parodie allermeist abgeht ».

*Sacratum puro laticem cum suscipis ore,
 purpureo nostri sanguinis imbre mades.
 Et dubitabis adhuc, an sim tibi proximus absens?
 si casto regnet pectore vera Fides!*

«Ne suis-je pas présent dans l'orbe blanc du Pain? Tu prends le mets des Anges, offrande mystique, et moi en même temps. Ne reposé-je point sous ce voile de neige, caché, mais réellement, tout entier, Homme et Dieu. Lorsque tu bois d'une bouche pure le suc sacré, tu ruisselles de la pluie de pourpre de mon sang. Et tu douteras encore qu'absent je sois tout près de toi? Si seulement, dans ce chaste cœur, régnait la Foi véritable!».

Selon la plus stricte obédience catholique, le poète jésuite dévoile le mystère de l'Eucharistie. On songe à l'hymne médiévale *Pange lingua*, où il est dit :

*Verbum caro, panem verum, verbo carnem efficit
 Sitque sanguis Christi merum, et si sensus deficit,
 ad firmandum cor sincerum sola Fides sufficit.*

Le texte de l'*Urania Victrix* est très proche de ces derniers vers. Mais dans son exposé dogmatique le poète a tissé une formule de Virgile, *Enéide* VI,808 *et dubitamus adhuc (virtutem extendere factis)* : ce sont les paroles qu'Anchise adresse à Enée après la revue des héros qui doit fortifier sa foi en sa mission : Tu as vu la grandeur future de Rome, lui dit-il en substance, *et nous hésiterions encore?* On serait tenté de dire : *Hommes de peu de foi!* Ce *et dubitamus adhuc* se retrouve maintes fois chez Balde. Il s'agit moins, me semble-t-il, de la réminiscence d'un vers célèbre que d'une rencontre entre le thème évangélique et le thème virgilien. Le discours d'Anchise est révélation d'une vérité cachée. Celui qui sait instruit celui qui doute ou qui hésite. La scène de Virgile est située aux Champs Elysées, Anchise est un juste, il prononce ces paroles sous l'effet d'une inspiration divine. Ne peut-on admettre que Balde a lu le Livre VI comme une *initiation* à des vérités plus hautes? Lactance affirmait dans les *Institutions divines* que «Virgile fut le premier de nos écrivains à ne point se trouver éloigné de la vérité», et il cite précisément à l'appui de cette affirmation le Livre VI de l'*Enéide* (à côté de la célèbre page théologique de la *Quatrième Géorgique*)²⁴.

²⁴ *Inst. div.*, I,5.11.

Ces quelques exemples que l'on multiplierait aisément auront pu donner une idée du vaste empan de la réception de Virgile chez un poète néo-latin. Elle va, comme nous l'avons vu, d'un jeu de centon très savant, mais assez formel, jusqu'à une transposition subtile qui témoigne d'un lien plus profond. Jacob Balde n'est pas seulement un humaniste qui met en pièces la poésie romaine pour la réutiliser à son gré. Les passages si singuliers où se révèle une imitation conjointe de Virgile et des textes bibliques rappellent les procédés et la sensibilité de Virgile lui-même qui, au Livre VI de l'*Enéide*, a mêlé à la *Nekuya* homérique des conceptions platoniciennes de survie, donnant ainsi à la catabase d'Enée un sens eschatologique²⁵.

Jacob Balde a engagé avec Virgile une sorte de dialogue, qui culmine dans l'*Apiarium*, mais que l'on sent affleurer ailleurs, quand il est question de nature et d'amour, de souffrance et de pitié, et même quand il est question du divin.

La conclusion à laquelle nous pouvions nous attendre après de semblables observations est que Jacob Balde a lu Virgile

1. en disciple des jésuites;
2. en tenant d'une tradition littéraire chrétienne;
3. enfin en poète mystique.

1. Virgile fait partie, dans l'éducation des jésuites, des auteurs du paganisme qui passent pour d'excellents maîtres de morale, parfaitement adaptés aux jeunes esprits. Sous le nombre et les cadences ils cherchent l'évocation prenante des actions et des sentiments humains, qui est la matière essentielle de la *Poésie*. C'est pourquoi, écrit de Dainville dans son ouvrage sur l'éducation des jésuites, «ils demandent à Virgile, le maître du cœur, le doux chantre de la peine humaine, d'ouvrir et d'épanouir, d'imprégner à jamais d'*humanitas* les âmes tendres de leurs écoliers»²⁶. Tout ce qui touche à nos devoirs, à notre destinée, à notre dignité d'hommes, c'est tout cela qu'enferment les leçons de Virgile. De plus, le poète païen ne représente-t-il pas, selon une expression de Jacob Balde dans son *Art poétique*, une *casta latinitas*, la seule qui soit permise au poète chrétien²⁷?

²⁵ C'est ce qui ressort des études de E. Norden (P. Vergilius Maro, *Aeneis Buch VI, erklärt von E. N.*, Leipzig, 1916) et de F. Klingner (Virgil, *Bucolica, Georgica, Aeneis*, Zürich, 1967) sur le Sixième Livre de l'*Enéide*.

²⁶ Cf. note 8.

²⁷ *Dissertatio praevia de studio poetico* (1657).

2. Par sa perfection poétique même, Virgile a souvent aidé à donner à la pensée chrétienne une forme littéraire. Mais depuis que le christianisme s'est «converti à la culture antique», selon l'expression de Peter Brown²⁸, il a été considéré aussi comme le poète d'une *sagesse spirituelle*, le prophète de la *Quatrième Bucolique*, un demi Père de l'Église. Cela est trop connu pour que nous y insistions. Plus que chez aucun autre poète latin, les humanistes chrétiens devaient trouver chez Virgile une poésie dépositaire d'une éthique, une «révélation mineure» complétant la révélation dogmatique. Virgile, à leurs yeux, et ce sera la vision des jésuites, avait trop de vertu pour n'être pas chrétien. Nul doute, après les exemples que nous avons vus dans l'*Apiarium* et l'*Urania Victrix*, que Jacob Balde ait lu Virgile comme le poète du pressentiment, de l'intuition mystérieuse. Il a aimé ses vers pathétiques où s'expriment la souffrance et la nostalgie, mais aussi un espoir.

3. Mais si Jacob Balde s'est parfois reconnu en Virgile, c'est enfin qu'il est lui-même un mystique. La poésie pour lui est théologique, *divina poesis*²⁹, ce qui l'apparente au *vates* antique. Les *Lyrice* eux-mêmes, où il suit de près Horace, laissent entrevoir cette tendance au mysticisme. S'il a, comme lui, écrit des odes morales et politiques, il a remplacé les vers où Horace chante Glycère ou Lalagé par des poèmes pleins d'amour dédiés à la Vierge Marie, à laquelle il voue une ferveur particulière et dont, s'il faut l'en croire, il eut un jour une vision³⁰. Une ode écrite pour la Vigile de l'Assomption s'achève sur l'idée de la noyade mystique : Marie, parvenue au ciel, plonge dans les ineffables profondeurs du divin³¹. L'*Apiarium* est une œuvre très représentative d'une sorte de piétisme et de mysticisme baroque. *Philomela*, contemporaine de la *Transverbération de Sainte Thérèse* du Bernin est marquée par la mystique érotique du *Cantique des Cantiques*. *Urania Victrix* enfin est toute entière une allégorie mystique : le thème central de cette poésie, les relations du corps et de l'âme, apparentent Balde aux poètes métaphysiques — φιλοσοφώτατος, écrit au début

²⁸ Cf. *The World of Late Antiquity from Marcus Aurelius to Muhammad* (London, 1971), pp. 300-363.

²⁹ Cf. l'ouvrage de U. Herzog, cité en note 21.

³⁰ Cf. *Lyrice*, IV,15 : *Descriptio Virginis, qualem in mentis excessu viderat*.

³¹ *Lyrice*, III,7,25. Le poème figure dans notre anthologie, p. 40.

³² Cf. A. Thill, «L'élégie néo-latine de Jacob Balde», in *Actes du colloque L'élégie romaine (Mulhouse, mars 1979)* (Paris, 1980), pp. 169-177.

du XIX^e siècle le pasteur Orelli dans la Préface de son anthologie de Jacob Balde³³. Le monde, pour ce poète baroque, est un ensemble de signes. Il a représenté la vie humaine comme un jeu d'échecs, une traversée, un rêve, une lyre, et il signifie souvent le mystique par le charnel. Ses exemples, il les trouve dans le monde qui l'entoure, *mais aussi dans sa culture*. Préoccupé de dégager des choses un sens spirituel, Balde s'est tourné—comment s'en étonner?—vers un poète latin qui est, lui aussi, mystérieux et profond et qui a le sens des choses cachées. Il a trouvé une *convenance mystique* (*mystice convenire* est une expression de l'un de ses modèles médiévaux³⁴) entre la passion charnelle de Didon et l'amour sacré de Philomela; entre le miracle de la bougonie et le crucifix aux abeilles; entre le martyre d'Hector et la passion du Christ.

Et pour avoir tant aimé Virgile, il a été touché parfois d'une sorte de grâce virgilienne. Voici un vers inspiré que je vous livre pour finir. Racine a imité librement dans *Phèdre* le beau vers de Virgile :

... *ille absens absentem auditque videtque* (*En.* IV,83)

«présente, je vous fuis, absente, je vous trouve». (Acte II, sc. III)

J'en reconnais la facture dans l'Epode XIII, le *Stabat Mater* de Balde, où il enferme le moment le plus pathétique, le regard de la Mère à son Fils et du Fils à sa Mère :

*Visam ac videntem visus ac videns premit
moerore ineluctabili.* (v. 5-6)

«Tu le vois, il te voit, et ce double regard
t'accable d'une douleur inéluctable».

Jacob Balde n'atteint pas toujours de tels sommets. Mais, ici, Chateaubriand aurait pu dire, comme il l'a fait de Racine, que «Virgile s'est encore une fois reproduit»³⁵ en un grand poète chrétien.

Mulhouse,
Université de Haute Alsace.

³³ *Jacobi Balde carmina selecta*, éd. Orelli (Turici, 1805).

³⁴ John Peckham, *Philomela*, parlant du chant du rossignol, écrit : *quia cantus isti / mystice conveniunt / legi Jesu Christi*.

³⁵ *Le Génie du Christianisme*, éd. Garnier-Flammarion (Paris, 1966), p. 340. Voir aussi notre article «Vergil-rezeption im Werke Jacob Baldes (1604-1668)», *Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft*, N.F., 8 (1982), 129-136.

Philip DUST

MILTON'S "EPITAPHIUM DAMONIS" AND "LYCIDAS"

While everyone has called attention to the similarities in the common pastoral tradition to which Milton's "Epitaphium Damonis" and "Lycidas" belong, an important series of similarities in the two poems themselves has not been noticed¹. Parker, Condee, and Bush, following Woodhouse, all emphasize the differences between the two poems². As important and valid as this emphasis is, a comment is needed on the precise use Milton made of the materials he had used in "Lycidas" in the later "Epitaphium". Whatever the disagreements about the dating of the "Epitaphium", it is clear that it was composed not long after "Lycidas"³. This closeness in dates accounts, I believe, for the inclusion of materials from the earlier poem in the later. In other words, Milton's last major effort in Latin poetry is partly the result of one of his early efforts in English poetry.

Central to previous pinpointing of differences in the poems is the contention that Milton was not really that close a friend to Edward King, while he was to Charles Diodati⁴. On the basis of an absence

¹ A key article by A. S. F. Woodhouse begins by emphasizing the common pastoral tradition, "Milton's Pastoral Monodies", in *Studies in Honour of Gilbert Norwood*, ed. Mary Estelle White (Toronto, 1952), 261-278. Douglas Bush reiterates the tradition of criticism that followed in the wake of this article in *A Variorum Commentary on The Poems of John Milton*, I, 284-297.

² Woodhouse, pp. 266-277; William Riley Parker, *Milton* (Oxford, 1968), I, 187-190; Ralph W. Condee, "The Structure of Milton's 'Epitaphium Damonis'", *Studies in Philology*, 62 (1965), 577-594; and Bush, 288-297.

³ In a recent note, Sergio Baldi has shown that Shawcross erred in thinking that there were two harvests in Italy and that he was followed in this error by Parker, Carey and Fowler in their edition, and Bush in his commentary. All these date the composition of the "Epitaphium" in October or November 1639. Baldi, on the basis of his correction, dates it rather in the autumn or winter of 1640. See "The Date of Composition of 'Epitaphium Damonis'", *Notes and Queries*, N.S., 25, No. 6 (Dec. 1978), 508-509.

⁴ Parker does at least admit that Milton probably "respected King's learning and personal character", and that the drowning was "a tragic event". *Milton*, I, 155.

of concrete evidence about the friendship of Milton and King and on the basis of the personal tone of the "Epitaphium" this seems to be the case. But is it enough to say that because of an absence of biographical information, we can conclude that Milton and King were not close? I think not. And if we accept the analysis of the stages of grief reflected in "Lycidas" made by Barbara Currier Bell, an analysis which is born out by the experience of anyone who has suffered the loss of a relative or close friend, then that poem is far more heartfelt than previous critics have perceived it to be⁵. In other words, I am not convinced that Milton's sorrow over Edward King's death was significantly less than over Charles Diodati's death. And so, I believe that even in terms of personal involvement there is more similarity in the two poems than has been admitted.

But setting aside this question, which has in the past been too hastily decided, there is the idealization of the theme of friendship in the abstract that both poems offer. Behind this is the eloquent classical expression of the theme from Cicero's pen, the *De Amicitia*. For Cicero, the solid foundation of any true friendship was that it be based on virtue. He mentions virtue no less than seven times in extended passages⁶. The last time is at the conclusion of the *De Amicitia*, a most emphatic place. It reads,

Haec habui de amicitia quae dicerem; vos autem hortor ut ita virtutem locetis (sine qua amicitia esse non potest) ut ea excepta nihil amicitia praestabilius putetis⁷.

This is all that I had to say about friendship; but I exhort you both so to esteem virtue (without which friendship cannot exist), that, excepting virtue, you will think nothing more excellent than friendship.

At the conclusion of his argument to the "Epitaphium Damonis" Milton describes Charles Diodati as

ingenio, doctrina, clarissimisque caeteris virtutibus, dum viveret, iuvenis egregius⁸.

⁵ "'Lycidas' and the Stages of Grief", *Literature and Psychology*, 25, No. 4 (1975), 166-174.

⁶ *Cicero: De Senectute, De Amicitia, De Divinatione*, ed. and trans. William Armstrong Falconer (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), pp. 139, 143, 144, 149, 159, 160, 204, 205.

⁷ *Cicero*, p. 211.

⁸ *John Milton: Complete Poems and Major Prose*, ed. Merrit Y. Hughes (New York, 1957), p. 132. All quotes and citations of the two poems in this essay are from this edition.

If we take especially into account the invective against the corrupt clergy in "Lycidas" as a tribute to the virtue of Edward King who was preparing for that clergy, "Lycidas" too founds friendship on virtue. And the distinction between deeds of earthly fame and true deeds of fame judged by God is a distinction between mere deeds of this world and truly virtuous deeds.

In addition to theme, the earlier poem has influenced the later in language, images, and quite a bit less, although somewhat, in structure. The river imagery symbolizing immortality finds a place in both. Biblical allusion to the faithful as sheep and the devil's agents as wolves is in both. Milton's decision to leave off pastoral composition for the larger epic form is expressed in both. And in both there is, at the end, an apotheosis of the dead in a Christian heaven.

Immediately catching our attention is the use of myrtle of the first two lines of "Lycidas" later in the "Epitaphium". Milton says there: "Carpere nunc violas, nunc summas carpere myrtos, / Et potui Lycidae certantem audire Menalcem!" (ll. 131-132). Hughes suggests that Milton is referring to the poetical contests at the Gaddian academy in Florence, but I suggest he is also remembering poetic exercises in which he and King participated back at Cambridge⁹. Earlier Milton had used the image in the "Epitaphium" in the same symbolic way, expressive of death and decay, that it had had in "Lycidas": "Nec myrteta iuvant" (l. 66). And in the same passage of the "Epitaphium" he expressed the dispersal of the sheep at their shepherd's death: "ovium quoque taedet, at illae / Moerent" (ll. 66-67). In "Lycidas" too Milton had referred to the sheep which "Rot inwardly, and foul contagion spread" (l. 127).

Milton's use of rivers that are underground in both poems evokes myths of the dead. Arethuse and Alpheus are symbols of the union of imperfection and virtue. They unite underground and emerge in immortality later. The rivers with which Milton sets the tone at the opening of the "Epitaphium" are also buried in caves and grottoes: "Fluminaque, fontesque vagos, nemorumque recessus" (l. 6). And the last river mentioned in the "Epitaphium" is Lethe: "Nec te Lethaeo fas quaesivisse sub orco" (l. 210). But he says that he will not seek Charles Diodati there, because the young man has achieved immortality. Earlier in "Lycidas" Milton has mentioned Orpheus and asked

⁹ Hughes, p. 136, n. 132.

what the Muse could have done when the mythic musician was sent "Down the swift Hebrus to the *Lesbian* shore?" (l. 63). Always in the ambience of the Orpheus myth there are intimations of immortality.

The wedding of Italian and English humanism, of which Milton and Diodati's friendship was an embodiment, is captured in the intermixing of Italian and English rivers. In the "Epitaphium" we find the English Colne, Ouse, Alne, Humber, Thames, and, interestingly enough in an underground district, the Tamora joined with the Italian Arno. But in "Lycidas" too there had been the same mixing of the waters: The English Cam and Dee had been used with the Italian Mincius.

The "grim Wolf" that lurks in "Lycidas" becomes many wolves in the "Epitaphium". The first reference (l. 28) in the latter poem, as Hughes' note explains, is a Vergilian reference to the superstition that if a wolf saw a man before the man saw him, the man became blind (*Ecl.* IX 53). It is in this sense sadly prophetic of Milton's blindness. Another reference to wolves is merely illustrative of common mindedness in the habits of men and animals (l. 97). But there is one reference to the wolves who attack the sheepfold which is the same as it had been in "Lycidas". Milton says that it was the work of him and his friend to chase lions to close quarters (we hope an exaggeration) and "Aut avidos terrere lupos praesepibus altis" (l. 42).

In the "Epitaphium" Milton expresses his desire to leave elegiac composition and turn to the epic. In keeping with his earlier plans for an epic, he reiterates possibilities from mythic British history. Inogene, Pandrasus, Brennus, Arviragus, Belinus, Ingraine, Arthur, Gorlois, Merlin alla Geoffrey of Monmouth, Malory, and Spenser, are all cited as potential characters of an epic (ll. 162-168). Milton says,

O mihi tum si vita supersit,
Tu procul annosa pandebis, fistula, pinu
Multum oblita mihi, aut patriis mutata camenis
Brittonicum strides! (ll. 168-171)

The shrilling forth was to become the scream of Satan in *Paradise Lost* and not a vagary of British history. Less extended, probably because further removed from Milton's final decision to turn to epic composition, but there nonetheless is the intimation of a change of plans at the conclusion of "Lycidas". There the poet turns "Tomorrow to fresh Woods, and Pastures new" (l. 193).

Both poems end with an apotheosis. In the "Epitaphium" Milton

says that Diodati is among “mentes ... sacrae, formaeque deorum” (l. 197). And then he renounces the tears he has been shedding because “purum colit aethera Damon” (l. 203). Likewise Milton had told the shepherds not to weep more for Lycidas since he “hears the un-expressive nuptial Song, / in the blest Kingdoms meek of joy and love. / There entertain him all the Saints above” (ll. 176-178). The inspiration that Lycidas in heaven provides is expressed: “Henceforth thou art the Genius of the shore / In thy large recompense, and shalt be good / To all that wander in that perilous flood” (ll. 183-185). So in the “Epitaphium” Milton asks the sainted Diodati to assist him: “Dexter ades, placidusque fave” (l. 208).

It has been customary to search for sources of vernacular poetry in the Neo-Latin tradition. Milton’s early poetry belongs to both traditions. And what we find there is a cross-fertilization. I have already demonstrated Milton’s indebtedness to the Neo-Latin poetry of William Gager for passages in “Lycidas”¹⁰. Here, I have tried to indicate that the process worked the other way around too. More than just belonging to the same pastoral tradition, the two poems stand in even more direct relation to each other. “Lycidas” is very much an English source for the Neo-Latin “Epitaphium Damonis”.

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¹⁰ Philip Dust, “New Light on Milton’s ‘Two-Handed Engine’: A Possible Neo-Latin Source”, *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 22 (1973), 320-324.

MISCELLANEA

Lucia GUALDO ROSA

A PROPOSITO DI DUE LIBRI RECENTI SUL *FORTLEBEN* DI LUCIANO

Non è, credo, del tutto casuale se a distanza di un anno sono apparsi, indipendentemente l'uno dall'altro, due libri sulla fortuna di Luciano. Si può supporre che, dopo l'eclissi quasi completa nell'Ottocento, il cinico sofista di Samosata stia ritornando di moda, visto che purtroppo stanno tornando di moda i mali che più di tutti egli ha combattuto, il fanatismo e l'intolleranza.

Il primo libro è apparso in Inghilterra: Chr. Robinson, *Lucian and His Influence in Europe*, London, Duckworth, 1979 (pp. 1-248). Benché l'autore intenda dare una panoramica generale della diffusione e delle diverse interpretazioni dell'opera luciana dal II secolo d.C. sino alla fine del '700, rivolgendosi chiaramente ad un pubblico di non specialisti, tuttavia gli studiosi del Rinascimento dovrebbero più di tutti essere interessati al suo lavoro, proprio perché si tratta di coloro che più di tutti sono coinvolti dal problema della "rinascita" e della sopravvivenza dei protagonisti del mondo culturale greco-romano e irresistibilmente attratti da ogni opera che parta da una visione non parziale e nazionale, ma generale e unitaria della cultura europea. Certo il Robinson non è insensibile a quella dicotomia tra specializzazione e visione generale che, come notava lo Hay in un suo recente bilancio sugli studi rinascimentali negli ultimi venticinque anni, si avverte particolarmente nella storia della cultura¹. E tuttavia in Italia un libro come questo del Robinson non avrebbe potuto essere nemmeno immaginato, e non solo per il lungo periodo preso in esame, ma per l'*understatement* tipicamente britannico, per la garbata levità con

¹ D. Hay, "Storici e Rinascimento negli ultimi venticinque anni", in M. Boas Hall, A. Chastel, C. Grayson, D. Hay, P. O. Kristeller, N. Rubinstein, Ch. B. Schmitt, Ch. Trinkaus, W. Ullmann, *Il Rinascimento. Interpretazioni e problemi* (Bari 1979), p. 27.

cui è trattato un tema dai risvolti altamente drammatici. Perché il lucianesimo non ha dato luogo solo ad alcuni temi topici ampiamente sviluppati nelle varie letterature europee e limpidamente enucleati dal Robinson; attraverso l'irridente cinismo e il nichilismo filosofico, se non etico, di Luciano, sono penetrati in Europa lo scetticismo e l'incredulità. Un libro sul lucianesimo potrebbe diventare dunque uno studio sul "problème de l'incroyance", esteso dal XVI secolo di Lucien Febvre a tutta la storia spirituale europea dal II al XVIII secolo, e comprendente quindi l'età bizantina e i secoli della Riforma e delle guerre di religione, epoche in cui non era facile, né indolore, essere scettici o razionalisti. E non è un caso che il secolo d'oro del lucianesimo, quello in cui Luciano raggiunse, per dirla con Benjamin, "l'epoca della sua gloria"², sia il '700. Ma su questo tema il Robinson, pur non ignorandolo, sorvola, da persona ben educata, e si limita nella conclusione (pp. 237-238) a dire che, essendo Luciano piaciuto a cattolici come Leonardo de Argensola e l'autore non identificato del *Cróton*, a riformati come Ulrico von Hutten e ad agnostici come Bonaventura Des Périers e Voltaire, non si può parlare che di un influsso stilistico e strutturale, escludendo, almeno in linea di principio, una più intima affinità ideologica e spirituale.

Il piano del libro è un pò desultorio. Si parte da un tentativo di definire la sfuggente personalità di Luciano e di enucleare la varietà dei temi e dei modelli che si incontrano nella sua opera (pp. 1-63). Il secondo capitolo si apre con alcune pagine introduttive in cui il Robinson illustra gli scopi e i limiti della sua ricerca e le difficoltà che gli si sono presentate per orientarsi in un campo così vasto e insidioso (pp. 65-68). L'autore procede quindi a volo d'uccello in una panoramica storica, segnalando le imitazioni lucianee di alcuni autori bizantini (Teodoro Prodromo, l'autore del "Timarione", Mazaris [pp. 68-81]); prosegue quindi, toccando assai rapidamente l'incontro di Luciano con l'Europa occidentale, attraverso le interpretazioni degli umanisti italiani nel '400 (pp. 81-95). Dopo alcune pagine introduttive sull'Europa del Nord (pp. 95-99; ma il titolo è poco felice, visto che in quest'area il Robinson fa entrare anche la Spagna e il Portogallo) si passa ad esaminare l'influsso esercitato da Luciano sul teatro (pp. 99-109), sul dialogo satirico (109-129), sulla descrizione di viaggi immaginari (pp. 129-144) e infine sui dialoghi dei morti (144-163). In ogni

² W. Benjamin, "Il compito del traduttore", in Id., *Angelus novus. Saggi e frammenti*, trad. e introd. di R. Solmi, Nuova Universale Einaudi 175 (Torino 1981), p. 41.

sezione si ricomincia cronologicamente da capo, a partire, almeno teoricamente, da quell'umanesimo italiano, in cui tutti i temi successivamente sviluppati nelle varie letterature europee furono per la prima volta riconosciuti ed elaborati. Di questa origine italiana dell'umanesimo europeo il Robinson è perfettamente consapevole. E tuttavia, se nel paragrafo sul teatro, che culmina con il "Volpone" di Ben Jonson, egli ricorda la commedia latina *Claudi duo* di Tito Livio de' Frulovisi (pp. 100-101)³ e il *Timone* di Matteo Maria Boiardo (pp. 101-102), in quello sul dialogo satirico, i cui massimi rappresentanti furono, secondo il Robinson, Ulrico von Hutten, Bonaventura Des Périers, l'autore del *Cróton* e Leonardo de Argensola, si ignorano i precedenti costituiti da Poggio Bracciolini, Enea Silvio Piccolomini e G. G. Pontano. E non si parla dell'Alberti, per la buona ragione che se ne era parlato abbastanza a lungo nella sezione italiana, di cui l'Alberti è giustamente il vero protagonista (pp. 86-94). Per la stessa ragione, l'Alberti non è ricordato neppure a proposito dei viaggi immaginari e dei dialoghi dei morti: per i primi si ricorda l'*Utopia* di Tommaso Moro, il quarto libro del *Gargantua et Pantagruel* di Rabelais, l'opera di Cyrano de Bergerac, i *Viaggi di Gulliver* di Jonathan Swift e infine il *Viaggio sotterraneo* di Niels Klim, di Ludvig Holberg (1741), ma l'*Orlando furioso* dell'Ariosto è appena citato. E l'Italia è totalmente assente nel capitolo dedicato alla rievocazione satirica del mondo dell'al di là. Secondo il Robinson questa tematica si svilupperebbe soltanto tra il '600 e il '700. Comunque i personaggi più rilevanti da lui esaminati e ricondotti alla comune origine luciana sono Boileau (*Les héros du roman. Dialogue à la manière de Lucien*, 1685-1710), Fénelon (*Dialogues des morts composés pour l'éducation de Mgr. le Duc de Bourgogne*), i *Dialogues* di Fontenelle, la satira anticattolica di Voltaire (*Conversation de Lucien, Erasme et Rabelais dans les Champs Élysées*, 1765) per culminare con Cristoforo Maria Wieland, il quale, non solo tradusse in tedesco l'*opera omnia* di Luciano (1780-1781), ma ne sviluppò ogni aspetto in molte composizioni originali. Questo procedimento per temi, che si richiama all'autorevole lezione del Curtius⁴, costringe ad un andirivieni cronologico non troppo riposante; le cose sono ulteriormente complicate dal fatto che Erasmo, più volte

³ Cfr. C. W. Previté-Orton, *Opera hactenus inedita Titi Livii de Frulovisiis de Ferrariis* (Cambridge 1932), pp. 33-62.

⁴ E. R. Curtius, *Europäische Literatur und lateinisches Mittelalter* (Bern 1948).

inevitabilmente ricordato nel corso del secondo capitolo, è trattato a parte nel terzo capitolo (pp. 166-197), la cui seconda sezione (pp. 198-233) è consacrata all'esame puntuale dell'influsso esercitato da Luciano sullo scrittore settecentesco Henry Fielding. Non si capisce il perché di questa scelta. Se anche si voleva giustamente dare ad Erasmo un suo spazio privilegiato—non dimentichiamo che l'interesse del Robinson per Luciano è nato dalla sua edizione delle traduzioni luciane di Erasmo⁵—non si capisce perché egli non sia stato collocato nel posto che storicamente gli competeva, e cioè a cavallo tra l'umanesimo italiano e l'umanesimo nel resto dell'Europa. Il debito di Erasmo nei confronti di Luciano è analizzato con scrupolo dal Robinson: si va da un'analisi puntuale dei *Colloquia* fino allo studio dell'*Encomium moriae*, opera assai complessa e polivalente, che nasce indubbiamente dall'encomio sofistico (*Phalaris, Muscae encomium*), ma anche dalle satire vere e proprie come il *De parasito* e il *Rhetorum praeceptor*. Il capitolo lascia tuttavia lievemente insoddisfatti, proprio perché il Robinson si è volutamente sottratto al compito ingrato (o addirittura impossibile, secondo il Gilson) di definire in qualche modo la personalità erasmiana. Il libro del Robinson è comunque un'opera intelligente e di piacevole lettura, un elenco prezioso di motivi e di temi che, partendo dall'umanesimo italiano del '400 e dall'originale ripensamento creativo di Erasmo, hanno penetrato di sé la Francia, la Germania, i Paesi Bassi, l'Inghilterra e la penisola iberica. Il sorriso ambiguo di Luciano ha indubbiamente aiutato l'Europa a superare i secoli bui dell'intolleranza con gli strumenti della satira e dell'evasione fantastica, ma nell'interpretazione di Erasmo esso si è caricato anche della disperazione dell'*Ecclesiaste*. E' giusto che il Robinson si sia arrestato alle soglie dell'Ottocento, un secolo che, nonostante qualche sporadica imitazione (a quelle ricordate di Leopardi e del Pater si potrebbe aggiungere il ricordo della traduzione del Settembrini), fu in complesso tutt'altro che luciano e alieno, proprio per il suo dominante nazionalismo, da tutta l'eredità comune del Rinascimento.

Il lavoro comprende, dopo un epilogo, un'appendice, che si articola in tre sezioni: 1) lista delle opere comunemente attribuite a Luciano (pp. 239-242); 2) nota bibliografica su Luciano (p. 242); 3) lista dei

⁵ Cfr. *Luciani Compluria opuscula ab Erasmo et Thoma Moro interpretibus optimis in Latinam linguam traducta*, ed. Chr. Robinson, in *D. Erasmi Roterodami Opera omnia*, I, 1 (Amsterdam 1969), pp. 379-627, dove segnaliamo in particolare l'introduzione del Robinson, pp. 363-378.

Colloqui di Erasmo (pp. 242-244). Qui le opere di Luciano e i *Colloqui* di Erasmo, presentati sempre dal Robinson con titoli inglesi non sempre di facile identificazione, ritrovano, con grande sollievo per il lettore non inglese, il titolo latino più comunemente noto. Segue un indice dei nomi propri (pp. 245-248).

Da un libro come questo non si può certo pretendere la completezza. Solo come curiosità mi limiterò quindi a segnalare che la prima traduzione di tutta l'opera di Luciano in una lingua moderna (a parte il volgarizzamento parziale di Niccolò Leonicensi, che pure ebbe a Venezia ben sette edizioni, tra il 1525 e il 1551), non fu, come dice il Robinson, quella di Perrot d'Ablancourt del 1654, ma quella di Filiberto Bretin, edita a Parigi la prima volta nel 1582, e poi, nel 1583 e nel 1606. Il Bretin non ebbe certo l'importanza e l'autorità di un Amyot, ma, dall'introduzione e dai versi premessi alla sua versione, appare un personaggio tutt'altro che sciocco e sprovveduto. Inoltre, fra gli umanisti erasmiani che tradussero Luciano, e dovettero contemporaneamente difendersi dall'accusa di empietà, mi sembra importante segnalare Cristoforo Hegendorff, il quale nel 1528 tradusse l'*Harmonides* di Luciano (e il *Contra sophistas* di Isocrate); insieme alle due traduzioni dal greco e al commento al *De partitione oratoria* di Cicerone, lo Hegendorff compose anche una *Defensio eloquentiae* dal titolo lungo e significativo: "Literarum profanarum studium nec impium nec inutile esse Christianis adolescentibus, Sinapio auctore"⁶. In questa lunga difesa, che ha l'aspetto di un vero e proprio trattato, si sviluppa in forma ampia il motivo audacemente accennato da Ottmar Nachtigall (Luscinius) nella prefazione alla sua traduzione di alcuni dialoghi di Luciano, edita a Strasburgo nel 1515⁷: le oscenità e le empietà non si trovano solo negli autori pagani, ma se ne possono trovare molte persino nel Vecchio Testamento. Più prudentemente, nel 1581, il Bretin diceva di averne trovate anche in autori pagani ufficialmente seri, come Plutarco e Galeno.

Diverso il quadro cronologico e geografico preso in esame dal

⁶ Ciceronis *De partitione oratoria dialogus ... una cum scholiis Christophori Hegendorphi iam recens et natis et editis. Et alia quaedam opuscula Graeca elegantissima ab eodem Hegendorphino latine reddita* (Haganoae, per I. Secerium, 1528). Il testo della *Defensio eloquentiae* sarà pubblicato in appendice al mio lavoro sulla fortuna di Isocrate nei secoli XV e XVI, in corso di stampa.

⁷ *Luciani Samosatensis Deorum dialogi numero 70, una cum interpretatione e regione Latina, nusquam antea impressi* [trad. O. Nachtigall] (Argentinae, I. Schottus, 1515).

lavoro di Emilio Mattioli: *Luciano e l'umanesimo*, Napoli, Istituto italiano per gli studi storici, 1980 (pp. 210). Infatti, anche se il titolo potrebbe far pensare ad un panorama più ampio, l'autore si è limitato ad esplorare il '400 italiano, con poche, timide incursioni nel '500, ma sempre rigorosamente al di qua delle Alpi. Ché anzi, l'impossibilità di trattare a fondo la fortuna di Luciano nel '500 italiano è fondata proprio sul fatto che sarebbe stato impossibile separare una tale fortuna dallo studio approfondito del lucianismo in Erasmo: "E' ben evidente che parlare di Erasmo, anche soltanto per quello che riguarda la fortuna di Luciano, esula dall'oggetto del nostro studio" (cfr. Mattioli, p. 187). Sarebbe stato opportuno delimitare meglio nel titolo l'oggetto della ricerca, per evitare la naturale delusione dello IJsewijn, o di quanti altri non sono avvezzi alle nostre curiose barriere terminologiche e nazionalistiche⁸. L'opera del Mattioli è comunque utile, proprio perché copre quel '400 italiano, che, come abbiamo già osservato, costituisce la matrice comune di tutti i motivi che saranno variamente rielaborati e sviluppati nelle varie letterature nazionali, o per meglio dire in quella *Europäische Literatur* che, come ha dimostrato il Curtius, seguito dal Robinson, vive dell'eredità del Medioevo latino, e più ancora di quel particolarissimo, entusiasmante momento finale del Medioevo latino, che fu, a partire dal Petrarca, il nostro umanesimo, e proprio per questo conserva, fino alla fine del '700, una sua struttura sostanzialmente unitaria.

Il Mattioli non ha ritenuto utile prendere in esame la vita e le opere di Luciano. Per questo il suo lavoro prende le mosse, direi più giustamente di quello del Robinson, dal Medioevo bizantino. Benché le pagine consacrate a questo tema (pp. 9-38) abbiano soltanto un carattere introduttivo, esse ci offrono tuttavia una panoramica assai convincente di una civiltà che da alcuni decenni, grazie agli studi del Masai, del Pertusi, del Gigante, dello Hunger, comincia ad assumere un aspetto molto meno unitario e monocorde di quello finora accolto dalla *communis opinio*. Basterà ricordare l'acuto raffronto fra il giudizio equilibrato che di Luciano dà Fozio e la violenta condanna moralistica della Suda, e soprattutto le pagine consacrate alla poesia italo-bizantina dei secoli XII-XIII e in particolare ai carmi luciane di Eugenio da Palermo (pp. 31-36). La seconda sezione del libro: "La riscoperta di Luciano" (pp. 39-73) è dedicata ai traduttori italiani del secolo XV.

⁸ I. IJsewijn, M. de Schepper, G. Tournoy, "Instrumentum bibliographicum Neo-Latinum", *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 30 (1981), p. 246.

Fin dal 1969, il Robinson, nell'introduzione alla sua edizione delle traduzioni erasmiane, aveva lamentato l'estrema contraddittorietà delle notizie in nostro possesso sulle traduzioni lucianee del '400, ed aveva auspicato che in tale settore si facesse finalmente chiarezza, attraverso un paziente lavoro di verifica e di raffronto tra le edizioni e i manoscritti⁹. Una tale esigenza era stata ribadita anche nel libro (p. 82): solo attraverso una ricerca sistematica sulle traduzioni quattrocentesche, si può riconoscere il debito (sia nella scelta dei testi, che nella loro interpretazione) dei traduttori posteriori verso i loro precursori italiani. Purtroppo il Mattioli in questo capitolo del suo volume si limita, come dice egli stesso (p. 59) a darci solo "alcune indicazioni parziali", rimandando a data da destinarsi lo studio sistematico ed approfondito di questo fondamentale capitolo della storia della nostra cultura. Ansioso di arrivare alla terza parte del libro ("Il lucianesimo", pp. 71-197), che evidentemente lo attirava di più, egli si limita ad offrirci un bilancio abbastanza rapido e nemmeno completo della letteratura secondaria sui traduttori, non risolvendo nessun dubbio e non rispondendo a nessuna domanda, proprio per non aver voluto eseguire alcun controllo su quei manoscritti, che pure elenca, almeno sulla base dell'*Iter Italicum*. Infatti, come egli stesso dichiara a p. 70, "il lavoro sulle traduzioni umanistiche di Luciano è ancora da fare". Il Mattioli suggerisce persino il metodo da seguire, indicando le "direttrici di ricerca". Personalmente suggerirei di rivolgersi a più sperimentato maestro e di seguire le norme indicate dal Kristeller nel suo *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum*: spoglio sistematico di tutti i cataloghi a stampa delle biblioteche e dei fondi manoscritti (il solo *Iter Italicum* non basta); pubblicazione di *incipit* ed *explicit* di ogni traduzione, ed elenco dei manoscritti e delle edizioni che la conservano, in modo da eliminare le false attribuzioni e da avere un quadro statistico preciso della fortuna delle diverse opere; pubblicazione di *incipit* ed *explicit* delle lettere di dedica; brevi profili biografici e bibliografici dei traduttori. Il non aver voluto utilizzare le fonti manoscritte ha spesso impedito al Mattioli di leggere quelle lettere di dedica, che quasi sempre sono premesse alle traduzioni umanistiche, e che, come notava anche il Robinson (pp. 82-83), costituiscono una fonte di interesse primario per conoscere la personalità del traduttore, lo scopo che egli ha perseguito nel tradurre una determinata opera e

⁹ Cfr. Robinson in Erasmi Roterodami *Opera omnia*, I, 1, p. 364: "it is difficult to assess the standard of the fifteenth century Italian versions".

l'interpretazione che ne ha dato. La prova evidente è che fra i traduttori elencati in questo capitolo, i soli di cui si dia un profilo plausibile e di cui si comprenda la natura dell'approccio all'opera di Luciano sono Guarino e l'Aurispa, autori per i quali il Mattioli poteva utilizzare le alte imprese editoriali del Sabbadini. Particolarmente utile il profilo di Guarino (pp. 44-53), che ha il merito, storicamente importantissimo, di aver introdotto Luciano nella scuola; in Luciano il candido Guarino non coglieva che il fascino inimitabile della lingua e il moralismo, che a lui appariva solo edificante. Fatto sta che, grazie a Guarino e ad Erasmo (che in campo pedagogico si mosse sulle sue orme), Luciano — o per meglio dire “*aliquot Luciani dialogi minus scurriles*” — entrò da trionfatore nelle *rationes studiorum* dei gesuiti e dei luterani, e ancor oggi rimane in quel poco che resta qua e là della scuola classica. Là dove invece, come nel caso di Lapo da Castiglionchio junior (pp. 61-63), il Mattioli utilizza solo lo studio vecchio e incompleto di Francesco Paolo Luiso (il quale non pubblica che un regesto delle lettere di dedica), il profilo che ne risulta è sfocato e decisamente insoddisfacente. Oggi infatti, grazie agli studi del Garin e del Fubini¹⁰, la personalità dell'umanista fiorentino comincia ad assumere un rilievo di primo piano nell'umanesimo italiano del primo '400: a questo punto è chiaro che, se Lapo ha tradotto ben otto opuscoli di Luciano, ciò non dipende da un interesse erudito o da un generico moralismo, come sostiene il Mattioli (sulla scorta del Luiso e del Sabbadini), ma certo dal suo scetticismo che rasentò apertamente l'ateismo, e dal suo profondo pessimismo sulla natura umana. La lettura delle lettere di dedica darà senz'altro altri frutti interessanti, facendo emergere altre personalità significative nella selva dei traduttori del '400: un interesse particolare dovrebbe avere ad esempio Cristoforo Persona, priore del monastero di S. Balbina e prefetto, nel 1484, della biblioteca Vaticana, il quale come ha dimostrato il Ruysschaert, seguito fedelmente dal Mattioli, tradusse di Luciano il *Tyrannus* e la *Vitarum auctio*. Anche il volgarizzamento di Niccolò Leonicensino, certamente condotto su precedenti traduzioni latine, e che contribuì in un certo senso a diffonderle, meriterebbe uno studio più approfondito (cfr. pp. 63-65).

Ma, come dicevamo, il Mattioli aveva fretta di giungere al luciane-

¹⁰ Cfr. R. Fubini, “Castiglionchio Lapo da, detto il giovane”, in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, XXII (Roma 1979), pp. 44-51.

simo, che costituisce indubbiamente la parte più interessante di tutto il libro. Assai utili sono le pagine consacrate all'Alberti (pp. 74-100); sulla scorta degli studi del Garin, il Mattioli ci dimostra infatti come l'Alberti non sia solo il protagonista del lucianesimo italiano, ma anche la fonte di tutti i motivi che saranno poi sviluppati nella successiva letteratura europea. Nelle *Intercoenales* vecchie e nuove troviamo infatti non solo il dialogo satirico, ma anche il viaggio in mondi immaginari (*Somnium*, cfr. pp. 84-85) e la rievocazione in chiave polemica del mondo dei morti (*Defunctus*, cfr. pp. 82-83). Giusto rilievo è dato dal Mattioli al *Charon* di Gioviano Pontano, un autore alla cui interpretazione hanno dato un contributo decisivo i recenti studi del Tateo (cfr. pp. 101-112). Molto interessante è anche il capitolo dedicato al lucianesimo — questo veramente moralistico — degli *Apologhi* di Pandolfo Collenuccio (cfr. pp. 113-126). Ma assai più importante in Luciano è l'elemento satirico e polemico: a questo tema, che, per la parte italiana, era quasi del tutto assente nel Robinson, il Mattioli dedica due capitoli. Nel primo ("Il lucianesimo libellistico", pp. 127-139) si esamina il libello *Contra hypocritas* di Poggio Bracciolini e il *De curialium miseriis* di Enea Silvio Piccolomini, che è una interessante rielaborazione dei motivi polemici del *De mercede conductis*. Per dimostrare l'interesse di Poggio per Luciano, il Mattioli esamina attentamente la sua traduzione dell'*Asinus* pseudo-luciano; ma ignora le traduzioni delle *Verae historiae* e dello *Iuppiter confutatus* (*Cynicus, sive de fato*). Eppure le dediche di queste due traduzioni erano state pubblicate dal Fubini¹¹ e non era nemmeno necessario accostarsi ai manoscritti. Certo, se avesse consultato il ms. Palat. lat. 1552, citato in nota (p. 127, nota 2), il Mattioli avrebbe comunque constatato che Poggio aveva effettivamente tradotto le *Verae historiae* e che l'esistenza di tale traduzione non era una arbitraria e dubbia supposizione del Walser: e in tal modo avrebbe potuto anche correggere il titolo: "Lucianus de veris narrationibus translatus e greco in latinum per optimum et eloquentissimum virum Pogium poetam", eliminando l'oscuro *tum perlatis*, che è pessima lettura del Walser¹². Assai importante il capitolo consacrato all'*Eremita* di

¹¹ Cfr. Poggii Bracciolini *Opera omnia*, IV, a cura di R. Fubini, Monumenta politica et philosophica ex optimis editionibus phototypice expressa, curante L. Firpo, s. II, n. 7 (Torino 1969), pp. 665-669; vedi anche C. Carini, "Una traduzione latina inedita di Poggio Bracciolini", *Giornale italiano di filologia*, N.S., 5, 26 (1974), pp. 263-277.

¹² Cfr. E. Walser, *Poggius Florentinus. Leben und Werke* (Leipzig-Berlin 1914, Nachdruck, Hildesheim-New York 1974), p. 231, nota 1.

Antonio Galateo (cfr. pp. 140-144); qui, utilizzando le antiche intuizioni del Gothein ed i recenti studi del Tateo, il Mattioli smentisce l'osservazione del Robinson (p. 83), secondo il quale tutte le interpretazioni lucianee successivamente accolte dalla cultura europea sono già presenti nel '400 italiano, meno la polemica anticlericale in chiave preriformistica. La polemica anticlericale infatti, ben presente fra gli altri nell'Alberti e nel Bracciolini, è sviluppata dal Galateo con una più alta consapevolezza etica e religiosa e proprio in chiave di riforma della Chiesa.

Meno interessanti i capitoli successivi. Il sesto capitolo ("Il lucianesimo accademico", pp. 145-159) è consacrato a Lauro Quirini, Maffeo Vegio e Giorgio Valagussa; nel settimo, il Mattioli prende in esame la *Catinia* di Sicco Polenton ("Lucianesimo inconsapevole", pp. 160-162) e i riferimenti lucianei nell'opera di Filippo Beroaldo senior e del Poliziano ("Lucianesimo filologico", pp. 163-167). Ora se l'umanesimo bolognese di Filippo Beroaldo (e di Antonio Urceo Codro, che qui non è ricordato) può essere stato in vario modo influenzato dal cinismo irridente e pessimistico di Luciano, non mi sembra che a Luciano si possa ricondurre l'alta filologia del Poliziano: la stessa espressione "lucianesimo filologico" mi sembra assai poco felice. Il capitolo ottavo ("Luciano e il teatro", pp. 168-179) esamina il *Timone* del Boiardo e il meno noto *Timon greco* di Galeotto del Carretto; mancano i *Claudi duo* di Tito Livio de' Frulovisi, su cui si era invece fermato il Robinson (pp. 100-101).

La concezione totalmente italo-centrica del Mattioli gli fa scegliere un titolo infelicissimo per il capitolo nono ("Fine del lucianesimo", pp. 180-190), proprio cioè quel capitolo in cui si accenna anche, sia pure per escluderlo dai propri interessi, al lucianesimo in Erasmo e all'influsso esercitato da Erasmo sulla cultura italiana del '500 (ma su Erasmo in Italia si cercano invano nella bibliografia i nomi del Cantimori e della Seidel Menchi); quasi che il lucianesimo finisca proprio alle soglie del '500, quando cioè, grazie ad Erasmo, stava assumendo una dimensione europea, per dare, come ha dimostrato il Robinson, i frutti più alti ed interessanti. Il '500 italiano è toccato, come dicevo, assai timidamente dal Mattioli, il quale accenna rapidamente all'opera di Teofilo Folengo (pp. 185-187) e ad una novella di Anton Francesco Doni (pp. 181-185), dedicando invece maggiore attenzione ai *Dialoghi piacevoli* di Niccolò Franco (pp. 191-197). Dopo una rapida conclusione (pp. 198-200) e una bibliografia non certo esauriente

(pp. 201-207), troviamo un indice (pp. 209-210), ricco di curiosi sbagli di stampa ("astrologhi" per "apologhi", "filosofico" per "filologico"). Manca, e sarebbe stato utile, un indice dei nomi.

Il lavoro del Mattioli è indubbiamente utile, in quanto mette insieme, in modo forse un po' affrettato, ma non senza una linea interpretativa unitaria, il risultato di circa cento anni di ricerche parziali, offrendo un prontuario abbastanza completo e convincente delle varie interpretazioni che di Luciano diede il nostro Quattrocento: il confronto, che io ho fatto in modo solo parziale, con le pagine dedicate dal Robinson allo stesso argomento, basterebbe da solo ad illuminarci sull'importanza di questa ricerca. Il suo difetto non consiste tanto nella mancanza di una prospettiva europea (abbastanza grave per altro, per chi studia un fatto unificante ed europeo come l'umanesimo), quanto nel metodo adottato, che ribadisce ancora una volta, come fosse cosa ovvia, l'assurda e nefasta dicotomia tra specializzazione e visione generale, tra erudizione e filologia da una parte e storia e letteratura dall'altra. L'augurio, come italiani, è dunque che qualcuno, partendo dalla ricerca del Mattioli, elimini i troppi interrogativi rimasti senza risposta, dandoci un quadro finalmente completo e ordinato di quelle traduzioni, che non sono solo il punto di partenza per le successive interpretazioni, ma che costituiscono esse stesse (insieme con le prefazioni che le accompagnano), un capitolo essenziale nella storia della riappropriazione di Luciano da parte della cultura europea.

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UNA GLORIA DI CAGGIANO RINVERDITA :
L'UMANISTA GABRIELE ALTILIO (1436-1501)

Gabriele Altilio e l'umanesimo napoletano

La Napoli della seconda metà del Quattrocento, sotto l'illuminato dominio della dinastia Aragonese, conobbe una splendida fioritura di scienze, arti e lettere. Basterebbe ricordare la celebre biblioteca reale, emigrata poi, per le luttuose vicende del Regno, in parte a Valenza in Spagna e il resto disperso, possiam ben dire, ai quattro venti, che recentemente è stata scientificamente ricostruita e presentata al pubblico internazionale dall'imponente opera di Tammaro De Marinis in sei poderosi volumi¹. A questa pubblicazione specifica si affianca la poderosa *Storia di Napoli*, che proprio nel secondo tomo del IV volume contiene, a cura di Mario Santoro, un'estesa monografia su *La cultura umanistica*², esauriente nella trattazione e ricchissima di dati bibliografici, che organicamente riassume, e numerose indagini precedenti, disegnando e tessendo uno splendido arazzo di quella stessa cultura, che interessa più da vicino il personaggio di cui stiamo scrivendo.

Ora, nel fervore di vita intellettuale, che fecero di Napoli uno dei centri più illustri d'Italia, spicca una triade di poeti, che hanno lasciato un'impronta duratura nella letteratura nostra nazionale : il Sannazzaro, il Pontano e l'Altilio, tutti e tre eminenti nel culto della lingua latina classica, che con pieno diritto può essere chiamata la lingua propria degli umanisti.

Dei primi due è superfluo ritessere le lodi, tanto duratura è stata la loro fama e notorietà, mentre dell'Altilio, anche per l'esiguità della sua produzione letteraria conosciuta, la memoria era rimasta a lungo sbiadita e confusa con altre figure minori. E tuttavia la sua eccellenza

¹ Tammaro De Marinis, *La Biblioteca Napoletana dei Re di Aragona*, I-IV, Milano, U. Hoepli 1947 (II-IV), 1952. (I) : *Supplemento*, I-II, Verona, Stamp. Valdonega, 1963.

² *Storia di Napoli* IV (Napoli 1973), 315-498, "La cultura umanistica".

letteraria fu riconosciuta ai suoi tempi dagli amici Sannazzaro e Pontano e, poi, da altri illustri scrittori, echeggiati nel breve elogio dell'Ughelli nell'*Italia Sacra* "fu ritenuto eminente nel verso eroico, così da essere equiparato agli antichi poeti" (p. 53 e ss).

Ai nostri giorni Vittorio Rossi nella *Storia letteraria d'Italia—il Quattrocento*—definisce l'Altilio come "elegante poeta latino", senza tuttavia esaminarne gli scritti. Più indovinato ci sembra il giudizio del Gothein, che l'Altilio "limava ogni suo componimento sino alla miniatura" (p. 62).

Ho accennato sopra alla relativa esiguità degli scritti lasciati dal nostro poeta alla posterità: invero, fino all'edizione di don Egidio D'Angelo del 1914 si conoscevano di lui soltanto nove componimenti, uno dei quali in prosa (p. 12), pubblicati sparsamente parecchie volte, soprattutto nelle edizioni del Sannazzaro (p. 28-30), per cui il giudizio degli scrittori si doveva limitare quasi necessariamente al più celebre ed esteso di essi, cioè all'*Epitalamio*, composto per le nozze di Galeazzo Maria Sforza con la principessa napoletana Isabella d'Aragona (n. 1). Ciò appare evidente nel giudizio dell'Ughelli ricordato sopra.

Un sostanziale arricchimento arrecò la citata edizione D'Angelo. Egli, infatti, in seguito alla segnalazione del professor Erasmo Percopo dell'esistenza del codice Palatino di Vienna, in parte autografo, trasse alla luce le poesie inedite dell'Altilio, pur aggiungendovene alcune già note.

L'edizione Lamattina

Trascorsero gli anni e i pochi autori che si ricordarono dell'Altilio dovettero necessariamente riferirsi all'edizione del D'Angelo. Invece ora felicemente, a distanza di 64 anni, un illustre figlio di Caggiano, patria dell'Altilio, il professor Gaetano Lamattina, noto per alcune opere di carattere saggistico—*Caggiano e il suo Casale di Pertosa; Canti della mia terra; Salvitelle; Profilo di un Personaggio; I Templari nella storia* ecc.—, rivedendo, correggendo e completando tutto quello che intorno all'Altilio e alla sua opera era stato scritto fino ad oggi, ci presenta un'opera che nel suo oggetto vuol essere definitiva, *Gabriele Altilio: Poesie*, finita di stampare a Salerno alla fine di luglio del 1978, frutto maturo di lunghe ricerche, condotte con perseverante energia nel corso di parecchi anni.

L'amore verso la terra natale, che l'ha sorretto nell'improba fatica,

dalla dedica semplice ed efficace: "Alla gente della mia terra con l'affetto di figlio". Un doveroso omaggio l'egregio studioso lo rivolge, tra gli altri, al Sindaco e alla Giunta del Comune che han voluto, con "Delibera plebiscitaria", assumersi l'onere della pubblicazione dell'Opera (p. 33).

Ma è tempo di fare un bilancio valutativo dell'edizione per apprezzarne la novità e la consistenza, da cui deriva il rinnovato interesse per un autore, lo ripetiamo, più ricordato per vecchia fama, che letto e stimato per lettura diretta. Di questo andiamo debitori, fin da ora, alla diligenza amorosa del prof. Lamattina, al quale va il plauso di ogni studioso, soprattutto di quelli che fanno dell'umanesimo italiano il loro campo di indagine preferito.

Il Lamattina si è proposto due temi principali rispetto all'Altilio: quello di ricostruirne analiticamente la vita e quello di raccogliere e pubblicare criticamente tutta l'opera poetica di lui. Di qui la divisione del libro in due parti, di cui la prima è assai più breve per il contenuto stesso di essa e anche, in un certo senso, meno denso di novità in confronto della seconda, benchè la raccolta sistematica dei dati, sia conoscuifi che meno noti, contribuisca a creare un quadro più nitido e preciso della personalità dell'autore e della sua attività nella vita pubblica.

La vita dell'Altilio

Per la vita il Lamattina ha sfruttato un vasto materiale frammentario disperso in svariate pubblicazioni. Prima di lui, nel nostro secolo, si potevano leggere tre brevi biografie in dizionari generali: quella un po' mediocre di F. Nicolini³, un'altra più nutrita di J. Fraikin⁴ e una recente ben redatta e documentata dello stesso Nicolini⁵.

Una larga messe di informazioni aveva già raccolto il Tafuri, ma soprattutto il Percopo, sfruttando l'Archivio Aragonese andato distrutto nell'ultima guerra, che ha fornito preziosi particolari sulla vita napoletana dell'Altilio.

In primo luogo il Lamattina stabilisce fermamente che il luogo natale dell'Altilio fu Caggiano. Meno sicuro è l'anno di nascita, che viene

³ *Enciclopedia Italiana*, II (1929), 704.

⁴ *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques*, II (1914), 818-819.

⁵ *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, II (1960), 37-39.

fissato approssimativamente nel 1436, fondandosi su una testimonianza del Giovio in occasione della morte del poeta.

L'origine povera e modesta è allusa da lui stesso. Probabilmente i primi studi li fece in patria, poi, in circostanze ignote, si portò a Napoli presso una nobile famiglia del paese natio, dove il suo ingegno ebbe modo di manifestarsi. I primi suoi amici ed estimatori furono gli umanisti che allora fiorivano nella capitale e divenne uno dei primi membri dell'Accademia Pontaniana: in seguito il suo nome fu noto a corte. Il primo documento che l'attesta in relazione con la corte è del 1470, dove compare come titolare del priorato di La Salina, per cui si ha anche la certezza che allora era chierico. In seguito entra in dimestichezza con il duca di Calabria, poi re Alfonso II; è scelto come precettore del principe Ferrandino, di cui diverrà poi il segretario, gli sono affidate missioni diplomatiche e si dovrà recare in diverse regioni d'Italia.

La vita di corte con i suoi doveri ed impegni divenne, forse, il motivo della diminuita produzione poetica. Tuttavia il riconoscimento dei suoi meriti verso la Casa d'Aragone culminò con la sua nomina a vescovo di Policastro, l'otto gennaio 1493. Tuttavia egli non si recò subito alla sua sede, continuando a occuparsi delle faccende del Regno fino a che la calata di Carlo VIII di Francia e la fine della dominazione aragonese lo convinsero a cercare la pace e il sollievo nella sua diocesi, dove si spense verso la primavera del 1501.

Il Lamattina a questo proposito corregge opportunamente la *Series episcoporum* del Gams (p. 56); anzi, ha riprodotto dalle fotocopie le due bolle di nomina di Alessandro VI (p. 173-178), che sono una gradita novità.

Basti questo breve schizzo biografico come saggio della Vita delineata dall'egregio autore.

Le Poesie nelle edizioni D'Angelo e Lamattina

Ma l'aspetto più nuovo ed originale, che la generosa fatica del professor Lamattina offre ai lettori del suo Altilio redivivo, è indubbiamente l'edizione stessa dei testi poetici, impostata con nuovo metodo ed esecuzione, la quale differisce perciò sensibilmente da quella del D'Angelo, che rimane il riferimento obbligato per valutare l'apporto altamente positivo della nuova edizione di cui stiamo scorrendo. Questo giustifica naturalmente la preferenza che qui si vuol dare

all'esposizione di quanto si propose parecchi anni or sono l'autore di essa e come l'attuazione del progetto vagheggiato abbia soddisfatto l'attesa di lui e, fermamente confidiamo, quella degli studiosi in generale.

L'opera, poi, è così ben strutturata nelle sue varie parti, che permette di seguirne agevolmente l'esecuzione fino al suo felice compimento.

Lo scopo, quindi, del Lamattina è di offrirci raccolta organicamente l'intera produzione poetica superstite del celebre umanista caggianese. Non senza ragione diciamo "superstite", perchè non crediamo che la fama dell'Altilio presso i contemporanei sia dovuta unicamente al poco meno dei 1600 versi che di lui ci rimangono. In questa raccolta poetica di 42 numeri è stata inserita eccezionalmente l'Epistola al Cariteo (n. XXXV) redatta in prosa. Siccome il D'Angelo, a suo tempo, si limitò a pubblicare con alcune eccezioni solo gli inediti del codice di Vienna, ne consegue che l'edizione Lamattina è più ampia, riproducendo anche i testi già noti, benchè su nuove basi, cioè sui manoscritti, i quali gli sono mancati solo per due numeri (XXXVIII-XXXIX), del resto molto brevi, contando 10 versi in tutto.

Prima però di diffonderci nei particolari e nei pregi dell'edizione Lamattina, conviene esaurire il riferimento comparativo con quella del D'Angelo.

Come già si è accennato in precedenza, egli, seguendo la segnalazione del Percopo, basata, a sua volta, sulle indicazioni del catalogo stampato della Biblioteca Imperiale di Vienna, non fece caso della seconda parte del codice Palatino, limitandosi a riprodurre le poesie contenute nella prima parte di esso, delle quali una già nota (n. XL), aggiungendovi però quattro assenti al codice e pubblicate altrove (n. XXXVII-XXXIX, XLI); cosicchè delle poesie altiliane conosciute ne omise effettivamente solo due (I-II), benchè notevolissima la prima, ossia l'Epitalamio, che praticamente documentò per secoli la fama di squisito poeta latino del Caggianese e che proprio nel Palatino è conservata autografa.

Ora, l'aver trascurato la seconda parte del codice ha avuto queste conseguenze notevoli: l'omissione di due componimenti (n. XXXIII-XXXIV) e l'inavvertita, e criticamente trascurata, seconda redazione di parecchi altri (n. IV, IX-XIII, XV-XVII, XIX, XXIII, XXXII, XLII). Oltre alle numerose varianti dovute alla lima operosa dell'autore, anche il numero dei versi ha subito alterazioni (n. IV, IX-X), fenomeno che una volta si è esteso anche nel caso della redazione unica (n. V).

Inoltre, nel testo del D'Angelo sono frequenti le false letture, non sempre spiegabili per la difficile scrittura. Quindi anche nel caso della redazione unica, l'edizione Lamattina ha comportato una revisione testuale feconda di buoni risultati.

Si noti infine che il D'Angelo riunì le poesie in sei sezioni, secondo un criterio di omogeneità d'argomento, senza che in questo sia stato seguito dal recentissimo editore.

Avendo così accennato brevemente alle caratteristiche salienti dell'edizione D'Angelo in relazione a quella del Lamattina, è ora nostro dovere occuparci esclusivamente di quest'ultima per valutarne debitamente il contenuto e i pregi.

Limitandosi volutamente alla produzione poetica dell'Altilio, ma aspirando insieme alla completezza, l'egregio professore non ha risparmiato tempo e fatiche in una ricerca sistematica svolta in due tempi: in quello degli stampati e nell'altro dai manoscritti. Per le edizioni (p. 28-30) ha potuto elencare tredici numeri, descrivendone il contenuto altiliano, mentre di quattro ricordate dal bibliografi non ha potuto aver notizie dirette. La maggior parte di esse pubblicano le opere del Sannazzaro (n. 1-3; 6-11) con uno o più componimenti dell'Altilio, cioè il n. I (Epitalamio; n. 1-12), il n. II (n. 3, 9-12), il n. XXXIV (n. 3, 7, 9-12), il n. XXXV (n. 2, 7, 9-10, 12), il n. XXXVII (n. 3 e 9-12), il n. XXXVIII (n. 3 e 9-12), il n. XXXIX (n. 3 e 9-12), il n. XL (n. 12), il n. XLI (n. 12).

Come si vede, l'edizione n. 12 che è quella del Tafuri del 1803, aveva raccolto tutto ciò che a quel tempo si conosceva dell'Altilio; e doveva trascorrere più di un secolo prima che nel 1914 apparisse quella del D'Angelo, di cui si è detto sopra e dalla quale prese le mosse il Lamattina per offrirci un Altilio rinnovato e completato. Si notano quindi tre tappe principali nella progressiva individuazione e pubblicazione dell'opera altiliana, precedenti la nuovissima edizione che stiamo esaminando: il periodo che intercorre fra l'edizione di Venezia del 1528 e quella pure di Venezia del 1782, iniziato con l'Epitalamio e connotato dal fatto che le poesie dell'Altilio sono frammischiate con quelle di altri autori; la prima raccolta dedicata principalmente all'Altilio per merito del Tafuri è basata sulle precedenti edizioni; la seconda raccolta, pure esclusiva, a cura del D'Angelo, fondata esclusivamente sul codice Palatino di Vienna.

Benchè le edizioni gli offrissero alcuni testi dell'Altilio, che potremmo chiamare tradizionali, in primissimo luogo l'Epitalamio, stimolato dal

lavoro del D'Angelo il nostro editore ha spinto più a fondo le ricerche nei manoscritti. I codici individuati sono da una parte i Vaticani e dall'altra l'autografo di Vienna. Sembra strano che le biblioteche napoletane non abbiano offerto alcun contributo, ma il Lamattina spiega sufficientemente il fatto con la dispersione susseguita alla fine della dominazione aragonese e, quindi, dell'emigrazione dei codici napoletani verso Roma.

I codici vaticani (p. 17-19) col relativo contenuto altiliano sono i seguenti: Vat. lat. 2836 (n. XXXV, XXXVII e XL), Vat. lat. 2847 (n. XXXV), Vat. lat. 2874 (n. XLI), Vat. lat. 6250 (n. I e II); Barber. lat. 1858 (n. XXXIV); Urbin. lat. 1193 (n. XXXVI). Ne risulta rispetto al codice di Vienna, che alcuni componimenti sono attestati solo dai manoscritti vaticani, cioè: n. II, XXXV-XXXVII e XLI.

Il codice fondamentale rimane tuttavia il Palatino di Vienna dell'attuale Oesterreichische Nationalbibliothek, n. 9977, per la cui descrizione ci piace lasciar parlare lo stesso egregio Lamattina (p. 19): "cartaceo, miscellaneo, di ff. 201, in 4 ed in 8, contiene la più vasta raccolta di scritti per lo più autografi dei maggiori Umanisti napoletani: vi figurano il Sannazzaro, il Pontano, il Cotta ed altri noti nel campo letterario. Tale raccolta venne ceduta dal cardinal Sirleto allo studioso Giovanni Sambuco; questi le diede ordine, cercando di non alterare la posizione cronologica dei componimenti poetici. Dell'Altilio ci sono ben trentaquattro lavori, tra elegie e carmi, alcuni dei quali, rielaborati dal poeta stesso, si trovano nella seconda parte del codice".

Il Sambuco, di nazionalità ungherese, poeta e medico di svariata cultura, era stato per lungo tempo ospite del cardinal Sirleto, che gli donò appunto quel materiale umanistico, che egli raccolse in due codici, lasciati, poi, da lui alla Biblioteca Imperiale di Vienna, dove ora recano le segnature n. 3413 e 9977 (p. 15).

Il Lamattina, che di proposito ha dato la preferenza alla tradizione manoscritta, si è trovato in una condizione ideale per attuare il suo disegno. Infatti su 42 numeri è dovuto ricorrere solo in tre casi alle edizioni (n. XXXVIII-XXXIX e XLI), per un complesso di soli 18 versi. Inoltre per 34 poesie poté disporre degli autografi stessi dell'autore, alcuni dei quali in doppia redazione, nel qual caso diede sistematicamente la preferenza alla seconda. Siccome questa fu ignorata dal D'Angelo, le poesie di essa presenteranno le maggiori varianti nelle due edizioni.

I duplicati in senso largo sono i seguenti: n. IV, IX-XIII, XV-XVII,

XIX, XXIII, XXXII, XLII. Inoltre, e questo è assai importante, nella seconda parte del codice si ha l'intero Epitalamio, che il D'Angelo omise: esso è attestato anche dal Vat. lat. 6250, ma non integralmente. Pure nella seconda parte, e perciò omessi dal D'Angelo, i n. XXXIII-XLV.

In questa situazione della tradizione manoscritta e data la precedente edizione del D'Angelo si comprendono le tabelle che il Lamattina premette all'edizione del testo. La prima (p. 20-27) offre un prospetto parallelo "I testi nel Codice Palatino-Vindobonense 9977, distribuiti secondo le edizioni", a sinistra quella del D'Angelo e a destra quella del Lamattina, nella quale l'indicazione dei fogli del codice variante dalla prima avverte che il Lamattina ha seguito la seconda redazione.

La seconda tabella (p. 63), invece, presenta un prospetto generale dell'edizione Lamattina secondo la numerazione progressiva delle poesie, rapportata a quella del D'Angelo e alle fonti manoscritte, rispettivamente del codice Palatino e poi dei codici rimanenti, con l'indicazione del numero dei versi per ogni componimento, tanto nelle edizioni quanto nei manoscritti.

Dovendo riprodurre in massima parte manoscritti e soprattutto autografi, l'esimio studioso si è attenuto per la grafia strettamente agli originali, evitando, ad esempio, di supplire i dittonghi, seguendo invece l'uso moderno per la punteggiatura e le maiuscole.

Per i titoli dei vari componimenti, dati talvolta differentemente dai manoscritti, il Lamattina ha creduto opportuno di riportarli solo nell'apparato. L'apparato stesso è unicamente testuale, che offre le varianti sia della tradizione manoscritta che di quella edita. Esso è importante soprattutto nei casi della doppia redazione o correzioni varie dello stesso autore.

Il Lamattina, scostandosi dalla classificazione del D'Angelo, ha diviso opportunamente la produzione poetica altiliana (inclusa la prosa del n. XXXV), in quattro sezioni: *Carmina* (n. I-VIII), *Elegiae* (n. IX-XXXIII), *Epistolae* (n. XXXIV-XXXV), *Epigrammata* (n. XXXVI-XLII).

Solo il primo carme ha il titolo proprio *Epithalamium*, e con ragione, perchè, oltre ad indicare esattamente l'argomento, ha praticamente fondato nei secoli l'eccellenza dell'arte poetica dell'Altilio fino alle edizioni D'Angelo e Lamattina.

Per questo motivo in appendice ai testi latini il Lamattina ha riprodotto la versione parafrastica in eleganti ottave dell'abate Giam-

battista Carminati (p. 157-172), stampata per la prima volta a Padova, nel 1730 (edizioni n. 8, p. 29) e riedita dal Tafuri (edizioni n. 12, p. 30).

Complementi ai testi editi sono due elenchi: l'“Indice dei nomi” (p. 199-203), che riporta tutti i nomi propri latini presenti nelle poesie e l'“Incipitario” (p. 171-172), cioè la serie del primo verso di ogni componimento, non in ordine alfabetico, ma numerico (n. I-XLI). Un sussidio paleografico è costituito dalla riproduzione da fotocopie (p. 189-197), di nove pagine autografe dell'originale, la cui utilità è evidente.

Invece un'appendice a se stante, saggio di una futura monografia, presenta ai lettori una lettera latina dall'Olanda di un altro illustre caggianese, Crisostomo Colonna (p. 173-181).

La conclusione di questo rapido e alquanto arido esame della fatica benemerita del prof. Lamattina non può risolversi che in un riconoscimento oggettivo dell'alto valore critico e documentario del decoroso volume uscito dai torchi salernitani e già divulgato nel mondo dei dotti.

Crediamo di non aver esagerato nell'intitolare la nostra presentazione “Una gloria di Caggiano rinverdita”, poichè tanto la vita quanto l'opera poetica dell'Altilio, grazie alle diligenti e amorose cure di un altro figlio di Caggiano, ne escono rinnovate.

Se ogni nuova edizione è segno di vitalità di un autore, a maggior ragione ciò si può dire dell'Altilio che il Lamattina ha offerto ai cultori di buoni studi, in cui la mente e l'animo si ritemprano per alti e generosi ideali.

La gloriosa lingua latina, nella quale si esprime così egregiamente l'umanista lucano, riconosce nel professor Lamattina uno strenuo assertore dell'insostituibile capacità formativa del solenne eloquio dei padri, creatori di quell'augusta romanità di cui è impregnata e improntata la civiltà occidentale e cristiana.

Questo, crediamo, è il più ambito elogio che il Lamattina apprezzerà per la lunga e perseverante fatica giunta a così felice compimento.

Piacenza, 1 luglio 1982.

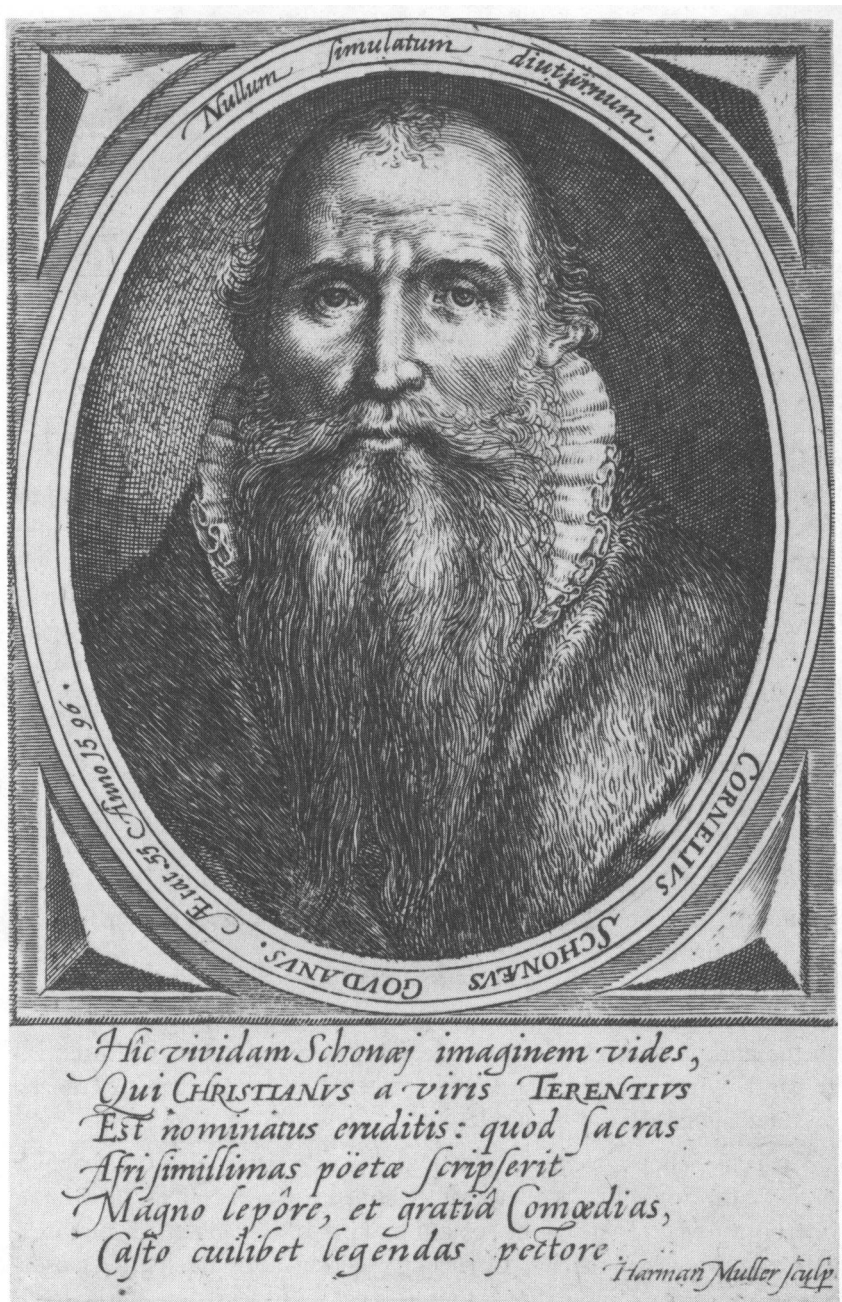


PHOTO : GEMEENTEARCHIEF HAARLEM

Hans VAN DE VENNE

CORNELIUS SCHONAEUS
1541-1611
A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF HIS PRINTED WORKS

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INTRODUCTION

A detailed biography of Cornelius Schonaeus, Dutch Neo-Latin dramatist and poet, will be the subject of a subsequent article by the present author.

Brief notes of the main events of Schonaeus's life have, however, been included here in order to provide the necessary background to the chronological list of publications. They are a result of archival research which in nine cases out of ten has made revision of the existing material very desirable.

1541 Cornelis Schoen or Schoon, who afterwards latinized his vernacular name into Cornelius Sconęus or Schoneęus, was born at Gouda in or about 1541. There is no extant record of his birth or baptism. His parents were Adriaen Cornelisz. Schoon and Machtelt Claesdr. There are strong indications that Cornelis, at least in April 1582,

was their only child. His father seems to have been a stone mason ['metselaer'], whatever this profession may have been in those days.

All the evidence would seem to indicate that his parents were well-to-do Gouda citizens. In all probability they were living on Tevecoop, i.e. the south-side of the Turfmarkt.

- c. 1550-1556** Of his upbringing and education nothing definite is known. He very probably entered the Parish or Great (i.e. Latin) school in his home town in about 1550, at the age of nine, although the school apparently had fallen into decay by then. As a matter of fact there is a good chance that he might be identified with the 'Cornelis Arienz' of the Turfmarkt who is enrolled in the pupils' register of the years 1554-56. This was drawn up and signed by the then Rector of the school, Wybrant Bornstra. During his education at the Latin school in Gouda he began writing verse. Some of his schoolboy poems were subsequently published in his *Liber Epigrammatum* of 1592.

On 25 July 1556 he appears to have left the Latin school in Gouda. Before proceeding, however, to the University of Leuven (Louvain) he may have continued his studies for one or two years at another illustrious Latin school elsewhere.

- 1560** On 28 August 1560 he matriculated at Leuven University as 'Cornelius Adriani, Goudanus' and he was enrolled as one of the 'Divites Porcenses'. In Leuven he studied philosophy and attended the lectures of Ioannes Beverus who, until his death in 1563, was professor of philosophy in the paedagogium Porcense. As he, however, had a strong inclination for Latin poetry both as a boy and as a student, he also may have attended the lectures of Cornelius Valerius ab Auwater Ultraiectinus, the then professor of Latin at the renowned Collegium Trilingue.

During his student years at Leuven University he certainly wrote a number of poems. Some examples of these juvenile efforts to commune with the muse may survive in his *Carminum Libellus* of 1569 and his *Liber Epigrammatum* of 1592.

Nothing more definite is known about his stay in Leuven and his name does not appear on any surviving list of graduates.

- c. 1565** There are indications that he went to Haarlem in the middle of the 1560s and that he was appointed 'ludimagister' at the Great (i.e. Latin) school there. The school was at that time under the rectorship of Cornelis Duyck.

In Haarlem he undoubtedly soon became intimate with the literary circles of the day.

c. 1566 Probably it was around the year 1566 that he married Weyntgen Jacobsdr., who was also a native of Gouda and a Catholic. From this marriage six or seven children (one child may have died in infancy) were born : four sons (Gerrit, Jacob, Balthasar, and Adriaen) and two daughters (Elisabeth and Barbara). Two of these, Elisabeth and Balthasar, did not survive their father.

1569 In 1569 he was schoolmaster 'in quarta classe' at the Haarlem Latin school, which means that he is to be considered as the right hand of the Rector or, to put it another way, as the Vice-Rector of the school.

1572 On 1 January 1572 he was appointed Rector of the Great (i.e. Latin) school in The Hague in succession to Wouter van Wyck who had died shortly before. His salary was fixed at 144 guilders *per annum* ['vyer ende twintich ponden grooten vlaems tsiaers']. From this sum he probably had to pay the other schoolmasters. Moreover, he was excused from paying taxes (and house-rent).

Although his appointment was for a period of four years, he did not serve out his contract. Besides other motives, it may also have been the political situation of those days which in November 1574 made him decide to move from The Hague to Haarlem, when the rectorship of the Latin school had fallen vacant there.

On 11 December 1572 the Spaniards laid siege to Haarlem until its capitulation on 13 July 1573.

1573 On 27 May 1573 Quirinus Talesius, former secretary to Erasmus and ex-burgomaster of Haarlem, was hanged during the Spanish siege at the age of sixty-seven.

It was during his first stay in Haarlem (c. 1565-1571) that Schonaeus had become one of his friends and had dedicated a poem to him in his *Carminum Libellus* of 1569 (pp. 94-99).

1574 On 9 November 1574 the Haarlem burgomasters came to an arrangement with Schonaeus to be the new Rector of the Latin school in their town at a salary of 180 guilders *per annum* (from which he had to pay his fellow-schoolmasters). In this function he was the successor of Cornelis Jacobss. Ketel, a priest, who had died on 2 September 1574 or shortly before. In all probability, however, his appointment

was retrospective from 1 November 1574. In order to cover the costs of his removal from The Hague to Haarlem he was granted a *douceur* of twenty guilders as a welcome.

On 17 December 1574 Philips Henricxs. van Hogesteyn, Commander of the Knights of St John at Haarlem, died at Amersfoort at the age of approximately forty-five. In memory of him Schonaeus, one of his closest friends, composed an epitaph which, together with the deceased's portrait, was placed over him.

- 1575** On 23 April 1575 the burgomasters of Haarlem presented Schonaeus with nine guilders for his tabard. From now on until his death he received this same amount every year as a dress-allowance.

On 16 June 1575 Hadrianus Iunius, former Rector of the Latin school at Haarlem, died at Middelburg at the age of about sixty-four. He was one of the authors of laudatory poems prefixed to many editions of plays by Schonaeus.

- 1576** In 1576 about four hundred and fifty houses in Haarlem were reduced to ashes by a terrible fire which broke out in the night of 22 to 23 October and burned for several days.

- 1578** When in the current of events following the Haarlem 'Noon' of 29 May (i.e. Corpus Christi) 1578 the Sint Bavo Cathedral was withdrawn from Catholic worship, Schonaeus received until the end of his life a sum of twenty-four pounds *per annum* from the treasurer. He was granted this amount by the Haarlem burgomasters as a compensation for the loss of the emoluments he had enjoyed as the leader of the choral singing by his pupils in this church for the benefit of some guilds.

In the same year he was paid by the treasurer a sum of eight guilders and eight shillings for cataloguing, together with one of his pupils over a period of fourteen days, the books which were present in the Haarlem monasteries of the Black Friars and the Minorite Friars. These books were supposed to be sent to Leyden University at the request of Janus Dousa, Lord of Noordwijk, but there seem to be no indications that they ever arrived there.

- 1579** By a resolution of the States of Holland Schonaeus was granted on 9 March 1579 the revenues, to an amount of fifty pounds *per annum*, of a vicarage in the village of Spanbroek, in order to help him to support his school in an appropriate way.

- c. 1580** In about 1580 Petrus Apherdianus, former Rector of the Latin

school on the Oude Zijds, and later on the Nieuwe Zijds Voorburgwal at Amsterdam, died at the age of about seventy. He was one of the authors of laudatory poems in editions of plays by Schonaeus. That Schonaeus did the same for him can be deduced from an epigram in Schonaeus's *Liber Epigrammatum* of 1592 (p. 485).

- 1581** For a grammar composed by their order the States of Holland rewarded Schonaeus on 18 March 1581 with a sum of fifty pounds.

Between 3 and 10 September 1581 'Aryen schoon metselaer' ['stone mason'], almost certainly Schonaeus's father, was buried in the Sint Janskerk at Gouda.

- 1582** In 1582 the burgomasters and City Fathers of Haarlem who till then had maintained Schonaeus, though being a Catholic, as the Rector of the Latin school in their town, intended to discharge him from the rectorship of the school. The main reason for having him replaced by a new Rector seems to have been the decline of the school. It was in June of this year therefore that the ex-burgomaster Jan van Zuren, together with the burgomasters Nicolaes van der Laen and Gerrit Stuver, travelled to Leyden in order to inquire after a new superintendent of the Latin school. Schonaeus, however, got wind of it. On 20 June 1582 he addressed a long apologetic letter to the Haarlem magistrates in which he explained the reasons that had caused the decline of the school. But at the same time he stated that at the moment of writing his letter there were more pupils registered at his school than at the start of his rectorship. Moreover, in his view, the Haarlem Latin school contrasted favourably with the Latin schools in other towns of Holland.

Perhaps it was this letter which made the Haarlem magistrates decide to allow Schonaeus to continue in office.

- 1583** In about 1583 the Latin school was no longer housed in the building in the Schoolsteeg but moved, presumably together with the 'cleyne' ['Lower'] school, to the former Cellebroeders-monastery in the Jacobijnensteeg. After all the monasteries had passed into the ownership of the city as a result of an agreement reached between the States of Holland, the city of Haarlem, and William of Orange on 24 April 1581, the Haarlem magistrates decided to convert this monastery into a school-building and a house for the Rector. Probably the rebuilding was finished in 1583.

- 1586** When on 13 March 1586 Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, visited Haarlem, he was welcomed, *inter alia*, by an epigram from Schonaeus. This probably was attached to the wooden pyramid erected in the market-place.
- Between 6 and 13 April 1586 Machtelt Claesdr., in all probability Schonaeus's mother, was buried in the Sint Janskerk at Gouda.
- 1587** In February 1587 Johan Pieterss. Vocking (Ioannes Voccinius), Father Superior of the Zijlconvent at Haarlem, died at the age of fifty-six. On his death-bed he bequeathed a silver drinking-cup to his close friend Schonaeus.
- 1591** On 10 May 1591 Jan van Zuren, ex-burgomaster of Haarlem, died at the age of seventy-four. To this patron Schonaeus had dedicated his *Carminum Libellus* of 1569 and some epigrams which can be found in his *Liber Epigrammatum* of 1592 (pp. 450 and 459-60).
- 1592** In 1592 Schonaeus borrowed the sum of 300 pounds from the city of Haarlem in order to have 1,000 copies of his *Sacrae comoediae sex* printed by Gillis Rooman at Haarlem.
- 1595** On 29 April 1595 Schonaeus, a Catholic, was appointed together with Johannes Mathisius, a Protestant minister, supervisor of the books to be printed and published in Haarlem.
- 1597** Effective from 2 May 1597, Schonaeus's former pupil Dirck Corneliss. Schrevel (Theodorus Sc(h)revelius) was acting Vice-Rector of the Latin school in his home town Haarlem in order to relieve Schonaeus's task and to contribute to the restoration of the school-discipline. On his appointment, presumably at the beginning of April 1597, he was 'praeceptor quartae classis' of the Latin school in Leyden.
- 1598** In April 1598 a commission of four school-inspectors ['scholarchen'] was formed whose duty it was to bring prosperity to the school. Besides Johannes Mathisius and Joannes Crucius, two ministers, Pieter van der Hooch, a trustee of the Haarlem orphanage ['weesmeester'], and Jacob van Amerongen were to be the members.
- 1599** On 26 April 1599 Joost Claesz. Vinck, from 1560 onwards a conventual of the order of the Knights of St John at Haarlem and, like his friend Schonaeus, a native of Gouda, died at the age of approximately sixty. He was buried two days later in the Grote Kerk at Haarlem.

On 8 December 1599 a marriage-contract was drawn up between Schonaeus (on behalf of his son) and Maritgen Ghijsbrechtsdr. Vinck, the widow of Maerten van der Hove (in his lifetime a surgeon ['chirurgijn'] at Delft) and bride elect of his son Balthasar. Of all the children of Schonaeus, Balthasar is probably the best known, as there is about him some precise, albeit scanty, information. After studying medicine at the Universities of Leyden and Paris he was registered as a citizen ['poorter'] of Delft on 6 November 1599 and he was practicing there as a doctor and surgeon ['chirurgijn']. As there are no extant records of the birth or baptism of Schonaeus's children, the year in which he was born can be established only approximately as *c.* 1574.

- 1602** On 20 January 1602 Schonaeus and his wife Weyntgen Jacobsdr. signed their will drawn up by notary Michiel Jansz. van Woerden at Haarlem. The originally fixed date of 27 December 1601 to execute the deed was cancelled for an unknown reason. From a letter to his former pupil and friend Petrus Sc(h)riverius, dated 31 March 1603, we learn that he was in bad health at that time. This same information can be inferred from the dedication of the third part of his *Lucubrationes* to his friend Timan van Wou, dating from 1 January 1603.

The above-mentioned will informs us that their daughter Elisabeth had already died then but had left a daughter Lysbeth, their grandchild.

- 1604** Shortly before 25 July 1604 a grandchild (a child of Jacob Corneliss. Schonaeus and IJeffgen Willemsdr.) was buried at Haarlem.

- 1605** On 12 February 1605 Gerrit Cornelisz. Schonaeus, surgeon ['chirurgijn'] and widower of Machtel Jacobsdr., declaring his father's private consent, and Silletjen Claesdr., twenty-nine years old, gave notice of their coming marriage at Amsterdam. The year in which Gerrit was born can be established with the help of a notarial act of 27 January 1614, in which his age is given as forty-seven. Counting backwards, we therefore arrive at *c.* 1567.

On 25 October 1605 Frans Claesz. Loenen, a thread-twister and merchant from Amsterdam who was already for many years living in Haarlem, died and was buried shortly afterwards in the Grote Kerk. Four days before (21 October), when having his will drawn up by notary Michiel Jansz. van Woerden, he had nominated and instituted as his heirs Sybrant Willemsz. Stam and Cornelis Schonaeus, his good

friends ['zyne goede vrunden'], with the obligation to distribute his goods to the poor at their discretion. Stam and Schonaeus accepted the estate left by Loenen under benefit of inventory.

On 5 November 1605 Timan Willemsz. van Wou, Commander of the Knights of St John at Haarlem and one of Schonaeus's closest friends, died at the age of approximately seventy. He was buried shortly afterwards in the Grote Kerk at Haarlem.

1606 On 22 October 1606 Schonaeus, together with the schoolmasters and scholars of the Latin school, walked at the head of a procession of the Chambers of Rhetoric. These had collected at Haarlem for a dramatic contest in order to raise money for the erection of an old men's home. On the occasion of this so-called 'Landjuweel' Schonaeus very probably had his *Fabula Comica* (printed in 1607) enacted by the scholars of his school, perhaps as a play of welcome.

1609 In order to add lustre to the festivities which were organized in Haarlem after the conclusion (9 April 1609) of the Twelve Year's Truce with Spain the scholars of the Latin school enacted an unnamed play. This, if he were indeed involved in the preparations of the performance, was the last one to be brought on the stage under the direction of Schonaeus as the Rector of the school.

On 23 June 1609 the Haarlem burgomasters decided to discharge the worn-out Schonaeus at his own request from his office as Rector of the Latin school. At the same time they gave him the assurance that, in view of his long record of service, they were willing to pay him until his death his full salary and all the emoluments he had enjoyed as Rector.

On the very same day Theodorus Schrevelius was appointed successor to Cornelius Schonaeus as Rector of the school. His installation took place on his birthday, 25 July 1609.

1611 On 26 March 1611, three days after he had had his will drawn up by notary Vranck van Vuytenbrouck, Balthasar Schonaeus was buried in the Oude Kerk at Delft. He left one daughter, named after his mother, Weintgen.

About 1 May 1611 Schonaeus left the Rector's house in the Jacobijnensteeg, in order that his successor could take his residence there, and moved to a house in the Jansstraat. As a compensation for house-rent he was granted until his death a sum of 150 pounds *per*

annum from the treasurer. Moreover Schrevelius was willing to pay his predecessor fifty pounds from his wages.

On 20 July 1611 Schonaeus's first will of 20 January 1602 was revoked and replaced by a new one, this time drawn up by notary Hugo Steyn at Haarlem.

On Wednesday 23 November 1611 Schonaeus died, presumably at the age of seventy, and was brought shortly afterwards (on Friday 25 or Saturday 26 November) to his last resting-place in the Grote Kerk at Haarlem. The epitaph, placed over him, was composed by his successor Schrevelius.

Weyntgen Jacobsdr., his wife, was buried in the same church on 21 January 1620.

Schonaeus wrote many poems, a number of them accompanying engravings. His name survives thanks to his plays, which brought him the honorary title of *Terentius Christianus* and went through many editions of which copies are spread all over Europe.

Chronology of the Publication of Schonaeus's Works in His Lifetime

1569, 1570 Antwerp	<i>Tobaeus, Comoedia Sacra</i> (A play. Probably composed in 1568 at Haarlem). <i>Carminum Libellus</i> (Poems. Possibly completed in 1568 at Haarlem).
1570 Antwerp	<i>Nehemias. De Instauratione Hierosolymae Comoedia Sacra</i> (A play. Probably composed in 1569 at Haarlem).
1570, 1571 Antwerp	<i>Saulus Conversus, Comoedia Nova et Sacra</i> (A play. Probably composed in 1570 at Haarlem).
1572 Antwerp	<i>Naaman, Comoedia Sacra et Nova</i> (A play. Probably composed in 1571 at Haarlem).
1572 Strasburg	(<i>Tobaeus, Comoedia Sacra</i> . Previous ed. 1569 at Antwerp).
1576 Amsterdam	<i>Leges in Gymnasio Harlemensi et Amsterodamensi...</i> (School-regulations. Probably composed in 1576 at Haarlem).
1580 Antwerp	(<i>Tobaeus, Comoedia Sacra et Nova</i> . Previous eds: 1569 at Antwerp; 1572 at Strasburg).
1581 Antwerp	(<i>Saulus Conversus, Comoedia Nova et Sacra</i> . Previous ed. 1570 at Antwerp).
1581 Antwerp	(<i>Naaman, Comoedia Sacra et Nova</i> . Previous ed. 1572 at Antwerp).
1582 Antwerp?	<i>Rudimenta Grammatices (Latinae)</i> (A Grammar. Probably composed in 1580-81 at Haarlem).

- 1583 (Tobaeus, *Comoedia Sacra et Nova*. Previous eds: 1569 at
Strasburg Antwerp; 1572 at Strasburg; 1580 at Antwerp).
1587 (*Rudimenta Grammatices (Latinae)*. Previous ed. 1582 at
Haarlem? Antwerp?).
1590 *Iosephus, Comoedia Sacra (et Nova)* (A play. Probably
Haarlem composed in 1589-90 at Haarlem).
1591 (*Terentius Christianus*, i.e. *Naaman, Tobaeus, Nehemias,*
Cologne *Saulus*. First edition of the collected four plays by Scho-
naeus, edited without his knowledge under the title *Terentius*
Christianus in 1591 at Cologne).
1592 (*Terentius Christianus*, i.e. *Naaman, Tobaeus, Nehemias,*
Cologne *Saulus*. Previous Cologne ed. of this collection: 1591).
1592, 1594 *Sacrae Comoediae Sex*, i.e. (*Tobaeus, Nehemias, Saulus,*
Haarlem *Naaman, Iosephus, Iuditha* (Only *Iuditha* is a new play,
probably composed in 1591-92 at Haarlem. First edition of
the collected six biblical dramas by Schonaeus, this time
published by the author himself; in 1594 also under the
title *Terentius Christianus*).
Pseudostratitotae, Fabula Iocosa atque Ludicra (A play.
Probably composed in 1592 at Haarlem).
Liber Elegiarum (A collection of elegies, partly published
before in 1569 at Antwerp (in his *Carminum Libellus*) and
possibly completed in 1592 at Haarlem).
Liber Epigrammatum (A collection of epigrams, possibly
completed in 1592 at Haarlem).
1595 (*Terentius Christianus*, i.e. *Tobaeus* and *Iuditha*, and *Pseudo-*
London *stratitotes*. First edition of the only three plays of Schonaeus
ever published in England).
1595 (*Terentius Christianus Duabus Comoediis Auctus / Additis*,
Cologne i.e. *Naaman, Tobaeus, Nehemias, Saulus, Iosephus, Iuditha*.
First Cologne edition of six plays by Schonaeus, published
before as a collection in 1592 and 1594 at Haarlem. The
1591 and 1592 Cologne eds contain only the first four
plays by Schonaeus).
1596 *Daniel, Comoedia Sacra et Nova* (A play. Probably com-
Haarlem posed in 1595 at Haarlem).
1596 (*Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae Sex*, i.e. *Naa-*
Cologne *man, Tobaeus, Nehemias, Saulus, Iosephus, Iuditha*. Previous
Cologne ed. of this collection: 1595).
1596 *Duae Fabulae (Iocosae atque) Ludicrae: Cunae et Vitulus*
Haarlem (Two plays. Possibly completed in 1596 at Haarlem).
1598 (*Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae Sex*, i.e. *To-*
Antwerp *baeus, Nehemias, Saulus, Naaman, Iosephus, Iuditha*. Previous
ed. of this collection published by the author himself: 1592,
1594 at Haarlem. Previous Cologne eds of these six plays:
1595, 1596).

- 1599
Cologne (*Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae Sex*, i.e. *Naa-man, Tobaeus, Nehemias, Saulus, Iosephus, Iuditha*. Previous Cologne eds of this collection : 1595, 1596).
- 1599
Wittenberg (*Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae Sex* or *Pars Prior Terentii Christiani seu Comoediarum Cornelii Schonaei*, i.e. *Tobaeus, Nehemias, Saulus, Naaman, Iosephus, Iuditha*. Previous eds of this collection : 1592, 1594 at Haarlem; 1598 at Antwerp).
- 1599
Amsterdam
Wittenberg *Comoediarum Cornelii Schonaei Altera Pars* (ed. Amsterdam) or *Pars Altera Terentii Christiani seu Comoediarum Cornelii Schonaei* (ed. Wittenberg), i.e. *Susanna, (Daniel), Triumphus Christi, (Pseudostratitotae, Cunae, Vitulus*. First edition of another collection of six plays by Schonaeus. Only *Susanna* and *Triumphus Christi* are new plays probably composed sometime between 1596 and 1599 at Haarlem).
(*Libellus* or *Liber Elegiarum*. Previous ed. 1592, 1594 at Haarlem).
(*Libellus* or *Liber Epigrammatum*. Previous ed. 1592, 1594 at Haarlem).
- 1601
Nuremberg (*Daniel, Comoedia Sacra et Nova*. Previous separate ed. 1596 at Haarlem).
- 1601
London (*Terentius Christianus*, i.e. *Tobaeus* and *Iuditha*, and *Pseudostratitotes*. Previous English ed. 1595 at London).
- 1602
Cologne *Terentii Christiani Pars Secunda*, i.e. (*Susanna, Daniel, Triumphus Christi*), *Typhlus, Pentecoste, Ananias* (First edition of the second part of the *Christian Terence* in this composition. Of the six plays only the last three are new and probably composed sometime between 1599 and 1602 at Haarlem. Previous eds of the first three plays as part of a collection : 1599 at Amsterdam and Wittenberg).
- 1603
Cologne *Cornelii Schonaei Lucubrationum Pars Tertia*, i.e. *Baptistes, Dyscoli, (Pseudostratitotae, Cunae, Vitulus*. First edition of the third part of the plays by Schonaeus in this composition. Only the plays *Baptistes* and *Dyscoli* are new and probably composed in 1602 at Haarlem. Previous eds of the other three plays as part of a collection : 1599 at Amsterdam and Wittenberg).
(*Liber Elegiarum*. Previous eds : 1592, 1594 at Haarlem; 1599 at Amsterdam and Wittenberg).
(*Liber Epigrammatum*. Previous eds : 1592, 1594 at Haarlem; 1599 at Amsterdam and Wittenberg).
- 1604
Cologne (*Terentius Christianus seu Comoediae Sacrae Sex*, i.e. *Naa-man, Tobaeus, Nehemias, Saulus, Iosephus, Iuditha*. Previous Cologne eds of this collection : 1595, 1596, 1599).
- 1606
Cologne (*Terentii Christiani Pars Secunda*, i.e. *Susanna, Daniel, Triumphus Christi, Typhlus, Pentecoste, Ananias*. Previous ed. of the second part of the *Christian Terence* in this composition : 1602 at Cologne).

- 1607 (Terentius Christianus, i.e. *Tobaeus* and *Iuditha*, and *Pseudostratiotes*. Previous English eds : 1595, 1601 at London).
 London
 1607 *Fabula Comica* (A play. Probably composed in 1606 at
 Zwolle Haarlem).
 1608, 1609, 1611 (Terentius Christianus seu *Comoediae Sacrae Sex*, i.e. *Naa-*
 Cologne *man*, *Tobaeus*, *Nehemias*, *Saulus*, *Iosephus*, *Iuditha*. Previous
 Cologne eds of this collection : 1595, 1596, 1599, 1604).
 1609 (Cornelii Schonaei *Lucubrationum Pars Tertia*, i.e. *Baptistes*,
 Cologne *Dyscoli*, *Pseudostratiotae*, *Cunae*, *Vitulus*. Previous ed. of
 the third part of Schonaeus's plays in this composition :
 1603 at Cologne).
 (Liber *Elegiarum*. Previous eds : 1592, 1594 at Haarlem;
 1599 at Amsterdam and Wittenberg; 1603 at Cologne).
 (Liber *Epigrammatum*. Previous eds : 1592, 1594 at Haarlem;
 1599 at Amsterdam and Wittenberg; 1603 at Cologne).
 1610 (Terentius Christianus, i.e. *Tobaeus* and *Iuditha*, and *Pseudo-*
 London *stratiotes*. Previous English eds : 1595, 1601, 1607 at London).
 1611 (Comoediae *Selectiores ex Terentio Christiano*, i.e. *Baptistes*,
 Berne *Triumphus Christi*, *Pentecoste*, *Daniel*, *Dyscoli*. Probably a
 selection from the second and third part of Schonaeus's
Lucubrationes which had been published in 1602 and 1603,
 and in 1606 and 1609 at Cologne).

PLAN OF THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

This bibliography gives a description of all the printed editions of the Latin plays, elegies and epigrams of Cornelius Schonaeus. In so far as it could be established, the arrangement of the descriptions is chronological with only a few exceptions in order to bring together closely related editions. Of this an account is given in the notes.

With some exceptions (Nos 38, 87-89), only editions are included in the numbering, not issues and variant states which have a sub-letter. Each separate bibliographical entity, identified by a separate title-page and its own series of signatures or pagination, is regarded as an edition.

Editions which I consider on good grounds to be 'ghosts' are not included in the present bibliography.

For the bibliographical descriptions I have taken as a guide the works of Fredson Bowers, *Principles of Bibliographical Description* (Princeton, 1949 and later impressions) and Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography*, reprinted with corrections [2nd reprint] (Oxford, [1979]). For the concepts of issue and state the reader is

also referred to the article by G. Thomas Tanselle, 'The Bibliographical Concepts of *Issue* and *State*', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 69 (1975), 17-66 (pp. 65-66).

I trust that the descriptions will enable the user to identify easily the edition or issue of a book that he has in his hands even though the copy may be imperfect.

The following points call for mention: (1) The information provided in each entry follows the same pattern: (a) Short-title, imprint and date; (b) Collation; (c) List of contents; (d) Notes; (e) Census of copies. (2) Since the title-page of every item is reproduced in photographic facsimile (unless otherwise noted, approximately full-sized), only a conventional short-title and imprint appear at the head of the bibliographical descriptions. (3) In the collational formula line the indication of the format is followed by two items within parentheses. The first item is the number of lines of verse on a normal full page (casual variation from the established form, however, has been ignored), the second includes the dimensions of a normal type-page of (rather) solid text less headline and direction-line, serving mainly to aid the reader in visualizing the book. The vertical measurement of the text type-page is made from the upperside of a letter without ascender in the first line to the underside of a letter without descender in the last line. To this the measurement of the width of the longest line of verse on the type-page is added, followed within square brackets by the signature (in No. 98: page) reference of the page chosen. In checking measurements one has to bear in mind, however, that variable paper shrinkage will alter these measurements slightly. (4) Preliminary unnumbered pages which have not been counted by the printer are noted as a bracketed and italicized total. Inferential numbering is indicated by the use of italics without brackets. (5) The description of the contents which follows is in quasi-facsimile but ligatures (digraphs Æ and Œ, æ and œ have not been regarded as ligatures), and swash and tailed letters have been ignored. Reference has been made by signatures (in No. 98: by page) to the position at which the item listed begins. (6) Then follow additional notes in which I have put together all kinds of facts and circumstances relating to the publication. (7) An attempt has been made to identify printers whose names do not appear in the book. In some cases, however, my research was in vain. (8) I have endeavoured to examine, or have examined for me, as many copies as possible for each item

listed. Copies which I have personally examined are marked with an asterisk. For editions of which there seems to be no longer an extant copy I have relied on works containing information about the edition in question. I have not attempted to provide a complete census of copies of all the items listed, though I do, in fact, cite all the copies known to me. (9) Shelf-marks are given for all the copies listed. It should be recognized, however, that some of them may be out of date by now.

Works Cited in Abbreviated Form in this Bibliography

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| BB | <i>Bibliotheca Belgica: Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas.</i> Fondée par Ferdinand van der Haeghen. Rééditée sous la direction de Marie-Thérèse Lenger, 7 vols (Brussels, 1964-1975). |
| Benzing | Josef Benzing, <i>Die Buchdrucker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts im deutschen Sprachgebiet</i> , second edition (Wiesbaden, 1982) [= <i>Beiträge zum Buch- und Bibliothekswesen</i> 12]. |
| Briels | J. G. C. A. Briels, <i>Zuidnederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden omstreeks 1570-1630: een bijdrage tot de kennis van de geschiedenis van het boek...</i> (Nieuwkoop, 1974) [= <i>Bibliotheca Bibliographica Neerlandica</i> 6]. |
| Heitz, <i>EB</i> | <i>Elsässische Büchermarken bis Anfang des 18. Jahrhunderts.</i> Herausgegeben von Paul Heitz mit Vorbemerkungen und Nachrichten über die Drucker von Karl August Barack (Strasburg, 1892; reprint Naarden, 1970). |
| Heitz, <i>KB</i> | <i>Die Kölner Büchermarken bis Anfang des XVII. Jahrhunderts.</i> Herausgegeben von Paul Heitz mit Nachrichten über die Drucker von Otto Zaretzky (Strasburg, 1898; reprint Naarden, 1970). |
| Laceulle-
Van de Kerk | H. J. Laceulle-Van de Kerk, <i>De Haarlemse drukkers en boekverkopers van 1540 tot 1600</i> ('s-Gravenhage, 1951) [= <i>Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van den Nederlandschen boekhandel</i> 14]. |
| McKerrow,
<i>Devices</i> | R. B. McKerrow, <i>Printers' & Publishers' Devices in England & Scotland 1485-1640</i> (London, 1913; reprint London, 1949). |
| McKerrow,
<i>Dictionary</i> | R. B. McKerrow (general editor), <i>A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books 1557-1640</i> (London, 1910; reprints [London], The Bibliographical Society, 1968 and 1977). |
| Moes-Burger | E. W. Moes and C. P. Burger Jr, <i>De Amsterdamsche boekdrukkers en uitgevers in de zestiende eeuw</i> , 4 vols (Amsterdam/'s-Gravenhage, 1900-15). |

- NSTC (= New STC) A. W. Pollard & G. R. Redgrave, *A Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland. And of English Books Printed Abroad 1475-1640*, Second Edition, Revised & Enlarged. Begun by W. A. Jackson & F. S. Ferguson. Completed by Katharine F. Pantzer, Volume 2 I-Z (London, 1976).
- Plomer, Henry R. Plomer, *A Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers Who Were at Work in England, Scotland and Ireland from 1641 to 1667* (London, 1907; reprints [London], The Bibliographical Society, 1968 and 1977).
- Silvestre L.-C. Silvestre, *Marques typographiques ou recueil des monogrammes, chiffres, enseignes, emblèmes, devises, rébus et fleurons des libraires et imprimeurs qui ont exercé en France, depuis l'introduction de l'imprimerie, en 1470, jusqu'à la fin du seizième siècle : ...*, 2 vols (Paris, 1853-67; reprint Amsterdam, 1971).
- Voet Leon Voet (In collaboration with Jenny Voet-Grisolle), *The Plantin Press (1555-1589) : A Bibliography of the Works printed and published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden*, 6 vols (Amsterdam, [1980-83]).
- Other works referred to are cited in full wherever they occur.

List of Libraries Cited

The libraries which I have found to be in the possession of at least one copy of an edition of a play or plays by Schonaeus are listed below in alphabetical order according to the name of the city in which they are located.

The place-names are given in the vernacular or the normal Anglicized form, whereas the official name of the library is followed by the symbol or abbreviation used in the bibliography.

- Aarau, Aargauische Kantonsbibliothek (AKB).
 Abbeville, Bibliothèque Municipale (BM).
 Aberdeen, University Library (UL).
 Åbo/Turku, Åbo Akademis Bibliotek (AAB).
 Åbo/Turku, Turun Yliopiston Kirjasto (TYK).
 Admont, Stiftsbibliothek (Stift).
 Agen, Bibliothèque Municipale (BM).
 Amberg, Staatliche Provinzialbibliothek (SPB).
 Amsterdam, Bibliotheek der Gemeentelijke Universiteit (UB-GU).
 Amsterdam, Bibliotheek van het Instituut voor Neolatijn van de Universiteit van Amsterdam (Neolatijn).

- Amsterdam, Bibliotheek der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen (KNAW).
 Amsterdam, Bibliotheek van het Rijksmuseum (Rijksmuseum).
 Amsterdam, Bibliotheek der Vereeniging ter Bevordering van de Belangen des Boekhandels (VBBB).
 Amsterdam, Bibliotheek der Vrije Universiteit (UB-VU).
 Amsterdam, Toonkunst-Bibliotheek (TKB).
 Antwerp, Bibliotheek van het Ruusbroec-Genootschap (Ruusbroec).
 Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus (MPM).
 Aschaffenburg, Stiftsbibliothek (Stift).
 Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek (SStB).
 Augsburg, Universitätsbibliothek (UB).
 Bad Münstereifel, Bibliothek des St Michael-Gymnasiums (St Michael).
 Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek (SB).
 Basle, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität (UB).
 Bergen, Universitetsbiblioteket (UB).
 Berlin (GDR), Deutsche Staatsbibliothek (DSB).
 Berlin (GDR), Universitätsbibliothek (UB).
 Berne, Schweizerische Landesbibliothek (SLB).
 Berne, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek (StUB).
 Besançon, Bibliothèque Municipale (BM).
 Birmingham, Public Libraries (PL).
 Birmingham, University Library (UL).
 Bloomington (Ind.), Indiana University Library (UL).
 Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio (BCA).
 Bordeaux, Bibliothèque Municipale (BM).
 Bornheim-Walberberg, Bibliothek St Albert (St Albert).
 Bratislava, Univerzitná knižnica (UK).
 Braunschweig, Stadtbibliothek (StB).
 Bremen, Universitätsbibliothek (UB).
 Breslau. See Wrocław.
 Brunswick (Maine), Bowdoin College Library (Bowdoin).
 Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I (KB).
 Budapest, Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtára (MTAK).
 Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár (OSK).
 Burgdorf, Stadtbibliothek (StB).
 Cambridge, Emmanuel College Library (Emmanuel).
 Cambridge, King's College Library (King's).
 Cambridge, Magdalene College Library (Magdalene).
 Cambridge, Pembroke College Library (Pembroke).
 Cambridge, Queens' College Library (Queens').
 Cambridge, St Catharine's College Library (St Catharine's).
 Cambridge, St John's College Library (St John's).
 Cambridge, Trinity College Library (Trinity).
 Cambridge, University Library (UL).
 Cambridge (Mass.), Harvard University Library (HUL).

- Chantilly, Bibliothèque S.J. "Les Fontaines" (Les Fontaines).
 Chicago (Ill.), The Newberry Library (Newberry).
 Chicago (Ill.), University Library (UL).
 Chur, Kantonsbibliothek Graubünden (KBG).
 Cleveland (Ohio), Case Western Reserve University Library (CWRUL).
 Coburg, Landesbibliothek (LB).
 Colmar, Bibliothèque de la Ville (BV).
 Cologne, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dom-Bibliothek (EDDB).
 Cologne, Universitäts- und Stadtbibliothek (UStB).
 Columbus (Ohio), The Ohio State University Libraries (UL).
 Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek (KB).
 Cracow. See Kraków.
 Danzig. See Gdańsk.
 Dillingen, Studienbibliothek (StuB).
 Donaueschingen, Fürstlich Fürstenbergische Hofbibliothek (FHB).
 Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek (SLB).
 Dublin, Trinity College Library (Trinity).
 Durham, University Library (UL).
 Durham, Ushaw College Library (Ushaw).
 Düsseldorf, Universitätsbibliothek (UB).
 Edinburgh, The National Library of Scotland (NL).
 Edinburgh, University Library (UL).
 Eichstätt, Universitätsbibliothek (UB).
 Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek (Stift).
 Emden, Bibliothek der Grossen Kirche (BGK).
 Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Allgemeinbibliothek (WAB).
 Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg (UB).
 Estergom, Érseki Simor Könyvtár (ESK).
 Evanston (Ill.), Northwestern University Library (NUL).
 Ferrara, Biblioteca Comunale Ariostea (BCA).
 Flensburg, Schulbibliothek am Alten Gymnasium (AG).
 Florence, Biblioteca della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università (BU).
 Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale (BNC).
 Frankfurt-am-Main, Bibliothek der Philosophisch-theologischen Hochschule
 Sankt Georgen (Sankt Georgen).
 Frankfurt-am-Main, Stadt- und Universitätsbibliothek (StUB).
 Frauenfeld, Thurgauische Kantonsbibliothek (TKB).
 Freiburg im Breisgau, Universitätsbibliothek (UB).
 Freising, Dombibliothek (DB).
 Fribourg, Bibliothèque Cantonale et Universitaire (BCU).
 Fribourg, Bibliothèque du couvent des Capucins (OFMCap).
 Gainesville (Fla.), University of Florida Libraries (UL).
 Gdańsk, Biblioteka Gdańska Polskiej Akademii Nauk (PAN).
 Geneva, Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire (BPU).
 Ghent, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit (UB).
 Glasgow, University Library (UL).
 Göttingen, Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek (NSUB).

- Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek Schloss Friedenstein (FB).
 Gouda, Gemeentearchief en Librye (Librye).
 Granada, Biblioteca Universitaria (BU).
 Graz, Universitätsbibliothek (UB).
 Greifswald, Universitätsbibliothek (UB).
 Grenoble, Bibliothèque Municipale (BM).
 Groningen, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit (UB).
 Güssing, Bibliothek der P.P. Franziskaner (OFM).
 Haarlem, Gemeentearchief (GA).
 Haarlem, Stadsbibliotheek (StB).
 Hague. See The Hague.
 Halberstadt, Gleimbibliothek (GB).
 Halle (Saale), Marienbibliothek (MB).
 Halle (Saale), Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt (ULB).
 Halle (Saale), ULB Sachsen-Anhalt, Abt. Hauptbibliothek der Franckeschen Stiftungen (HBFS).
 Hamburg, Hauptbibliothek der Gelehrtenschule des Johanneums (Johanneum).
 Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek (SUB).
 Hannover, Niedersächsische Landesbibliothek (NLB).
 Heidelberg, Universitätsbibliothek (UB).
 Heiligenkreuz, Stiftsbibliothek (Stift).
 Helsinki, Yliopiston Kirjasto (YK).
 Heverlee, Centre de Documentation et de Recherche Religieuses (CDRR).
 Hildesheim, Stadtbibliothek (StB).
 Innsbruck, Bibliothek des Jesuitenkollegs (SJ).
 Innsbruck, Universitätsbibliothek (UB).
 Ithaca (N.Y.), Cornell University Libraries (CUL).
 Jena, Universitätsbibliothek (UB).
 Kamenz, Lessing-Bibliothek (Lessing).
 Katowice, Biblioteka Śląska (Śląska).
 Košice, Štátna Vedecká Knižnica (SVK).
 Kraków, Muzeum Narodowe (Narodowe).
 Lausanne, Bibliothèque Cantonale et Universitaire (BCU).
 Lawrence (Kans.), University of Kansas Libraries (UL).
 Leeuwarden, Buma Bibliotheek (Buma).
 Leipzig, Deutsches Buch- und Schriftmuseum (DBSM).
 Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek (UB).
 Leningrad, Library of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR (BAH).
 Leningrad, M. E. Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library (PB).
 Leutkirch, Fürstl. Waldburg-Zeil'sche Bibliothek Schloss Zeil (Zeil).
 Leuven, Bibliotheek van de Faculteit der Godgeleerdheid (BTF).
 Leuven, Bibliotheek van de Katholieke Universiteit (UB-KUL).
 Leyden, Bibliotheek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde (in the UB) (MNL).
 Leyden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit (UB).
 Leyden, Bibliotheca Thysiana (in the UB) (Thysiana).

- Liège, Bibliotheca Seminarii Leodiensis; now: Bibliothèque Publique André Minon, Section historique (BP).
- Liège, Bibliothèque générale de l'Université (BU).
- Limburg, Diözesanbibliothek des Bischöflichen Ordinariats (DBO).
- Limoges, Bibliothèque Municipale (BM).
- Linköping, Stifts- och landsbiblioteket (SLB).
- Linz, Bundesstaatliche Studienbibliothek (BStuB).
- Lisbon, Biblioteca da Ajuda (Ajuda).
- Liverpool, The Athenaeum (Athenaeum).
- London, Bedford College Library (Bedford).
- London, The British Library (BL).
- London, Dulwich College Library (Dulwich).
- London, King's College Library (King's).
- London, Queen Mary College Library (Queen Mary).
- London, St Paul's Cathedral Library (St Paul's).
- London, The Warburg Institute Library (Warburg).
- London, Dr Williams's Library (Williams).
- Louvain. See Leuven.
- Louvain-la-Neuve, Bibliothèque de l'Université catholique (BU-UCL).
- Lublin, Biblioteka Główna Uniwersytetu (Główna).
- Lund, Universitetsbiblioteket (UB).
- Lutherstadt-Wittenberg, Bibliothek des Evangelischen Predigerseminars (BEP).
- Luzern, Zentralbibliothek (ZB).
- Lyons, Bibliothèque de la Ville (BV).
- Maastricht, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit Limburg (UB).
- Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional (BN).
- Mainz, Stadtbibliothek (StB).
- Maldon, The Plume Library (Plume).
- Manchester, Chetham's Library (Chetham's).
- Manchester, Public Libraries (PL).
- Manchester, The John Rylands University Library (UL).
- Mannheim, Universitätsbibliothek (UB).
- Marburg/Lahn, Universitätsbibliothek (UB).
- Maredsous, Bibliothèque de l'Abbaye bénédictine (OSB).
- Maynooth, St Patrick's College Library (St Patrick's).
- Melk, Stiftsbibliothek (Stift).
- Metten, Bibliothek der Abtei (Abtei).
- Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense (Braidense).
- Minneapolis (Minn.), University of Minnesota Libraries (UL).
- Mons, Bibliothèque de l'Université de l'État (BU).
- Münster, Diözesanbibliothek (DB).
- Münster, Universitätsbibliothek (UB).
- Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (BSB).
- Munich, Bibliothek des Franziskanerklosters St Anna (OFM).
- Munich, Universitätsbibliothek (UB).
- Namur, Bibliothèque du Grand Séminaire (BGS).
- Nashville (Tenn.), Joint University Libraries (UL).

Neresheim, Bibliothek der Benediktinerabtei (OSB).
 Neuchâtel, Bibliothèque des Pasteurs (Pasteurs).
 Newcastle upon Tyne, University Library (UL).
 New Haven (Conn.), Yale University Library (YUL).
 New York (N.Y.), Columbia University Libraries (CUL).
 New York (N.Y.), The New York Public Library (PL).
 New York (N.Y.), Union Theological Seminary Library (UTS).
 Niagara-on-the-Lake (Ont.), St Mark's Church's Library (Addison).
 Nijmegen, Universiteitsbibliotheek van de Katholieke Universiteit (UB).
 Nuremberg, Stadtbibliothek (StB).
 Olomouc, Státní Vědecká Knihovna (SVK).
 Oslo, Universitetsbiblioteket (UB).
 Oxford, Bodleian Library (Bodleian).
 Oxford, Christ Church College Library (Christ Church).
 Oxford, Corpus Christi College Library (Corpus Christi).
 Oxford, Exeter College Library (Exeter).
 Oxford, Lincoln College Library (Lincoln).
 Oxford, Wadham College Library (Wadham).
 Oxford, Worcester College Library (Worcester).
 Paderborn, Erzbischöfliche Akademische Bibliothek (EAB).
 Padua, Biblioteca del Seminario Vescovile (BSV).
 Padua, Biblioteca Universitaria (BU).
 Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal (Arsenal).
 Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Institut National de Recherche Pédagogique (INRP).
 Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine (Mazarine).
 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (BN).
 Paris, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire Sainte-Geneviève (Ste-Geneviève).
 Paris, Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne (Sorbonne).
 Parma, Biblioteca Palatina (Palatina).
 Passau, Staatliche Bibliothek (SB).
 Perugia, Biblioteca Comunale Augusta (BCA).
 Philadelphia (Pa.), The Library Company of Philadelphia (LC).
 Philadelphia (Pa.), University of Pennsylvania Library (UL).
 Pisa, Biblioteca Universitaria (BU).
 Plouharnel (Morbihan), Bibliothèque de l'Abbaye Sainte Anne de Kergonan (Abbaye).
 Poznań, Biblioteka Główna Uniwersytetu (Główna).
 Prague, Knihovna Národního Muzea (KNM).
 Prague, Památník Národního Pisemnictví Na Strahově (PNP).
 Prague, Státní Knihovna ČR (SK).
 Princeton (N.J.), Theological Seminary Library (TSL).
 Princeton (N.J.), University Library (UL).
 Providence (R.I.), Brown University Library (BUL).
 Ravenna, Biblioteca Classense (Classense).
 Regensburg, Bischöfliche Zentralbibliothek (BZB).
 Regensburg, Fürst Thurn und Taxis Zentralarchiv: Hofbibliothek (TT).
 Regensburg, Staatliche Bibliothek (SB).

- Reggio Emilia, Biblioteca Municipale (BM).
Rehburg-Loccum, Klosterbibliothek (Kloster).
Reutlingen, Stadtbibliothek (StB).
Riga, V. Lāča Latvijas PSR Valsts Bibliotēka (Valsts).
Ripon, Ripon Cathedral Library (Cathedral).
Rome, Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei (Lincei).
Rome, Biblioteca Angelica (Angelica).
Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Vaticana).
Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense (Casanatense).
Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II (BNC).
Rome, Biblioteca Universitaria Alessandrina (Alessandrina).
Rotterdam, Gemeentebibliotheek (GB).
Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale (BM).
Salzburg, Bibliothek der Erzabtei St Peter (St Peter).
Salzburg, Universitätsbibliothek (UB).
San Marino (Calif.), Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery (Huntington).
Schaffhausen, Stadtbibliothek (StB).
Schwerin, Wissenschaftliche Allgemeinbibliothek (WAB).
Sélestat, Bibliothèque Humaniste et Archives de la Ville (BH).
Seville, Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina (BCC).
Simpelveld, Bibliotheek Damianum (Damianum).
Solothurn, Zentralbibliothek (ZB).
Stanford (Calif.), University Libraries (UL).
Stettin. See Szczecin.
St Florian, Bibliothek des Augustiner-Chorherrenstiftes (Stift).
St Gallen, Kantonsbibliothek (Vadiana) (Vadiana).
St Lambrecht, Stiftsbibliothek (Stift).
Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket (KB).
Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire (BNU).
Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek (WLB).
Sursee, Dubletten-Bibliothek des Kapuzinerklosters (OFMCap).
Szczecin, Wojewódzka i Miejska Biblioteka Publiczna (BP).
The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek (KB).
The Hague, Rijksmuseum Meermanno-Westreenianum (MMW).
Tilburg, Bibliotheek van de Theologische Faculteit (BTF).
Toruń, Biblioteka Główna Uniwersytetu (Główna).
Toruń, Wojewódzka Biblioteka Publiczna (BP).
Trier, Stadtbibliothek (StB).
Trondheim, Universitetsbiblioteket Avd. B (UB).
Tübingen, Bibliothek des Wilhelmsstiftes (Stift).
Tübingen, Universitätsbibliothek (UB).
Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale (BN).
Turku. See Åbo.
Uppsala, Universitetsbiblioteket (UB).
Urbana (Ill.), University of Illinois Library (UL).
Utrecht, Bibliotheek van het Instituut De Vooy der Rijksuniversiteit (De Vooy).

Utrecht, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit (UB).
 Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana (Marciana).
 Vienna, Bibliotheca Theresiana (Theresiana).
 Vienna, Bibliothek der Benediktinerabtei U.L. Frau zu den Schotten (OSB).
 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (ÖNB).
 Villeneuve d'Ascq, Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire de Lille (BI).
 Vilnius, V. Kapsuko Universiteto Mokslinė Biblioteka (Mokslinė).
 Warsaw, Biblioteka Narodowa (Narodowa).
 Warsaw, Biblioteka Seminarium Duchownego (BSD).
 Warsaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka (BU).
 Washington, D.C., The Folger Shakespeare Library (Folger).
 Washington, D.C., The Library of Congress (Congress).
 Weert, Bibliotheek der Minderbroeders (OFM).
 Weimar, Nationale Forschungs- und Gedenkstätten der klassischen deutschen
 Literatur in Weimar, Zentralbibliothek der deutschen Klassik (ZB).
 Westmalle, Bibliotheek van de Cisterciënser Abdij (Abdij).
 Wiesbaden, Hessische Landesbibliothek (HLB).
 Windsor, Eton College Library (Eton).
 Winterthur, Stadtbibliothek (StB).
 Wittenberg. See Lutherstadt-Wittenberg.
 Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek (HAB).
 Worcester (Mass.), American Antiquarian Society Library (AAS).
 Wrocław, Biblioteka Polska Akademia Nauk (PAN).
 Wrocław, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka (BU).
 Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek (UB).
 Wuppertal, Stadtbibliothek (StB).
 Xanten, Stiftsbibliothek (Stift).
 York, York Minster Library (Minster).
 Zurich, Zentralbibliothek (ZB).
 Zweibrücken, Bibliotheca Bipontina (Bipontina).
 Zwickau, Ratsschulbibliothek (RB).

Some Other Abbreviations and Symbols

cols	=	columns
ed(s)	=	edition(s)
Fig.	=	Figure
init.	=	initial
irreg.	=	irregular
ll.	=	lines
orn(s)	=	ornament(s), ornamental
Pl(s)	=	Plate(s)
sig(s)	=	signature(s)
var	=	variant
ARA	=	Algemeen Rijksarchief (Dutch National Archives)
GA	=	Gemeentearchief (Municipal Archives)

1a TOBAEUS, CARMINUM LIBELLUS.

Antwerp, Willem Silvius, 1569.

Collation:

8° (29 ll., 118 × 68 mm. [A7^v]): A-G⁸ H¹⁰ [\$5 signed (+ H6,7; – A1, F5; var: F4 signed 'G4')], 66 leaves, pp. 1-2 3-132 [misnumbering 66 as '61', 94-5 as '95-4'].

Contents:

A1: title (verso blank). A2^r: commendatory poem: 'HADRIANI IVNII HE- | XASTICHON SVB PERSONA | AVTHORIS.' (6 ll. 'S³I flores lepidi paßim delibo Terenti,') followed by a dedicatory poem: 'D. IOANNIS VOCCINII | EPIGRAMMA AD LIBELLI | AVTHOREM.' (8 ll. 'C³Omica dum nitido percurris pulpita focco,'). A2^v: commendatory poem: 'ALIVD F. PHILIPPI HÆC- | MVNDANI AB HOGHESTEYN | AD LECTOREM.' (10 ll. 'Q³Vifquis amas vera cultas pietate Camænas,'). A3^r: dedicatory letter: 'HONORATISSIMO | VIGILANTISSIMO'QVE | HARLEMIANÆ CIVITATIS SE- | NATVI CORNELIVS SCO- | NÆVS GOVDANVS | S. P. D.', dated on A4^v: 'Harlemi, sexto Kal. Iulij. 1568.' A5^r: text of the play, ending on F5^r: 'FINIS.' F5^v: dedicatory letter: 'M. IOANNI | SVRENO, HAR- | LEMIANÆ CIVITATIS | CONSVLI VIGILANTISSIMO | CORNELIVS SCONÆVS | GOVDANVS | S. D.', dated on F7^r: 'Harlemi ipfis Calen- | dis Iulij. Anno 1568.' F7^v: text of the poems, ending on H10^v: 'FINIS.'

Notes:

By ordinance of the burgomasters of Haarlem, Schonaeus, who was then schoolmaster 'in quarta classe', received a sum of twenty-one pounds ['ponden'] as an expression of thanks for composing and dedicating his Latin comedy ['commedie in Latine'] 'Thobæus' to the Haarlem town council¹.

In the dedication of the play *Nehemias* (= No. 2) to J(oh)an Vocking Pieterss., Father Superior of the Zijlconvent at Haarlem, Schonaeus tells us (pp. 3-4) that the Haarlem magistrates were so impressed by his comedy, *Tobaeus*, that they wanted the play to be performed in the market-place and to be explained in detail to the scholars of the Latin school.

Perhaps a performance of the play took place on 24 June ['sint Jansmisse'] 1569, when the scholars of the Latin school are reported to have brought on the stage two comedies ['commedien']².

The edition is mentioned in a Plantin book catalogue under the heading

¹ GA Haarlem, Kast 19, Nr. 149, Thes. rek. 1569, f. 85^v.

² GA Haarlem, Kast 19, Nr. 149, Thes. rek. 1569, ff. 85^v-86^r.

'ANTVERP. Guiliel. Syluius' as : 'Tobaeus Comedia S. Sconeij 8°, [price :] st[iver] 1.
— Jdem Carmine [*sic*] 8°³.

For the printer's device on the title-page, see BB, IV (1964), p. 127, No. 6.

Copies :

Brussels, KB, VB 6419 LP (4)*; Cambridge (Mass.), HUL, *79-5 (H4-H10 missing but supplied in photostat); Chicago (Ill.), UL, PA8577.S27T6 1569 (F6-H10 missing); Copenhagen, KB, 176¹-53-8°; Dillingen, StuB, XVII 1225; Ghent, UB, B.L. 1473 (1)*; Haarlem, StB, 802 G 54* and 802 G 55* (the title-page of this last copy is badly damaged with a substantial loss of text in the imprint of which only the words 'Ex officina' are preserved; consequently it is uncertain whether the imprint date was 1569 or 1570); Maredsous, OSB, 453-822,3; Munich, BSB, Polem. $\frac{2445^a}{3}$; Paris, Arsenal, Re 15440; Vienna, OSB, 30 g 57; Wrocław, BU, 317936/8 E 1206,3/.

- 1b TOBAEUS, CARMINUM LIBELLUS.
Antwerp, Willem Silvius, 1570.

Variant state.

Collation :

See No. 1a above.

Contents :

See No. 1a above.

Notes :

Another issue or (more likely) a variant state, the imprint date being changed in press from 1569 to 1570.

For the reference to this edition in a Plantin book catalogue, see the notes to No. 1a above.

Copies :

Cologne, UStB, W.A.VI.669; Ghent, UB, B.L. 1758 (3)* and Her. 2330*; Granada, BU, A-19-355; Liège, BU, Rés. 1471 A (4); Utrecht, UB, X. oct. 209 (rariora)/3*.


- 2 NEHEMIAS.
Antwerp, Christopher Plantin, 1570.

Collation :

8° (33 ll., 133 × 72 mm. [C1^v]): A-D⁸ [\$ 5 signed (–A1)], 32 leaves pp. 1-2 3-59 60-64.

³ Antwerp, MPM, MS 296, f. 60^v.

Contents :

A1^r: title. A1^v: 'SVMMA PRIVILEGII.' [extract from the privilege granted by the king to Christopher Plantin for a period of six years] dated '*Dato Bruxellæ, An. Domini M. D. LXIX. | 29. Nouemb.*' and signed '*Signat. | I. de Langhe.*' A2^r: dedicatory letter: 'REVERENDO | COLENDOQVE VIRO | D. IOANNI VOCCINIO | *Vltraiectino Zilenfium virginum apud | Harlemenfes Præfidi Cornelius Sco- | næus Goudanus S.*', dated on A4^v: 'Harlemi poſtridie Nonas Iunij. | Anno 1569.' On A4^v: text of the play, ending on D6^r: 'FINIS.' D6^v: ecclesiastical approbations, signed '*Hieronymus Vairlenius R. Harlemen. in ſpi- | ritualibus Vicarius.*' and '*Sebaſtianus Baer Delphius inſignis Colleg. | Eccleſiæ S. Mariæ Hantuerpien. Ple- | banus*  *Canonicus.*' D7^r-D8^v: blank.

Notes :

Although in the treasurer's accounts in the Haarlem municipal archives the titles of plays enacted by the scholars of the Latin school are seldom mentioned, there is good reason to believe that all of Schonaeus's plays were written with a performance by his pupils in mind (see the prologues of his plays). As far as *Nehemias* is concerned we even have evidence for this, as in his *Liber Epigrammatum* Schonaeus has included an epigram with the title *Ad populum cum esset exhibiturus comoediam suam Nehemiam* (see, e.g., Nos 16a and 16b below, p. 471).

There can be no doubt that the book was printed by Plantin towards the close of the year 1569 (in that case the 1570 date in the imprint is due to the trade custom of pre-dating) or early in 1570. Besides the date of the dedication of *Nehemias* to Ioannes Voccinus and the date of the privilege, a passage in the dedicatory epistle to Philips van Hogesteyn, prefixed to the play *Saulus Conversus* (= Nos 3a and 3b, p. 6), points to this. Cf. No. 14 below, sig. 2^r7^v.

The edition is listed in a Plantin book catalogue as '*Nehemias Comedia S. Cornelij Sconeij, 8°, ā° 1570, f[euilles] 4, [price:] st[iver] 1*' and as: '*Schonæj Corn. Goudanj {Nehemias 8°, [price:] st[iver] 1, f[euilles] 4*'⁴.

Moreover, the name of a play *Nehemias* (without the name of the author, however, and without an indication of the format) figures in the second column of the *Catalogus librorum typographiae Plantini*, a printed book catalogue of 1 January 1579 in the form of a poster, and in the fourth column of the *Catalogus librorum typographiae Plantiniana*, a manuscript book catalogue which Jan Moretus offered to his father-in-law Christopher Plantin on 1 January 1580⁵.

⁴ Antwerp, MPM, MS 296, ff. 12^v and 17^v. Cf. Voet, V (1982), 2059, notes to No. 2188.

⁵ For the printed 1579 catalogue of books printed and offered for sale by Plantin, see Voet, IV (1981), 1909, No. 2068. A reproduction of this book catalogue can be found in Leon Voet, *The Golden Compasses: A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp in two volumes*, 2 vols

Finally, the work is listed in two printed catalogues of books issued by the Plantin Press, viz. in the *Catalogus librorum qui ex typographia Christophori Plantini prodierunt* (Antwerp, 1584) on sig. B1^r ('Naaman, Nehemias, Saulus et Tobaeus, Comoediae, Anthore [sic] C. Schoneo, in 8^o') and in the *Index librorum qui ex typographia Plantiniana prodierunt* (Antwerp, 1596) on sig. A4^v ('Naaman, Nehemias, Saulus et Tobaeus, Comoediae, Authore C. Schoneo, in 8^o')⁶.

For the printer's device on the title-page, see BB, IV (1964), p. 109, No. 45 and Voet, VI, p. 2877, No. 20.

Copies :

Antwerp, MPM, A 123,1* and A 457,1*; Brussels, KB, VB 6419 LP (1)*; Copenhagen, KB, 176^l-53-8^o; Ghent, UB, B.L. 1758 (1)*; Haarlem, StB, 802 G 58* (blank D7 torn out) and 802 G 60* (most signatures wholly or partially trimmed); Munich, UB, 8^o P. lat. rec. 303:2; Rome, Vaticana, Racc. I.V.1642. (int. 3) and Rossiana 5999 (int. 1); Trier, StB, G 732 8^o; Utrecht, UB, X. oct. 209 (rariora)/4*; Wolfenbüttel, HAB, P 1715.8^o Helmst. (1)* (blank D8 missing).

3a SAULUS CONVERSUS.

Antwerp, Willem Silvius, 1570.

Collation :

8^o (29 ll., 117 × 68 mm. [B6^r]): A-F⁸ [\$5 signed (–A1)], 48 leaves, pp. 1-3 4-91 92-96 [misnumbering 31 as '21', 45 as '54', 68 as '86'].

Contents :

A1 : title (verso blank). A2^r : dedicatory letter : 'HONORATISSIMO | ORNATISSIMOQVE DOMI- | NO D. PHILIPPO HAECMVNDA- | no ab Hogefsteyn, Rhodianorum domino- | rum apud Harlemenfes designato præ- | fidi digniffimo, Cornelius Sco- | næus Goudanus | S. D. P.', dated on A6^v : 'Harlemi postridie Calendas Apri- | lis Anno 1570,' On A6^v : text of the play, ending on F6^r : 'FINIS.' and followed by Schonaeus's *symbolum* : 'Nullum simulatum diuturnum.' F6^v : ecclesiastical approbation, signed 'Hieronymus Vair- | lenius Reuerendißimi Episcopi Harle- | mensis Vicarius subscripsit, idemque | Commiffarius ab eodem ordinatus.' F7^r-F8^v : blank.

(Amsterdam-London-New York, [1969-72]), II, Pl. 76. The manuscript book catalogue of 1580 is present at Antwerp, MPM, Arch. 1231.

⁶ Copies of the 1584 catalogue are at Antwerp, MPM, R 24.38 (incomplete) and R 55.20. For a full description of this book catalogue, see Voet, IV (1981), 1909-10, No. 2069. Copies of the 1596 catalogue are at Antwerp, MPM, R 55.21 and R 63.8 (1) (incomplete).

Notes :

An entry in the treasurer's accounts in the Haarlem municipal archives informs us that a comedy ['comédie'] 'Conuersionis Paulj' was performed by Schonaeus's pupils in 1578⁷.

In my opinion it is extremely unlikely that we are concerned here with the first performance of the play, as in all likelihood this had already taken place shortly after the book was published. It could have been on 24 June ['sint Jansmisse'] 1571, when two comedies ['commedien'] were enacted by the scholars of the Latin school⁸.

Unfortunately, however, the treasurer's accounts from which these data can be deduced do not cite the titles of the plays.

The edition is mentioned in a Plantin book catalogue under the heading 'ANTVERP. Guiliel. Syluius' as : 'Saulus Conuersus Schonej 8°, [price :] st[iver] $\frac{3}{4}$ '⁹.

For the printer's device on the title-page, see BB, IV (1964), p. 128, No. 10.

Copies :

Amsterdam, UB-GU, 499 G 35*; Maredsous, OSB, 453-822,4 (this copy was available to me in the form of photocopies); Utrecht, UB, X. oct. 209 (rariora)/5*.

3b SAULUS CONVERSUS.

Antwerp, Willem Silvius, 1571.

*Variant state.**Collation :*

See No. 3a above.

Contents :

See No. 3a above.

Notes :

Another issue or (more likely) a variant state produced by stop-press alteration of the last line, the imprint date being changed from 1570 to 1571.

For the reference to this edition in a Plantin book catalogue, see the notes to No. 3a above.

Copies :

Brussels, KB, VB 6419 LP (5)* (blank F7,8 missing); Ghent, UB, B.L. 1758 (4)*; Haarlem, StB, 802 G 57* (blank F7,8 missing).

⁷ GA Haarlem, Kast 19, Nr. 158, Thes. rek. 1578, f. 47^r.

⁸ GA Haarlem, Kast 19, Nr. 151, Thes. rek. 1571, f. 108^r.

⁹ Antwerp, MPM, MS 296, f. 60^v.


4 NAAMAN.

Antwerp, Hendrik Loëus, 1572.

Collation :

8° (33 ll., 129 × 74 mm. [C7r]): A-D⁸ [\$4 signed (– A1)], 32 leaves, pp. 1-2 3-64.

Contents :

A1 : title (verso blank). A2^r : dedicatory poem : 'AD CORNELIVM SCO- | NAEVM IN PATRIAE LAVDEM | Acroftichis Hadriani Iunij.' (9 ll. 'G ouda auro potior. referens  nomen ab auro,') followed by another dedicatory poem [by the same author] : 'Ad eundem in argumentum Comœdiæ.' (26 ll. 'Fæda lues lepræ squamis obfederat albis'). On A2^v : commendatory poem : 'PETRI APHERDIANI NOVI | lateris apud Amsterodamenfes gymnafiarchæ | Ogdoaftichon ad ftudiofam iuuentutem.' (8 ll. 'Eximios inter vates numerare Sconæum') followed by a dedicatory poem : 'D. CORNELII IACO = | bæi. Ketelij gymnafiarchę | Harlemenfis Σκᾱζov' (21 ll. 'I²S omne, Flacco teſte, fuſtulit punctum'), ending on A3^r with an orn. below. A3^v : dedicatory letter : 'NOBILI CLAROQVE | DOMINO D. CORNELIO VAN- | DER MIIL ARCIS GOVDANÆ, PRAEFECTO, | atq; ornatiffimo prudentiffimoq; eiufdẽ Rei- | publicæ, magiſtratu. totique ordini Sena- | torio Cornelius Sconæus. | S. D. P.', dated on A5^v : 'Hagæ Comit. ſepti= | mo Idus Ianuarij, anno | 1572.' A6^r : text of the play, ending on D8^v : 'FINIS.' and followed by Schonaeus's *ſymbolum* : 'Nullum fimulatum diuturnum.' and an eccleſiaſtical approbation, ſigned 'Ego Go- | defridus à Merle Epiſco- | pus Harlemen. | Subſignau.'.

Note :

For the printer's device on the title-page, ſee BB, IV (1964), p. 100, No. 7.

Copies :

Amſterdam, UB-GU, 499 G 36*; Brussels, KB, VB 6419 LP (2)*; Ghent, UB, B.L. 1758 (2)*; Paris, Arsenal, Re 15438.

5 TOBAEUS.

Strasburg, Nikolaus Wyriot, 1572.

Notes :

Barack and Heitz (ſee Heitz, *EB*, pp. xxv and 86) mention this 1572 Strasburg edition, of which a title-leaf ſhould be preſent in the Bibliothek des Börsen-

vereins at Leipzig. Unfortunately, however, of this title-leaf only the printer's device and imprint have survived in the 'Blattsammlung' of the Deutsches Buch- und Schriftmuseum at Leipzig.

François Ritter in one of his works also refers to a '*Tobaeus. Comoedia de L. Schonaeus (1572)*', printed by Nic. Wiriot, but he almost certainly borrowed these data from Barack (p. xxv), as they both erroneously give the name of the author as L. Schonaeus instead of C. Schonaeus¹⁰.

I know of no extant copy of this edition and I am sceptical about its existence.

For the printer's device on the title-page, see Heitz, *EB*, Pl. XLIII, No. 1.

6 LEGES.

Amsterdam, Harmen Jansz Muller, 1576.

Collation :

8° (22 ll., 131 × 80 mm. [A5^r]): A⁸ (–A1.8) [\$5 signed (–A1,2)], 8 leaves, unnumbered [pp. 1-16].

Contents :

A1: missing (blank?). A2^r: title. A2^v: dedicatory letter: '*ORNATISSIMO PRV- | dentifsimoque Harlemianæ Reipublicæ | Magistratui Cornelius Sconæus. S.*', dated on A3^r: '*Harlemi. Anno Salutis humanæ | M. D. lxxvi. x. Kale. April.*' A3^v: commendatory poem: '*Cornelij Sconæi ad puerum philo- | mufum hexafticon.*' (6 ll. 'Quæ paruis contenta damus præcepta tabellis,') followed by two other commendatory poems: '*Aliud Petri Apherdiani.*' (6 ll. '*Prima tuæ pubes peragas quo tempora vitæ,*') and '*Aliud Simonis Souuij.*' (6 ll. 'Sit tibi cura puer (facto lætaberis olim)'). A4^r: '*LECES[sic] SCHOLASTICÆ.*' On A7^r: '*FINIS.*' followed by an ecclesiastical approbation, signed '*ex mand. Re. Dñi. Nri. | D. Episc. Harlemeñ. | Añt. à Kuyck*', and Schonaeus's *symbolum*: '*Nullum simulatum | diuturnum.*' A7^v: blank. A8: missing (blank?).

Notes :

It is very likely that the gathering was originally machined as a complete sheet of eight leaves. However, the outer fold in the gathering has been removed, probably as blank.

From the dedication to the Haarlem magistrates and the presence of Schonaeus's *symbolum* underneath the text of the *Leges scholasticae* it is clear that he was the author. The view held by Bob and Maria Emilie de Graaf that

¹⁰ François Ritter, *Histoire de l'imprimerie alsacienne aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles* (Strasbourg and Paris, 1955) [= *Publications de l'Institut des hautes études alsaciennes* 14], p. 571, No. 395.2.

'there are several reasons for believing that in all probability Apherdianus took it upon himself also to edit these regulations' is without any foundation¹¹.

Nor is there any reason to believe in the validity of the supposition of José Bouman and Paul Vriesema, who consider both Apherdianus and Schonaeus as the authors of the text of the *Leges*¹².

From the hand of Apherdianus and Sovvius, Schonaeus's Amsterdam colleagues, are only the commendatory poems on sig. A3^v.

The text of the introductory poems and *Leges scholasticae*, together with a reproduction of the title-page, can be found in an article by C.P. Burger Jr. published in 1912 in the journal *Het Boek*¹³.

Copy :

London, BL, 11408.aa.39.(3)*.

7 TOBAEUS.

Antwerp, Christopher Plantin, 1580.

Collation :

8° (33 ll., 133 × 78 mm. [C4^v]): A-D⁸ E⁴ [\$5 signed (–A1, E4,5; var: B2 signed 'B3')], 36 leaves, pp. 1-2 3-71 72.

Contents :

A1: title. A1^v: commendatory poem: 'HADRIANI IVNII | HEXASTICHON SVB | PERSONA AVCTORIS.' (6 ll. 'DVM flores nitidipaßimdelibo Terenti,'). A2^r: dedicatory letter: 'HONORATISSIMO | VIGILANTISSIMÓQVE | Harlemianæ ciuitatis Senatui CORNE- | LIVS SCHONÆVS Goudanus s. p. d.', dated on A4^r: 'Harlemi sexto | Calendas Iulij, anno M. D. LXVIII.' A4^v: text of the play, ending on E4^r: 'FINIS.' and followed by the 'APPROBATIO.', signed 'Waltherus vander Steeghen S. Theolo- | giæ Licentiatus.' E4^v: blank.

¹¹ Bob de Graaf & Maria Emilie de Graaf, *Petrus Apherdianus, ludimagister ca. 1510-1580* (Nieuwkoop, 1968) [= *Bibliographies of Dutch Humanists* 1; i.e. the corrected and augmented version of their article 'Petrus Apherdianus, ludimagister', *Het Boek*, 33 (1958-59), 129-54], p. 15. Their view was erroneously taken over by F.J. Dubiez in his *Op de grens van humanisme en hervorming: De betekenis van de boekdrukkunst te Amsterdam in een bewogen tijd 1506-1578* (Nieuwkoop, 1962), pp. 169-70 and 242.

¹² José Bouman and Paul Vriesema, 'Harmen Janszoon Muller, printer and publisher in Amsterdam, c. 1538-1617', *Quaerendo*, 8 (1978), 221-59 (p. 254, No. 11 and note 123, where the reference should be to vol. I, and not vol. III, of the work of Moes-Burger).

¹³ C. P. Burger Jr., 'De wetten voor de Haarlemsche en Amsterdamsche gymnasiasten, van 1576', *Het Boek*, 1 (1912), 321-28 (pp. 322-26).

Notes:

On the title-page the originally printed name 'SCHOVÆO' has been changed into 'SCHONÆO' in Plantin's printing house by stamping-in a sloped stroke against the letter V, thus suggesting that the letter N was printed.

From an entry in the treasurer's accounts in the Haarlem municipal archives we know that for dedicating his comedy ['comédie'] 'Thobeus' to the Haarlem town council and for having the play reprinted (cf. Nos 1a and 1b above) at his own expense Schonaeus was rewarded with a gratification of twenty-four pounds ['ponden']. Moreover, he received a sum of five pounds ['ponden'] as a compensation for the expenses incurred by him for the printing of 100 copies¹⁴. In my opinion there is good reason to believe that these copies were intended for use in the Haarlem Latin school.

In comparison with the 1569 Antwerp edition of *Tobaeus* (= No. 1a) the dedicatory epistle to the Haarlem magistrates in this 1580 edition was rewritten and many changes were made in the text of the play, besides the emendation of obvious errors (cf. the dedicatory epistle to Ioannes Voccinius prefixed to the play *Nehemias* (= No. 2), p. 4). As in the above-mentioned entry in the treasurer's accounts we are informed that Schonaeus also received a sum of four pounds ['ponden'] for expenses incurred by him during two days, there is a chance that he was in Antwerp at the time and attended at Plantin's printing house to correct proofs in order to avoid the many errors Silvius had made in the text of his *Tobaeus* of 1569 (= No. 1a). Moreover we hear that he was granted eighteen shillings ['xviii sch.'] to cover the costs of transporting the books (see above).

The edition is listed in the Plantin book catalogues as: 'Schonæj Corn. Goudanj {Tobæus, 8°, f[euilles] 4½, [price:] st[iver] 1' and 'Tobeus Comedia sacra Cornelij Schonæj 8°, f[euilles] 4½, [price:] st[iver] 1', and as: 'Tobæus Comedia Sacra repurgata Corn°. Schonæo Auctore 8° f[euilles] 4½, [price:] st[iver] <1>'¹⁵.

The edition is also listed in the printed 1584 and 1596 catalogues of books issued by the Plantin Press (see the notes to No. 2 above).

For the printer's device on the title-page, see BB, IV (1964), p. 110, No. 61 and Voet, VI, p. 2877, No. 21.

Copies:

Antwerp, MPM, A 123,4* and A 457,2*; Augsburg, SSStB, NL 446 -1-; Cambridge (Mass.), HUL, *NC5.Sch652.B581c (2); Dillingen, StB, XVIII 1971; Dresden, SLB, Lit. Lat. rec. A.1360; Halle (Saale), MB, 3 an W 3.99; Halle (Saale), HBFS, 146 L 15 (this copy was available to me in the form of microfilm); Ithaca (N.Y.), CUL, Rare PA8577 S25T6 1580; Lisbon, Ajuda, 71-II-11; London, Queen Mary, Z/F 1600 S3 [Strong Room]; Münster, UB, 1 an X 2685*; Munich, UB, 8° P. lat. rec. 33:3; Nuremberg, StB, Phil. 2834. 8°; Reutlingen,

¹⁴ GA Haarlem, Kast 19, Nr. 160, Thes. rek. 1580, f. 74r.

¹⁵ Antwerp, MPM, MS 296, ff. 17v and 18v, and MS 321, f. 1r. Cf. Voet, V (1982), 2060, notes to No. 2189.

StB, 3043; Rome, Vaticana, Barberini GGG.III.43 (int. 1) and Rossiana 5999 (int. 2); Strasburg, BNU, R 100 166 (1); Stuttgart, WLB, HB 343 K; Wolfenbüttel, HAB, 119 Poet. (1)*; Wrocław, BU, 321300/8 B 3613 f/; Zweibrücken, Bipontina, L 511.

8 SAULUS CONVERSUS.

Antwerp, Christopher Plantin, 1581.

Collation:

8° (33 ll., 132 × 78 mm. [B7']): A-D⁸ E⁴ [\$5 signed (– A1,3,4, E4,5)], 36 leaves, pp. 1-2 3-71 72.

Contents:

A1: title (verso blank). A2^r: dedicatory letter: 'HONORATISSIMO OR- | NATISSIMOQVE DOMINO D. | PHILIPPO HÆCMVNDANO AB HOGE- | *steyn, Rhodianorum dominorum apud Harlemenses | Præfidi, Cornelius Schonæus s. p. d.*', dated on A4^v: 'Harlemi postridie Calendas Aprilis, | Anno M. D. LXX.' On A4^v: text of the play, ending on E4^r: 'FINIS.' and followed by Schonaeus's *symbolum*: 'Nullum simulatum diuturnum.' E4^v: colophon: 'ANTVERPIAE | EXCVDEBAT CHRISTOPHO- | RVS PLANTINVS, ARCHI- | TYPOGRAPHVS REGIVS, | ANNO CLD. LD. LXXXI. | MENSE IVLIO.'

Notes:

It would not seem unlikely that the text of this edition was set from a copy of the 1570 Antwerp edition (= No. 3a) which had been corrected in places by the author. In the dedicatory epistle to Philips van Hogesteyn (who already had died in 1574) the digression on Van Hogesteyn's pastoral work in Hazerswoude was deleted and some minor changes were made in the text.

The edition is listed in the Plantin book catalogues as: 'Schonæj Corn. Goudanj {Saulus Conuersus, f[euilles] 4½, [price:] st[iver] 1' and as: 'Saulus Conuersus Comedia noua et Sacra Cornelij Schonej Goudani Gymnasiarchæ Harlemensi [*sic*] f[euilles] 4½, [price:] st[ivers] 1½'¹⁶.

The edition is also listed in the printed 1584 and 1596 catalogues of books issued by the Plantin Press (see the notes to No. 2 above).

For the printer's device on the title-page, see BB, IV (1964), p. 110, No. 55 and Voet, VI, p. 2882, No. 32.

Copies:

Antwerp, MPM, A 123,3*; Augsburg, SStB, NL 994; Bratislava, UK, XVII G

¹⁶ Antwerp, MPM, MS 296, f. 17^v and MS 321, f. 3^r. Cf. Voet, V (1982), 2062, notes to No. 2191.

1763; Budapest, OSK, App. H. 2566 /2/; Cambridge (Mass.), HUL, *NC5. Sch652.B581c (1); Copenhagen, KB, 176^l-53-8^o; Durham, UL, Cosin Y.IV.35/4*; London, Queen Mary, Z/F 1600 S3 [Strong Room]; Mainz, StB, I.t.469; Münster, UB, 3 an X 2685*; Paris, Arsenal, Re 15439 (title-leaf missing); Reutlingen, StB, 3043; Rome, Vaticana, Barberini GGG.III.43 (int. 4) and Rossiana 5999 (int. 4); Strasburg, BNU, R 100 166(2); Urbana (Ill.), UL, 875.2 Sch6s 1581; Wrocław, BU, 372412/8 N 1451,3/; Zweibrücken, Bipontina, L 511.


9 NAAMAN.

Antwerp, Christopher Plantin, 1581.

Collation:

8^o (33 ll., 133 × 77 mm. [A7^v]): A-D⁸ [\$5 signed (–A1)], 32 leaves, pp. 1-2 3-63 64.

Contents:

A1^r: title (verso blank). A2^r: dedicatory poem: 'AD CORNELIVM SCHO- | NÆVM IN PATRIÆ LAVDEM | Acroftichis Hadriani Iunij.' (9 ll. 'Gouda auro potior, referens  nomen ab auro,') followed by another dedicatory poem [by the same author]: 'Ad eundem in argumentum | Comœdiæ.' (26 ll. 'Fæda lues lepræ squamis obfederat albis') ending on A2^v. A3^r: dedicatory letter: 'HONORATISSIMO PRV- | DENTISSIMOQVE GOVDANÆ | CIVITATIS MAGISTRATVI | CORNELIVS SCHONÆVS S.', dated on A4^v: 'Hagæ Comitiss, fe- | ptimo Idus Ianuarij, anno M. D. LXXII.' On A4^v: text of the play, ending on D8^r: 'FINIS.' and followed by Schonaeus's *symbolum*: 'Nullum simulatum diuturnum.' D8^v: colophon: 'ANTVERPIAE | EXCVDEBAT CHRISTOPHO- | RVS PLANTINVS, ARCHI- | TYPOGRAPHVS REGIVS, | ANNO CLO. ID. LXXXI. | MENSE AVGVSTO.'

Notes:

Possibly the text of this edition was set from a copy of the 1572 Antwerp edition (= No. 4) with many textual corrections and some revisions by the author. The 1572 dedicatory epistle to the Gouda magistrates was republished now by him in a shortened form.

For the dedication of this play to the Gouda magistrates Schonaeus was rewarded in 1581 with a gratification of eight [Carolus] guilders ['gulden'] by the board¹⁷.

The edition is listed in the Plantin book catalogues as: 'Schonæj Corn.

¹⁷ GA Gouda, O.A. 1228, Tres. rek. 1581, f. 25^v. From O.A. 1821, f. 20^r it can be deduced that the eight pounds ['viij £'] were paid on 4 September 1581.

Goudanj {Naaman, 8°, 1581, f[euilles] 4, [price:] st[iver] 1' and as: 'Naaman Comedia Sacra et noua Corn. Schonej 8° f[euilles] 4, [price:] st[iver] 1'¹⁸.

The edition is also listed in the printed 1584 and 1596 catalogues of books issued by the Plantin Press (see the notes to No. 2 above).

For the printer's device on the title-page, see BB, IV (1964), p. 109, No. 44 and Voet, VI, p. 2880, No. 29.

Copies:

Antwerp, MPM, A 123,2*; Augsburg, SStB, NL 446 -2- and NL 983; Bratislava, UK, XVII G 1763 [adl.]; Cambridge (Mass.), HUL, *NC5.Sch652.B581c (3); Copenhagen, KB, 1761-53-8°; Haarlem, StB, 802 G 59*; London, Queen Mary, Z/F 1600 S3 [Strong Room]; Münster, UB, 2 an X 2685*; Munich, UB, 8° P. lat. rec. 33:2; Nuremberg, StB, Theol. 532. 8°; Paris, BN, Yc. 12334* and Rés. p. Yc. 1228 (3)*; Rome, Vaticana, Barberini GGG.III.43 (int. 2) and Ros-siana 5999 (int. 3); Schaffhausen, StB, LR 172; Vienna, ÖNB, +35.J.68; Zwei-brücken, Bipontina, L 511.

10 RUDIMENTA GRAMMATICES [LATINAE] OR RUDIMENTA ET GRAMMATICA LATINA?

[Antwerp?], [Christopher Plantin?], 1582? [i.e. between November 1581 and 20 June 1582], 8°?

Notes:

In his 'De ordinum decreto circa scholas oratio', to be found on pp. 153-58 of his *Diatribae scholasticae sive orationes ... Tomus I* (Leyden, 1643) Theodorus Schrevelius gives interesting details about the genesis of this Latin grammar (see esp. pp. 154-55)¹⁹: in order to settle school-affairs and to restore school-discipline Prince William of Orange took the advice of 'supremae Curiae Senatores', of such highly placed persons as Ianus Douza, Hugo Donellus and Iustus Lipsius, and of such 'Ludi moderatores et Scholarum praefecti' as Nicolaus Stochius, Cornelius Schonaeus, Petrus Vekemannus, and Ludolphus Potterus. The result of this was that, about the year 1580, these people took the decision that in all the schools of Holland and Zeeland the same grammar should be used. Schonaeus, the Rector of the Latin school in Haarlem, after having polled all the votes, was not reluctant to take it upon himself to compose the new grammar. In writing this grammar he followed closely upon the grammar

¹⁸ Antwerp, MPM, MS 296, f. 17^v and MS 321, f. 3^r. Cf. Voet, V (1982), 2061, notes to No. 2190.

¹⁹ Theodorus Schrevelius (1572-1653) was Schonaeus's pupil (presumably from the beginning of the 1580s), colleague (from 2 May 1597 onwards), and successor (from 23 June 1609 onwards). His biography is being prepared by the present author. Copies of his *Diatribae scholasticae* are, e.g., in Haarlem, StB, 1 B 2 1/2; Leyden, UB, 700 C 1; London, BL, 526. k. 9; and Paris, BN, X. 3437.

of Cornelius Valerius who possibly had been one of his professors at Leuven. When he had put the finishing touches to his work and was prepared to publish it, there was so much resistance against it out of jealousy that Schonaeus's work came to nothing.

In the resolutions of the States of Holland we read (18 March 1581) that for a grammar composed by their order the States rewarded Schonaeus with a sum of fifty pounds ['vyfftych ponden van xl gro[oten]'], without granting him, however, the privilege of prohibiting the teaching of any other grammar in Holland²⁰.

An *Epistula Apologetica* of Schonaeus, on the other hand, addressed to the burgomasters and City Fathers of Haarlem on 20 June 1582, proves that his grammar had been printed at the expense of the city of Haarlem for use in the Latin school of that town²¹.

In a survey of Schonaeus's life and writings, which can be found on pp. 121-22 of Samuel Ampzing's *Beschryvinge ende lof der stad Haerlem in Holland*: ... (Haarlem, 1628; reprint Amsterdam, 1974) and on pp. 268-69 of Theodorus Schrevelius's *Harlemum, sive urbis Harlemensis incunabula, incrementa, fortuna varia*, ... (Leyden, 1647) Schonaeus's grammar is referred to as 'Rudimenta Grammatices'²².

Another mention of Schonaeus's grammar can be found in the catalogue of the second sale of the books of Petrus Schriverius in August 1663, viz. in the *Libri appendiciarii bibliothecae Scriverianae*, ... (Amsterdam, 1663) on sig. A5^v, lot 51 of the 'LIBRI In Octavo', as: 'Rudimenta, et Gramm. Latina Sconaei'²³.

²⁰ ARA The Hague, Rijksarchief in Zuid-Holland, Minuut-resoluties van de Staten van Holland d.d. 18 maart 1581, Inv. No. 330, f. 13^v. In the printed editions of the resolutions of the States of Holland this entry, dating from 18 March 1581, can be found on page 82 (first edition) or page 431 (second edition). In the minute-resolutions the passage concerning the privilege reads: 'Sonder dat die Staten verstaen dat eenich octroy verleent sal worden van dat gheene andere gra[m]matica binne[n] hollant geleert soude moegen worden'.

²¹ GA Haarlem, Grote Lade 7, Bundel 1, Letter zz. On ff. 3^v-4^r of this letter we read: 'Ende alsoe myn Heeren op costen van[den] stat hebben doen drucken den Grammaticam by mij gecollecteert... dat myn Heeren mijn geliefde toetelaeten dat ick alsoedanicghe kinderen de[n] bouckskens van[den] voers. Grammatica voer nyet mochte geeuen, ...'. The present author is preparing an annotated publication of this apologetic letter by Schonaeus.

²² Samuel Ampzing (1590-1632) was born in Haarlem and attended the Latin school in his home town at the expense of the city. He was living with Schonaeus in the Rector's house. Copies of Schrevelius's *Harlemum* are, e.g., in Haarlem, StB, 1 B 2², 1 B 3 A, and 1 B 3 B; Leyden, UB, 398 B 14 and 1152 A 14; Paris, BN, M. 9851; and The Hague, KB, 552 J 40 (1).

²³ For Petrus Schriverius, like Schrevelius and Ampzing a pupil of Schonaeus, see P. Tuynman, 'Petrus Scriverius 12 January 1576 - 30 April 1660', *Quaerendo*, 7 (1977), 5-45 (p. 10). Copies of the catalogue of the *Libri appendiciarii* are, e.g., in Leyden, UB, 1366 C 27; London, BL, S.C. 921 (6); and Wolfenbüttel, HAB, zu Bc Sammelband 5 (15) (unfortunately this last copy has been trimmed with a substantial loss of text at one side).

The question then arises as to where the grammar was printed and who was the printer. As I have been unable to find a single copy, it is somewhat difficult to answer that question. Nevertheless, there is every reason to suppose that Schonaeus approached Plantin with a view to his printing the grammar. For, although no references are found in Plantin's book catalogues, an entry in his archives, dating from November 158<1>, reads as follows: 'D[omi]no Schonæo me impressuru[m] eius Gram[maticam] sc. 400 exemplaria. curet illico redimi. Eam vero circa 12 folia habitura[m]. proinde 48 fl[orenos]'²⁴.

If the above reference to the format as octavo (also) relates to this edition, then this grammar must have numbered about one hundred and ninety-two pages. As regards the price of the book, from the figures given in the above-mentioned entry it can be deduced that one single copy of the grammar cost about two and a half stivers.

That Christopher Plantin intended to print a grammar at this time is also apparent from the *Acta Senatus* of Leyden University. There it is mentioned that on 27 April 1581 a letter of Plantin was read, in which he asked the Senate to support the petition he was going to address to the States in order to obtain the privilege that no other grammar should be taught than the one of Cornelius Valerius, which was shortened by certain scholars and to be printed by him²⁵.

Although it is by no means certain that it is Schonaeus's grammar which is referred to in Plantin's letter mentioned above, I believe nevertheless that there is a good chance that his grammar was meant. My main reasons for thinking this are that Plantin in his letter speaks of his intention to print a shortened version of the grammar of Cornelius Valerius. From information provided to us by Schrevelius in his *Diatribae scholasticae* (pp. 154-55) and *Harlemum* (p. 268) we know that Schonaeus had written a contracted grammar 'stilo Valeriano'. Moreover, it would not seem very likely that at that time other authors had composed a Latin grammar, especially considering that the States had ordered Schonaeus to do so. Thirdly, it is hard to see why the Senate of Leyden University should frustrate the States's endeavour to come to a uniform grammar by supporting the printing of another grammar than the one of Schonaeus.

Anyhow, the above-mentioned entry in Plantin's archives very likely points

²⁴ Antwerp, MPM, Arch. 10, f. 37^r.

²⁵ See P. C. Molhuysen (ed.), *Bronnen tot de geschiedenis der Leidsche Universiteit*, 7 vols (The Hague, 1913-24), I, 1574-7 Febr. 1610 [= *Rijks-geschiedkundige publicatiën, [grote serie]*, 20], p. 18. For Schonaeus's grammar, see also Gerrit Kuiper, *Orbis artium en renaissance. I: Cornelius Valerius en Sebastianus Foxius Morzillus als bronnen van Coornhert* (Harderwijk, 1941), pp. 117-22 and 175-76 (esp. note 3 on page 176). Cf. Ernst Jan Kuiper, *De Hollandse „schoolorde” van 1625: Een studie over het onderwijs op de Latijnse scholen in Nederland in de 17de en 18de eeuw* (Groningen, 1958), pp. 41-42, 51, 96, and 100 note 1; and W. H. van Seters, 'De historische achtergrond van de uitgave van een Grieks-Latijns schoolboekje, volgens decreet der Staten van Holland in 1626 verschenen, en tot 1727 in gebruik gebleven', *Het Boek*, 33 (1958-59), 84-105 (pp. 86-87).

to the fact that Schonaeus's grammar was printed in Antwerp towards the close of the year 1581 or early in 1582. That only a small edition of 400 copies should be printed, which moreover had to be bought and paid for by the author at once, indicates that the grammar was meant for use in the Haarlem Latin school only. The States's refusal to grant Schonaeus and Plantin the privilege they requested would also have been an influencing factor.

11 TOBAEUS.

Strasburg, Nikolaus Wyriot, 1583.

Collation :

8° (28 ll., 117 × 72mm. [B6^v]): A-E⁸ F⁴ [\$5 signed (–A1, F3,4,5)], 44 leaves, pp. 1-2 3-87 88.

Contents :

A1^r: title. A1^v: commendatory poem: 'HADRIANI IVNII | HEXASTICHON SVB | PERSONA AVCTORIS.' (6 ll. 'DVM flores nitidi paßim delibo Terenti,') ending with a double row of type orns. A2^r: dedicatory letter: 'HONORATISSI- | MO, VIGILANTISSIMOQVE | Harlemianæ ciuitatis Senatui CORNE- | LIVS SCHONAEVS Gouda- | nus S. P. D.', dated on A4^r: 'Harlemi sexto Calendas Iulij, anno | M. D. LXVIII.' A4^v: text of the play, ending on F4^r: [row of type orns] | 'FINIS.' | [row of type orns] | [orn.]. F4^v: blank.

Notes :

The text of this edition appears to have been set from a copy of the 1580 Antwerp edition (= No. 7).

In my opinion it is quite likely that the play was printed with its performance on the stage of the Strasburg school-theatre in mind²⁶.

For the printer's device on the title-page, see Heitz, *EB*, Pl. XLIII, No. 2 and Silvestre No. 763.

Copies :

Freiburg i. Br., UB, D 9295*; Munich, UB, 8° P. lat. rec. 797:5; New Haven

²⁶ For this assumption, see also Günter Skopnik, *Das Strassburger Schultheater: Sein Spielplan und seine Bühne* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1935) [= *Schriften des Wissenschaftlichen Instituts der Elsass = Lothringer im Reich an der Universität Frankfurt, Neue Folge* 13], p. 31. Cf. August Jundt, *Die dramatischen Aufführungen im Gymnasium zu Strassburg: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Schuldramas im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Strasburg, 1881), p. 41 and Martin Vogeles, *Quellen und Bausteine zu einer Geschichte der Musik und des Theaters im Elsass 500-1800* (Strasburg, 1911; reprint Geneva, 1979), pp. 347-48.

(Conn.), YUL, Gr4 85 (this copy was available to me in the form of micro-film); Sélestat, BH, K 204 b; Vienna, Theresiana, 12344*; Zwickau, RB, 6.1.35/2 and 15.2.13/4.

12 RUDIMENTA GRAMMATICES [LATINAE] or RUDIMENTA ET GRAMMATICA LATINA?

[Haarlem?], [Gillis Roodman?], 1587, 8°?

Notes :

In 1587(?) Schonaeus received in the first instance a sum of fifty-five pounds ['Lv £'] from the city of Haarlem in order to buy twelve reams of paper to have copies of a grammar printed. However, as the money proved to be insufficient at the delivery of the books, he received an additional sum of nine pounds and ten shillings ['ix £ x sch']²⁷.

These data suggest strongly that we are concerned here with another (the second?) edition of Schonaeus's own Latin school grammar. Probably the book was printed at Haarlem and in that case Gillis Roodman, who was active as a printer at Haarlem from 1584 to 1610, must have been the printer²⁸.

Considering Plantin's production costs of 48 florins for the printing of 400 copies of Schonaeus's grammar in November 158<1> (see the notes to No. 10 above) and having regard to the figures given in the above-mentioned entry in the Haarlem treasurer's accounts, we may be fairly confident in supposing that the grammar was printed in a comparatively small edition of from 400 to 500 copies.

I know of no extant copy of this edition.

Although I have been unable to trace more than one other edition of Schonaeus's grammar (see No. 49 below), taking into account the poor survival rate of school-books, we can safely assume that there were almost certainly other editions of the *Rudimenta*, printed in Haarlem as well as elsewhere which have failed to come down to us.

So it is impossible to say to which edition of Schonaeus's grammar Valerius Andreas refers in the second edition of his *Bibliotheca Belgica*, when he indeed mentions an octavo edition of the grammar printed at Haarlem but gives no date of publication²⁹. The entries in the later bio-bibliographical dictionaries in giving these same data seem to have been based upon Andreas's work.

²⁷ GA Haarlem, Kast 19, Nr. 167, Thes. rek. 1587, ff. 41^v-42^r.

²⁸ For Gillis Roodman, see Lacleulle-Van de Kerk, pp. 87-138.

²⁹ Valerius Andreas Desselius I.C., *Bibliotheca Belgica: De Belgis vita scriptisq. claris. praemissa topographica Belgii totius seu Germaniae inferioris descriptione. Editio renovata, et tertiâ parte auctior* (Louvain, 1643; reprint Nieuwkoop, 1973), p. 163.

13 IOSEPHUS.

Haarlem, Gillis Rooman, 1590, 8°.

Notes :

For the dedication of his comedy ['Comedie'] 'Iosephus' to the burgomasters of Haarlem and the presentation of a copy of the play to each of them Schonaeus received in 1590, as an expression of thanks, the sum of twenty-five pounds ['xxv £']³⁰.

From these data the existence of a separate edition of the play *Iosephus*, a 'comoedia sacra (et nova)', can be deduced and from an auction catalogue we know that the play was printed at Haarlem in 1590. Consequently, the printer must have been Gillis Rooman, since he was the only printer in Haarlem at that time (see the notes to No. 12 above)³¹.

As the copy of *Iosephus* in the *Bibliotheca Hulsiana* is bound together in one volume with a copy of *Daniel*, which was printed by Gillis Rooman at Haarlem in 1596 (see No. 19 below), the format of the book is octavo, as we are also informed on the title-page of the auction catalogue and in the headline on page 487.

I know of no extant copy of this edition.

14 TERENCE CHRISTIANUS. UTPOTE COMOEDIIS SACRIS TRANSFORMATUS.

Cologne, Gerhard Grevenbroich, 1591.

Collation :

8° (31 ll., 126 × 74mm. [E7^v]: † – 2†⁸ A-G⁸ H¹⁰ I-L⁸ M⁴ N-Q⁸ R⁴ [\$5 signed (+ H6,7; – †1, M4,5, R2,3,4,5; C5 signed 'B5'; var : F4 signed 'E4')], 146 leaves, pp. [32], 1 2-61 62-64 [misnumbering 60 as 'o'; var : p. 11 unnumbered]; ²1 2-68 [misnumbering 63 as '65'; var : misprinting 23 as '73', 31 as 'ε1']; ³1 2-56 [misnumbering 35 as '15'; var : p. 17 unnumbered]; ⁴1 2-69 70-72 [misnumbering 28 as '18', 36 as '63'; var : misprinting 29 as '79'].

Contents :

†1^r: title. †1^v: 'SVMMA PRIVILEGII.' [extract from the privilege granted by the emperor to Gerard Grevenbruch for a period of six

³⁰ GA Haarlem, Kast 19, Nr. 170, Thes. rek. 1590, f. 81^v.

³¹ The edition is listed in the *Bibliotheca Hulsiana, sive catalogus librorum quos magno labore, summa cura et maximis sumptibus collegit vir consularis Samuel Hulsius* ..., Volume III 2 (The Hague, 1730), on p. 487, No. 9157. A copy of this catalogue is in Amsterdam, UB-GU, 773 H 8.

years] dated 'Dato Pragæ. Anno | Domini. M. D. XCI. I. Aprilis' and signed 'Rudolphus. | Iacobus Curtius à | Senfftenau | Ad mandatum Sacrae | Cæf. Maieft. propium | Io. Baruitius.' †2^r: dedicatory letter: 'ILLVSTRISSIMIS, | GENEROSISSIMIS, ET RE- | VERENDISSIMIS DD. PHILIPPO : | Præfuli Ratisbonenfi, Præposito Colo- | nienfi : & Ferdinando : Præposito Argen- | toraten. Comitibus Palatinatus Rheni, Du- | cibus Bauariæ Superioris & Inferioris, | &c. Ampliffimis Principibus | felicitatem P.', dated on †6^r: '*Agrippinæ Coloniae. | Anno reſtauratæ ſalutis, ſupra mille quingentos, | nonageſimo primo. Calendis Iulij.*' and signed 'Illuſtrifs. & Reuerendiſs. Celſi- | tud. Veftris. | Cornelius Loofeus | Callidius.' †6^v: foreword [by Cornelius Loosaeus Callidius]: 'PRÆFATIO. | CANDIDO LECTORI, PVRI- | tatis & elegantiæ Latini ſermonis ſudioſo : & in | primis Gymnaſiarchis, Rectoribus, Didacſa- | lis, cæterisq; ſudioſæ pubis In- | ſtructoribus S.' ending on 2†6^v and followed by a commendatory poem: 'OCTASTICHON FRID. HVL- | SII DARTHENI, IN CASTAM | Terentij renati linguam.' (8 ll. 'B²Is genitum quis te non dixerit eſſe Terenti?'). On 2†7^r: commendatory poem: 'HEXASTICHON A. I. H. [i.e. Adriani Iunii Hornani] SVB | PERSONA AVCTORIS TERE- | tium exprimentis.' (6 ll. '*Dum flores nitidi paſſim delibo Terenti.*') followed by two other commendatory poems: 'TETRASTICHON C. LOOS. C. [i.e. Cornelii Loosaei Callidii] | IN TERENCE RENOVATI | PIETATEM.' (4 ll. '*Æthiopis cùm fit tibi pellis adempta Terenti.*') and 'DISTICHON EIVSDEM. | Quis ſingulis Comoedijs ſcopus.' (2 ll. '*Coniunx, inde Parens, hinc Dux, tandemq; Senatus.*'). 2†7^v: 'ADMONITIONES | IN TERENCE CHRISTIANI | Comoedias.' ending on 2†8^r. 2†8^v: '*Errata ſic corrigito.*' [errata listed between sig. A8^r and sig. Q8^r]. A1^r: [orn.] | 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI. | NAAMAN.' ending on D7^r: 'FINIS.' and followed by an orn. D7^v-D8^v: blank. E1^r: [orn.] | 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI. | TOBÆVS.' ending on H10^v: 'FINIS.' and followed by an orn. I1^r: [orn.] | 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI. | NEHEMIAS.' ending on M4^v: 'FINIS.' and followed by an orn. N1^r: [orn.] | 'TERENTII | CHRISTIANI. | SAVLVVS.' ending on R3^r: 'FINIS.' R3^v-R4^v: blank.

Notes:

Schonaeus's first four plays, which had previously been published separately by the author at Antwerp in 1570 (*Nehemias*, = No. 2), 1580 (*Tobaeus*, = No. 7), and 1581 (*Saulus Conversus* and *Naaman*, = Nos 8 and 9), appeared for the first time as a collection in 1591 at Cologne under the title *Terentius Christianus*. This happened, however, without the author's knowledge and he

later took offence at the many alterations (in his view deteriorations) made in the text of the plays³².

All the evidence points to the fact that the plays were published as a collection at the instigation of Cornelius Loos(aeus) Callidius, the author of the dedicatory letter and foreword.

At the end of the foreword in the 1596, 1599, and 1604 Cologne editions he names Schonaeus 'meus civis, et amicus'³³. This is not surprising, as they were both natives of Gouda and studied in roughly the same period at the Latin school in their home town and the University of Leuven.

In his *Catalogus* of 1581, in which he discusses the life and works of those writers 'qui hoc seculo nostro sacra fidei dogmata propugnârunt, et politiores literas à barbarie vindicârunt' (see, e.g., this No. 14, sig. 2+6^v), Loosaeus also devoted a paragraph to Schonaeus. In this paragraph there is already mention of a play *Iuditha* which, however, as far as I know, was published for the first time at Haarlem in 1592 (see No. 16a below)³⁴.

As far as the publication date of this first Cologne edition is concerned, the book must have appeared between 1 July 1591 (the date of the dedicatory epistle by Loosaeus) and 10 November 1591, the day on which Paulus Melissus could write to Janus Dousa the Elder: 'Prodiit Coloniae Terentius Christianus'³⁵.

For the motives which made Loosaeus decide to edit Schonaeus's four biblical dramas under the title *Terentius Christianus*, see his dedicatory epistle and foreword prefixed to this edition.

In the paragraph in which he deals with the four plays forming part of the *Christian Terence* (see sigs 2+7^v-2+8^r of this edition) we hear from him that 'belli commotiones, bonis literis inimicae' had prevented the author from writing more dramas than the four he had composed so far (sig. 2+7^v). There we are also informed that he, Loosaeus, had not maintained the chronological order in which the plays had been published by the author but that 'historiae series in his endendis servata est: ut quae prius gesta sunt, primùm enarrentur'. From this paragraph it is apparent that Loosaeus did not know of the existence of Schonaeus's *Josephus* of 1590 (= No. 13).

For the printer's device, see Heitz, *KB*, Pl. LVIII, No. 209.

Many page numbers are virtually illegible.

Copies:

Augsburg, SStB, NL 995 —1—*; Chantilly, Les Fontaines, AR 5/82 (title-leaf missing); Cologne, UStB, S 19 41180* (blank D8 missing); Leningrad, BAH, 11464.0; Leutkirch, Zeil, Z B 417; Munich, UB, 8° P. lat. rec. 523; Paris, Ste-Geneviève, Y.8° 2213 inv. 4319 Rés.; Prague, KNM, 99 H 315; Princeton (N.J.),

³² See No. 16b below, p. 2, and No. 22 below, pp. 5-7. See also No. 29c below, sigs 2+7^r-2+8^r. Cf. No. 25 below, p. 4 and the notes to Nos 20 and 22 below.

³³ See Nos 20, 23, and 31a below, sig. 2+6^v.

³⁴ See Cornelius Loos Callidius, *Illustrium Germaniae scriptorum catalogus*... (Mainz, 1581; variant state: 1582), sigs D1^v-D3^r. Copies of this *Catalogus* are, e.g., in Amsterdam, UB-GU, 1035 D 14; Brussels, KB, V.H. 22.448; and Ghent, UB, Hist. 751.

³⁵ London, BL, MS Burney 370, f. 92^r. Cf. *ibid.*, f. 93^r.

UL, Ex 2949.831; Salzburg, St Peter, 14.168; Salzburg, UB, 73.794 I; Strasburg, BNU, Cd 103 710 (this copy was available to me in the form of photocopies); Stuttgart, WLB, fr.D.8° 6391; Tübingen, UB, Dk II 224.8°*; Uppsala, UB, C 409*; Urbana (Ill.), UL, Baldwin 1193; Vienna, ÖNB, +35.X.152; Wrocław, BU, 373862/8 O 374,4/ and 456741; Würzburg, UB, 1 an: L.r.r.o. 192.

15 TERENCE CHRISTIANUS. UTPOTE COMOEDIIS SACRIS TRANSFORMATUS.

Cologne, Gerhard Grevenbroich, 1592.

Collation:

8° (31 ll., 125 × 71 mm. [L5°]): † -2†⁸ A-H⁸ I⁴ K-M⁸ N⁴ O-R⁸ S⁴ [\$5 signed (-†1, I3,4,5, N4,5, S2,3,4,5; M4 signed 'L4')], 148 leaves, pp. [32], 1 2-63 64 [misnumbering 2 as '1'(?), (var: 3 as '2')]; ²1 2-71 72; ³1 2-56; ⁴1 2-70 71-72 [var: misnumbering 61 as '16'].

Contents:

†1^r: title. †1^v: 'SVMMA PRIVILEGII.' [extract from the privilege granted by the emperor to Gerard Grevenbruch for a period of six years] dated 'Dato Pragæ. Anno | Domini. M. D. XCI. I. Aprilis' and signed 'Rudolphus. | Iacobus Curtius à | Senfftenau | Ad mandatum Sacræ | Cæf. Maieft. proprium | Io. Baruitius.' †2^r: dedicatory letter: 'SER.^{MIS} DD. COMI- | TIBVS PAL. RHENI, SVPE- | RIORIS INFERIORISQVE BA- | VARIAE DVCIBVS, R.^{mo} PHILIP- | po, Epifcopo Ratisbon. Præposito Me- | trop. Colon. ac Ferdinando, Præpo- | fito Argent. &c. Fratribus, Prin- | cipibus lectifsimis feli- | citatem P.', dated on †6^r: 'Agrippinæ Coloniae. | Anno reftauratæ falutis, fupra mille quingentos, | nonagefimo primo. Calendus [sic] Iulij.' and signed 'Serenifs. Celfitud. VV. | Cornelius Loofæus | Callidius'. †6^v: foreword [by Cornelius Loosaeus Callidius]: 'PRÆFATIO. | CANDIDO LECTORI, PVRI- | tatis & elegantiae Latini fermonis studiofo: & in | primis Gymnafiarichis, Rectoribus, Didafca- | lis, cæterisq; studiofæ pubis In- | ftructoribus S.' ending on 2†6^v and followed by a commendatory poem: 'OCTASTICHON FRID. HVL- | SII DARTHENI IN CASTAM | Terentij renati linguam.' (8 ll. 'B²Is genitum quis te non dixerit effe Terenti?'). On 2†7^r: commendatory poem: 'HEXASTICHON A. I. H. [i.e. Adriani Iunii Hornani] SVB | PERSONA AVCTORIS TERENCE | tium exprimentis.' (6 ll. 'Dum flores nitidi pafim delibo Terenti:') followed by two other commendatory poems: 'TETRASTICHON C. LOOS. |

c. [i.e. Cornelii Loosaei Callidii] IN TERENCE RENOVATI | PIETATEM.' (4 ll. 'Aethiopis cum fit tibi pellis adempta Terenti;') and 'DISTICHON EIVSDEM. | Quis fingulis Comædijs scopus.' (2 ll. 'Coniunx, inde Parens, hinc Dux, tandemq³ Senatus'). 2†7^v: 'ADMONITIONES | IN TERENCE CHRISTIANI | Comædias.' ending on 2†8^r. 2†8^v: commendatory poem: 'IN TERENCE CHRIS- | tianum Iacobi Lom Ruræ- | mundani.' (14 ll. 'Q²Valiter infano Iuuenis lascivius amore') followed by another commendatory poem: 'ALIVD EIVSDEM.' (4 ll. 'Induerat corpus Latialivefte Menandri'). A1^r: [orn.] | 'TERENCE | CHRISTIANI. | NAAMAN.' ending on D8^r: 'FINIS.' D8^v: blank. E1^r: [orn.] | 'TERENCE | CHRISTIANI. | TOBAEVS.' ending on I4^r: 'FINIS.' I4^v: blank. K1^r: [orn.] | 'TERENCE | CHRISTIANI. | NEHEMIAS.' ending on N4^v: 'FINIS.' and followed by an orn. O1^r: [orn.] | 'TERENCE | CHRISTIANI. | SAVLVVS.' ending on S3^v: 'FINIS.' S4: blank.

Notes:

The first two sheets, containing the preliminaries, seem to be a paginal resetting from the 1591 Cologne edition (= No. 14) except for sig. 2†8^v and a minimal difference on sigs 2†2^v and 2†3^r (see, however, below). Apart from some small paginal resetting in other plays, it is only the greater part of *Nehemias* (viz. pp. 1-3 and 11-56) which is a paginal resetting from the same 1591 Cologne edition.

One has to bear in mind, however, that in this and following editions of plays by Schonaeus a paginal resetting does not automatically mean that a reset page contains exactly the same (number of) lines (of verse) as the page from which it (presumably) was reset, as many alterations were made in the text of the plays by both the editors and the author himself during his lifetime.

For the printer's device on the title-page, see Heitz, *KB*, Pl. LVIII, No. 209.

Many page numbers are virtually illegible.

Copies:

Aberdeen, UL, π 8792 Sch 1* (blank S4 missing); Cambridge (Mass.), HUL, *NC5.Sch652.B592t; Dillingen, StuB, I 1399; Freiburg i.Br., UB, D 9293* (blank S4 missing); Heidelberg, UB, D 8611; Innsbruck, UB, 116.179; London, BL, 11707.a.26*; Stuttgart, WLB, fr.D.8° 6392; Toruń, Główna, Pol.6.II.83; Uppsala, UB, Script.lat.rec.; Warsaw, Narodowa, XVI.0.2376 ad1; Wolfenbüttel, HAB, 89.8 Eth. (1)*; Wrocław, BU, 456742; Xanten, Stift, 4771*.

Contrary to the other examined copies the copy in the Stiftsbibliothek at Xanten contains, in addition to the four plays described above, two more plays, viz. *Iosephus* and *Iuditha*. These two plays, however, of which *Iuditha*, as far as I know, was published for the first time by the author at Haarlem in 1592 (see No. 16a below) do not belong to the Cologne 1592 edition (which

contains only four plays) but come from the 1595 Cologne edition described below under Nos 18a and 18b.

- 16a** SACRAE COMOEDIAE SEX, PSEUDOSTRATIOTAE, ELEGIARUM LIBER I, EPIGRAMMATUM LIBER I.
Haarlem, Gillis Rooman, 1592.

Collation :

8° (32 ll., 131 × 77mm. [O5^r]): A-2H⁸ [\$5 signed (–A1; var: 2B3 signed '2B')], 248 leaves, pp. 1-2 3-493 494-496 [misnumbering (var: 5 as 'E', 75 as '57'), 192 as '129', 204-05 as '104-05', 208 as '108', 239 as '139', 477 as '377', 479 as '379').

Contents :

A1^r: title. A1^v: commendatory poem: 'HADRIANI IVNII | HEXASTICHON SVB | PERSONA AVCTORIS.' (6 ll. '*DVM flores nitidi paßim delibo Terenti,*') followed by a dedicatory poem: 'EIVSDEM ACROSTICHIS | AD AVCTOREM, IN LAVDEM | PATRIÆ.' (9 ll. '*G ouda auro potior, referens ☞ nomen ab auro,*'). A2^r: dedicatory letter: 'HONORATISSIMIS, | PRVDENTISSIMISQVE HAR- | LEMIANÆ CIVITATIS CONSVLIBVS, AC | toti ejusdem Reip. Magistratui CORNELIVS | SCHONÆVS S. P.', dated on A3^r: 'Harlemi, ipßif Calendis Augußti, Anno 1592.' A3^v: [TOBÆVS] ending on E3^r: 'FINIS.' E3^v: 'NEHEMIAS.' ending on H3^v: 'FINIS.' H4^r: 'SAVLVS.' ending on M1^r: 'FINIS.' M1^v: 'NAAMAN.', introduced by a dedicatory poem: 'HADRIANI IVNII EPIGRAMMA, | IN ARGVMENTVM COMOEDIAE.' (26 ll. '*Fæda lues lepræ squamis obfederat albis*'; M1^v) and ending on P5^r: 'FINIS.' P5^v: 'IOSEPHVS.' ending on T2^v: 'FINIS.' T3^r: 'IVDITHA.' ending on Y6^r: 'FINIS.' Y6^v: 'PSEVDOSTRA- | TIOTAE, FABVLA IO- | cofa, atque ludicra.', introduced by a dedicatory poem: 'SIMONIS AGGERII HARLE- | MENSIS AD CORNELIVM | Schonæum amicum fuum familiarem, | Dimetri.' (41 ll. 'N³*Omen tibi ex re contigit*'; Y6^v-Y7^r) and a dedicatory letter: 'HONORATIS- | SIMO AC PRVDEN- | TISSIMO GOVDANÆ | CIVITATIS MAGI- | fratui Cornelius. | Schonæus S.', dated on Y8^r: 'Harlemi pridie Nonas Augußti Anno 1592.' On 2B4^r: 'FINIS.' 2B4^v: 'CORNELII | SCHONAEI LIBER | ELEGIARVM.', introduced by a dedicatory letter: 'REVERENDO, ATQVE HO- | NORATO

DOMINO, D. | TIMANNO A WOV, RHO- | DIANORVM
 DOMINORVM | apud Harlemenſes Præfuli, | *Cornelius Schoneus*
S., dated on 2B5^r: 'Harlemi, poſtri- | die Nonas Auguſti, Anno 1592.'
 On 2E5^v: 'FINIS.' 2E6^r: 'CORNELII | SCHONAEI LIBER |
 EPIGRAMMATVM.', introduced by a dedicatory letter: 'PROBITATE,
 ATQVE ERVDI- | TIONE INSIGNI, EVGENIO | PEREBOMIO
 GOVDANO, | Cornelius Schonæus S. P. D.' (2E6^{r-v}) and ending on
 2H7^r: 'FINIS.' 2H7^v: address to the reader [by the author?]: 'AD
 LECTOREM.' followed by a list of 'EMENDANDA' [errata listed
 between p. 21 (sig. B3^r) and p. 376 (sig. 2A4^v)]. 2H8: blank.

Notes:

From an entry in the treasurer's accounts in the Haarlem municipal archives it can be deduced that the edition was commissioned and paid for by the author. However, the city of Haarlem came to the rescue and lent him three hundred pounds ['ponden'] in order to cover the costs of the paper used and a part of the printer's wages for the printing of 1,000 copies. From the copies sold Schonaeus had to repay the loan and in the treasurer's accounts we see that he did so from 1595 to 1600 by having for a period of six years fifty pounds ['ponden'] *per annum* docked from his (new) wages³⁶.

For the reasons why it took so long before Schonaeus began, in 1595, to repay the first term of the loan of three hundred pounds, see the notes to No. 16b below.

Unlike the 1591 and 1592 Cologne editions (= Nos 14 and 15), in which only the four oldest plays are present, this 1592 Haarlem edition contains six plays, arranged in the chronological order in which they were published by the author. From the dedicatory epistle to the Haarlem magistrates we learn (p. 3) that *Iuditha* was Schonaeus's sixth comedy and that, after the composition was finished, certain learned friends had persuaded him to publish all six plays as a collection. Therefore, no evidence for the existence of a separate edition of *Iuditha* being present, we may be fairly confident in assuming that the play was brought out for the first time together with the other five already existing biblical dramas in this 1592 Haarlem edition.

As far as *Pseudostratitotae* is concerned, the wording of the dedication of this play to the Gouda magistrates, dating from 4 August 1592, makes it extremely unlikely that there ever existed a separate Haarlem 1592 edition of this farce³⁷.

³⁶ GA Haarlem, Kast 19, Nr. 172, Thes. rek. 1592, ff. 76^v-77^r; Nr. 175, Thes. rek. 1595, ff. 13^v-14^r; Nr. 176, Thes. rek. 1596, f. 14^{r-v}; Nr. 177, Thes. rek. 1597, f. 14^r; Nr. 178, Thes. rek. 1598, f. 14^r; Nr. 179, Thes. rek. 1599, f. 15^r; Nr. 180, Thes. rek. 1600, f. 16^{r-v}. Cf. also Laceulle-Van de Kerk, pp. 348-49, No. 241, and pp. 130-31 and 232-33, No. 79.

³⁷ A separate Haarlem 1592 edition is mentioned, in my view erroneously, by, e.g., Jean George Théodore Graesse in his *Trésor de livres rares et précieux ou nouveau dictionnaire bibliographique* ..., Volume VI 1 R-S (Dresden [etc.], 1865; reprints Leipzig and Paris, 1900; Berlin, 1922; Milan, 1951), p. 313.

On page 184 the last line of verse has not been printed in full but the words 'Ph(r). Non arbitror.' have been added in manuscript in most of the traced copies, and in most cases by the author himself.

For the printer's device on the title-page, see Laceulle-Van de Kerk, p. 412, No. 149. Cf. also Briels, p. 422.

Copies :

Aberdeen, UL, π MN.12.100*; Amsterdam, KNAW, G 1875a* (blank 2H8 missing); Amsterdam, UB-GU, 499 G 22* (on 2H8 of this copy a contemporary hand has written four laudatory poems which were taken from the Cologne (1592?) edition); Cambridge (Mass.), HUL, *NC5.Sch652.592s; Groningen, UB, γ h 16*; Haarlem, StB, 802 G 56* (blank 2H8 missing); Leuven, UB-KUL, A 18079* (blank 2H8 missing); Leyden, UB, 693 D 26* (blank 2H8 missing); New York (N.Y.), PL, *KB 1592 76-413; Perugia, BCA, I N 63; Rome, Casanatense, I.I.VI.97; Rouen, BM, 0.2081; Vienna, ÖNB, 40.Y.33; Wolfenbüttel, HAB, P 1716.8° Helmst.* and Li 8063*; Wrocław, BU, 456334.

16b TERENCE CHRISTIANUS SEU COMOEDIAE SACRAE SEX, PSEUDOSTRATIOTAE, ELEGIARUM LIBER I, EPIGRAMMATUM LIBER I.

Haarlem, Gillis Rooman for Pierre de St André [i.e. Hieronymus Commelin] at Heidelberg, 1594.

Another issue.

Collation :

See No. 16a above.

Contents :

A1^r: title. A1^v: foreword by the printer [i.e. author]: '*Typographus candido Lectori S.*', dated '7. Septemb. Anno. 1594.' A2^r: dedicatory letter: 'HONORATISSIMIS, PRVDENTISSI- | MISQVE HARLEMIANÆ CIVITATIS CON- | fulibus, ac toti ejusdem Reip. Magistratui COR- | NELIVS SCHONÆVS S. P.', dated on A3^r: 'Harlemi, ipfis Calendis Au- | gusti, An. 1592.' and followed by a commendatory poem: 'HADRIANI IVNII | HEXASTICHON SVB | PERSONA AVCTORIS' (6 ll. '*DVM flores nitidi paxim delibo Terenti,*'). A3^v: dedicatory poem: 'EIVSDEM ACROSTICHIS | AD AVCTOREM, IN LAVDEM PATRIÆ.' (9 ll. '*Gouda auro potior, referens nomen ab auro,*'). On A3^v: [TOBÆVS]. B1^r-2H8^v: the same as in No. 16a above.

Notes :

A re-issue of the 1592 Haarlem sheets (= No. 16a) minus the original title-leaf gathering. This sheet has been reset with a new title-page and some re-arrangement

of type-pages as a result of the addition of the printer's [i.e. author's] address to the reader.

In this printer's [i.e. author's] foreword the impression is created that we are concerned here with a new edition of the six dramas by Schonaeus, published together with a farce and the books of elegies and epigrams. It is suggested therefore that the book was printed after the printer had come into the possession of the two dramas (i.e. *Iosephus* and *Iuditha*) which were missing from the 'TERENTIVS CHRISTIANVS, sacris videlicet comaedijs transformatus' (i.e. the 1591 and 1592 Cologne editions, Nos 14 and 15 above) but which together with the four dramas of this edition would constitute a real Terence of six plays. In addition to the imprint on the title-page all this is intended to make us believe that the book was printed by Hieronymus Commelin in Heidelberg.

However, from a comparison of types and the ornamental woodcut initial letter A on pp. 3 and 70 it is clear that the title-leaf gathering was also printed by Gillis Rooman at Haarlem (see below)³⁸.

From an entry in the resolutions of the Haarlem City Fathers it can be deduced that in June 1594 Schonaeus found himself in such serious financial difficulties that it was impossible for him to repay the three hundred pounds which he had borrowed from the city of Haarlem in order to have 1,000 copies of his plays, elegies, and epigrams printed by Gillis Rooman (see also the notes to No. 16a above)³⁹. In this entry we learn that Schonaeus had brought to the attention of the City Fathers the fact that his financial plight was a result of his not having received any salary increase in the foregoing years. In addition, an even more important factor which prevented him from repaying the loan was the loss of income suffered because his comedies ['comedien'] appeared to have been reprinted at Cologne under the honorary title of 'Christian Terence' ['onder den heerlicken tytel vanden Christelicken Terentius']. Indeed, from a financial point of view, the issue of the 1591 and 1592 Cologne editions (= Nos 14 and 15), which had taken place without the author's knowledge⁴⁰, upset all the calculations he had made about the sales of the copies of the Haarlem 1592 edition which he had in his own hands (see the notes to No. 16a above).

In order to help their Rector the City Fathers decided to meet Schonaeus's wishes for a salary increase. They raised therefore his wages, presumably effective from 25 July 1594, for a period of six years by one hundred pounds ['ponden'] *per annum*. This was granted on the condition, however, that during this period a sum of fifty pounds ['ponden'] *per annum* should be docked from his new wages until the loan of three hundred pounds was fully repaid.

Considering the foregoing it is understandable that Schonaeus looked for ways and means to stimulate the, perhaps lagging, sales of his book and that he casted covetous eyes on Germany where up to now his book apparently failed to sell satisfactorily because of the Cologne editions having appeared there in 1591 and 1592.

³⁸ See also Lacleu-Van de Kerk, p. 401, No. 96; cf. *ibid.*, p. 134.

³⁹ GA Haarlem, Kast 3/4, Nr. 7 (E 17), Vroedschapsres. 1589-1596, ff. 192^v-93^r.

⁴⁰ See p. 2 of this 1594 issue and the notes to No. 14 above and No. 22 below.

From an advertising point of view it was a great advantage that he could introduce on the German market a *Christian Terence* which was by now 'omnibus numeris, ut aiunt, absolutus' (i.e. an edition containing six plays, like the pagan Terence does) and no longer 'mutilus, et imperfectus ut antè' (i.e. an edition containing only four plays, like the Cologne editions did)⁴¹.

To increase the sales potential in the German area it was important for him to have a publisher or seller issuing the book in Germany. Thus, I think there are reasons to believe that Gillis Rooman, who from 1594 onwards printed some works for Jan Commelin in Amsterdam, brought him into contact with Jan Commelin. From Jan Commelin to his relative and partner Hieronymus Commelin in Heidelberg it is but a short step.

A consequence of the new cooperation between Schonaeus and Commelin was that they thought it necessary to stimulate public sale as far as possible by altering the advertisement of the book and by bringing the old sheets up to date. Therefore they decided to cancel the original title-leaf gathering, and to have Gillis Rooman printed a new one. As the title-page was the identification and advertisement of the book the volume was labeled now *Terentius Christianus* (like the Cologne editions) and the imprint now has—apart from the change in the date—the name of the printer dropped from it and replaced by the publisher's address 'Apud Petrum Sanctandraeanum', i.e. Hieronymus Commelin in Heidelberg⁴².

This 1594 issue is listed in a stock catalogue which was published by Commelin at Heidelberg in 1599⁴³.

For the completion in manuscript of the last line of verse on page 184, see the notes to No. 16a above.


⁴¹ For this passage, see the foreword to the reader on p. 2 of this 1594 issue.


⁴² For the relationship Pierre de St André-Hieronymus Commelin-Jan Commelin-Gillis Rooman, see C. P. Burger Jr., 'De boekverkoopers Commelin te Genève, Heidelberg, Amsterdam en Leiden', *Tijdschrift voor boek- en bibliotheekwezen*, 9 (1911), pp. 145-76; Wilhelm Port, *Hieronymus Commelinus 1550-1597: Leben und Werk eines Heidelberger Drucker-Verlegers* (Leipzig, 1938; reprint Nendeln and Wiesbaden, 1969) [= *Sammlung bibliothekswissenschaftlicher Arbeiten* 47], esp. pp. 16-18 and 65, where this 1594 issue with the 'Apud Petrum Sanctandraeanum' imprint is listed as No. 111; and Laceulle-Van de Kerk, pp. 113 and 120-21. Cf. also C. P. Burger Jr., 'Amsterdamsche boeken op de Frankforter mis 1590-1609, *Het Boek*, 23 (1935-36), 175-94 (pp. 191-92); Briels, pp. 252-53; and Benzing, p. 196, No. 12.


⁴³ The *Catalogus librorum quos vel excudit Commelinus, vel quorum exemplaria ad se recepit: Accedunt libri mss. e bibliotheca eius* (Ex bibliopolio Commeliniano, 1599) lists this issue on sig. B1^r as: 'Terentius Christianus, seu Comoediae sacrae sex, auctore Cornelio Schonaeo Goudano, cum aliis nonnullis opusculis. 8'. A copy of this catalogue is, e.g., in Ghent, UB, Hist. 948. For a description of the catalogue and further locations, see Günter Richter, 'Bibliographische Beiträge zur Geschichte buchhändlerischer Kataloge im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert', in *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Buches und seiner Funktion in der Gesellschaft. Festschrift für Hans Widmann zum 65. Geburtstag am 28. März 1973*, edited by Alfred Šwierk (Stuttgart, 1974), pp. 183-229 (pp. 205-06) and Bert van Selm, 'Some Amsterdam stock catalogues with printed prices from the first half of the seventeenth century', *Quaerendo*, 10 (1980), 3-46 (pp. 6-7, note 14) (hereafter referred to as Van Selm).

For the ornament on the title-page, see Laceulle-Van de Kerk, p. 403, No. 120. The same ornament was also used by Rooman on pp. 5 and 55 of the play *Daniel* (= No. 19) as a tail-piece. Cf. Briels, p. 78, Pl. 16.

Variants :

The addition of the line '*Cum gratia*  *priuilegio.*' on the title-page was presumably made by later rerunning A(o) through the press, thus producing a variant state. It is for this reason that there is a very slight shift in position of this line in various copies.

Variant A : with the line '*Cum gratia*  *priuilegio.*'

Variant B : without the line '*Cum gratia*  *priuilegio.*'

Copies :

Aberdeen, UL, π 8792 Sch 3* (A1-A3 and blank 2H8 missing; A1-A3 supplied in photocopy); Amsterdam, Neolatijn, NL 4 B* (variant B); Basle, UB, D H III 7² (variant B); Brussels, KB, II 22.567 A* (variant B; blank 2H8 missing); Cambridge (Mass.), HUL, *NC5. Sch652.592sa (variant B); Chantilly, Les Fontaines, X 700/602 (variant A); Edinburgh, NL, D.N.S.202* (variant A); Florence, BU, Bardi 5 A 111 (variant A); Gouda, Librye, 1328^k* (variant B); Luzern, ZB, C3.686.8 (variant B); Lyons, BV, 317461 (variant B); Maastricht, UB, 3260 F 34* (variant B); Mons, BU, Cat. 5131 volume 8337, 37 M (variant B); Padua, BU, 62.b.188 (variant A); Paris, Ste-Geneviève, Y.8° 2213² inv. 4320 (variant B); Rome, Vaticana, Palatina V.1189 (variant A); Urbana (Ill.), UL, Baldwin 1194 (variant B) and Neo-Latin Plays (variant A); Warsaw, BSD, K.6.52 (variant unknown); Weimar, ZB, 8° XXXVIII, 100 (variant B); Wrocław, BU, 456335 (variant B).

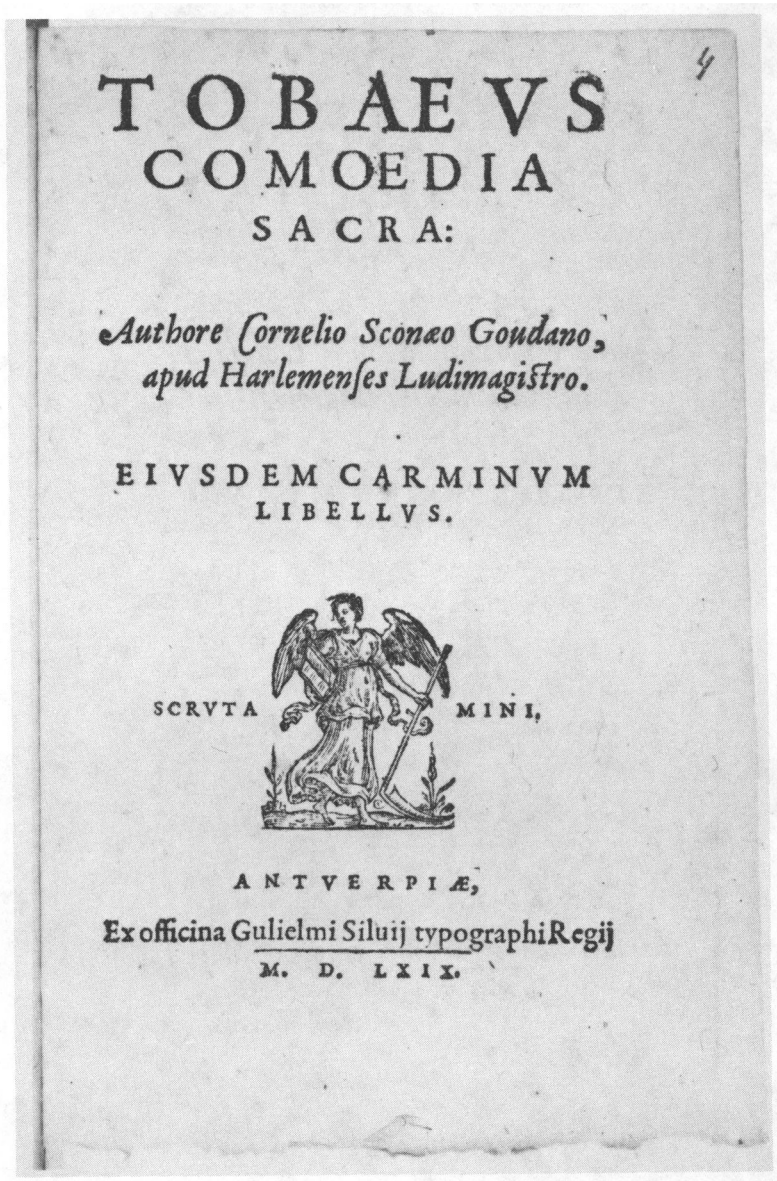


PLATE 1.

Brussels, KB, VB 6419 LP (4)

No. 1a.

TOBÆVS
COMOEDIA
SACRA:

*Authore Cornelio Sconæo Goudano,
apud Harlemenses Ludimagistro.*

EIVSDEM CARMINVM
LIBELLVS.



ANTVERPIÆ,

Ex officina Gulielmi Siluij typographi Regij
M. D. LXX.

NEHEMIAS.
DE INSTAVRATIONE
HIEROSOLYMÆ
COMOEDIA
SACRA.

*Auctore Cornelio Sconæo
Goudano.*



ANTVERPIAE,
Ex Officina Christophori Plantini.
M. D. LXX:

S A V L V S
CONVERSVS: CO-
MOEDIA NOVA,
ET SACRA,

*Cornelio Sconao Goudano
Auctore.*



ANTVERPIAE,
Ex officina Gulielmi Silvij, Regij ty-
pographi. M. D. LXX

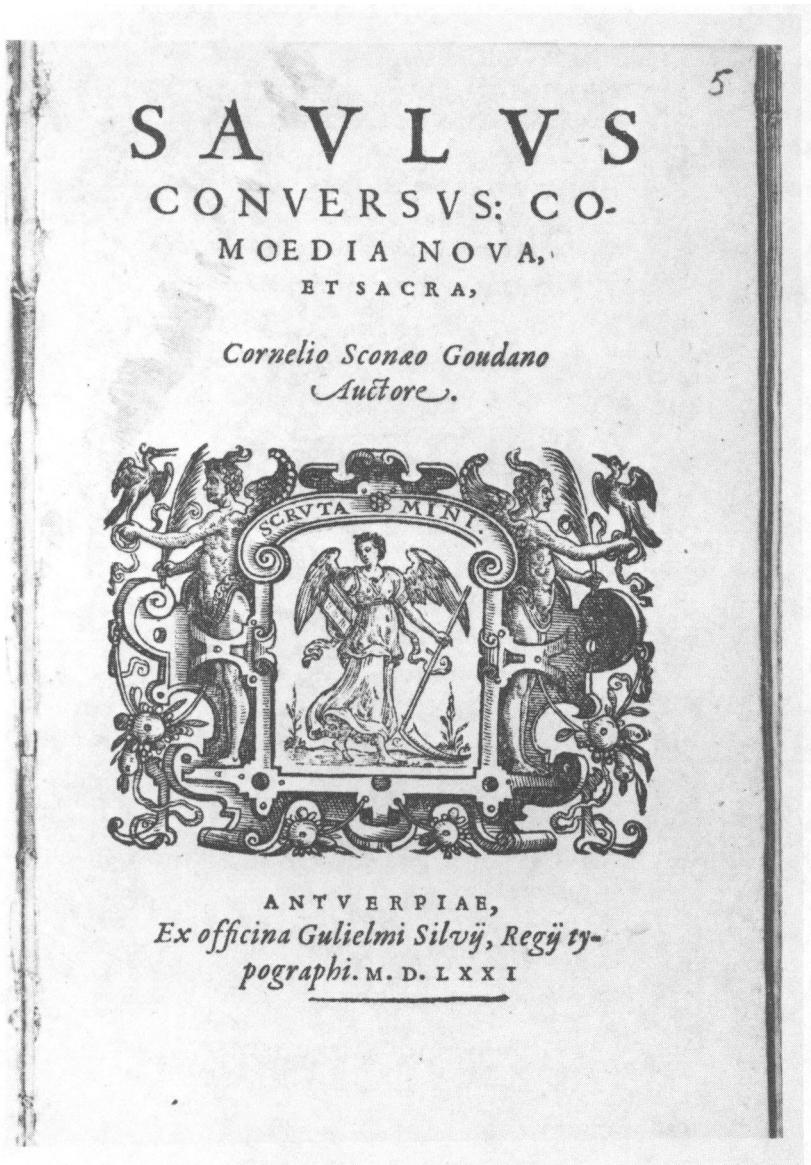


PLATE 5.

Brussels, KB, VB 6419 LP (5)

No. 3b.





PLATE 7. Leipzig, DBSM, Bibliothek des Börsenvereins
der Deutschen Buchhändler zu Leipzig, Blattsammlung,
Druckorte : Strassburg

No. 5.



TOBÆVS,¹
COMOEDIA

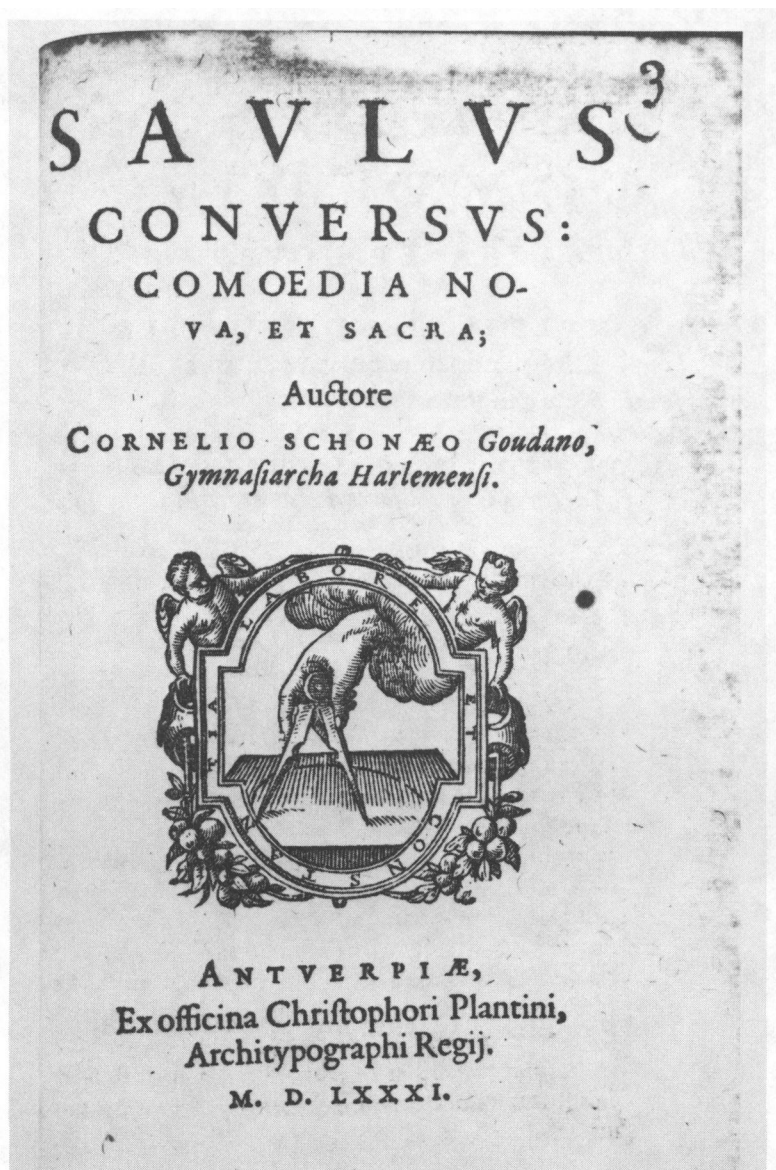
SACRA ET NOVA,

A MVLTVS MENDIS QVIBVS
antè scatebat repurgata, atque
diligenter recognita:

CORNELIO SCHONÆO Goudano
Auctore, Gymnasiarcha Harlemensi.



ANTVERPIÆ,
Ex officina Christophori Plantini,
Architypographi Regij.
M. D. LXXX.

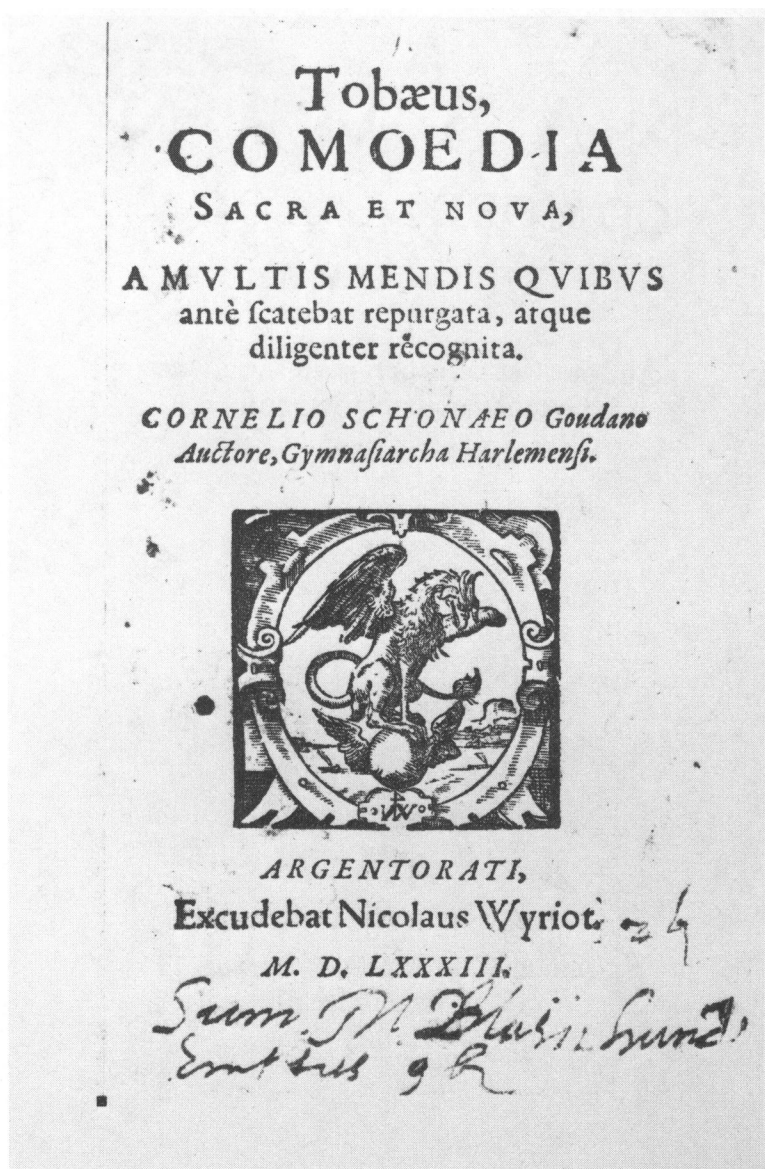


2
N A A M A N
COMOEDIA SACRA,
ET NOVA,

Auctore Cornelio Schonæo Goudano
Gymnasiarcha Harlemensi.



ANTVERPIÆ,
Ex officina Christophori Plantini,
Architypographi Regij.
M. D. LXXXI.



TERENTIUS CHRISTIANVS.

VTPOTE COMOEDIIS
SACRIS TRANSFORMATVS.

a Corn. Schonaeo.

QVO PURISSIMI SER-
monis elegantia linguam exornet; & politis mo-
ribus, ac insigni pietate mentem imbuat:
atque hinc summa cum fruge
praelegatur.



COLONIAE,

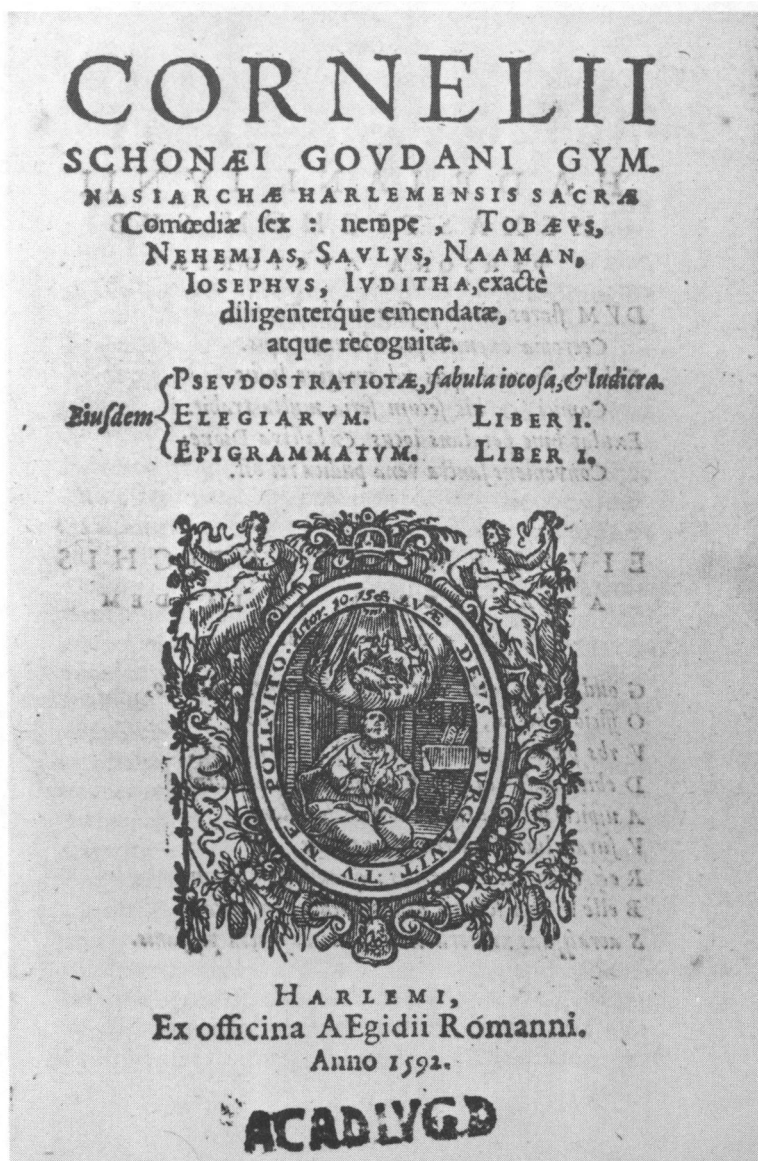
Apud Gerardum Greuenbruch.

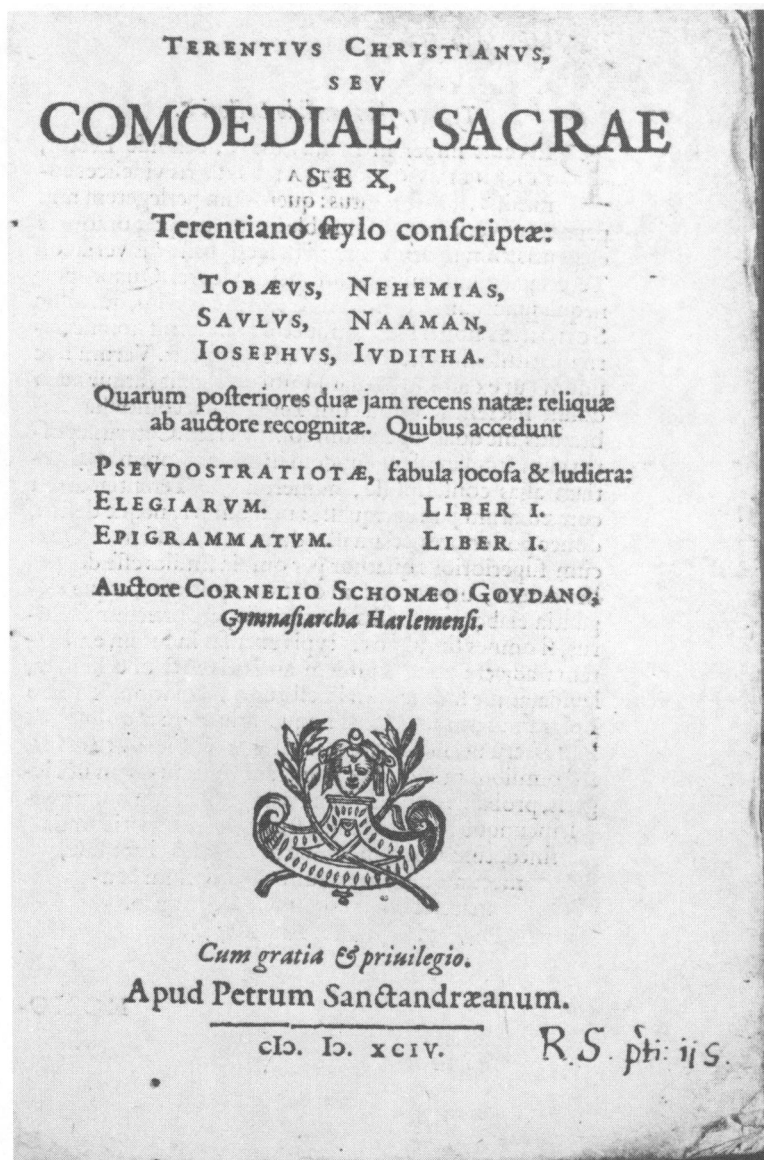
ANNO M. D. XCI.

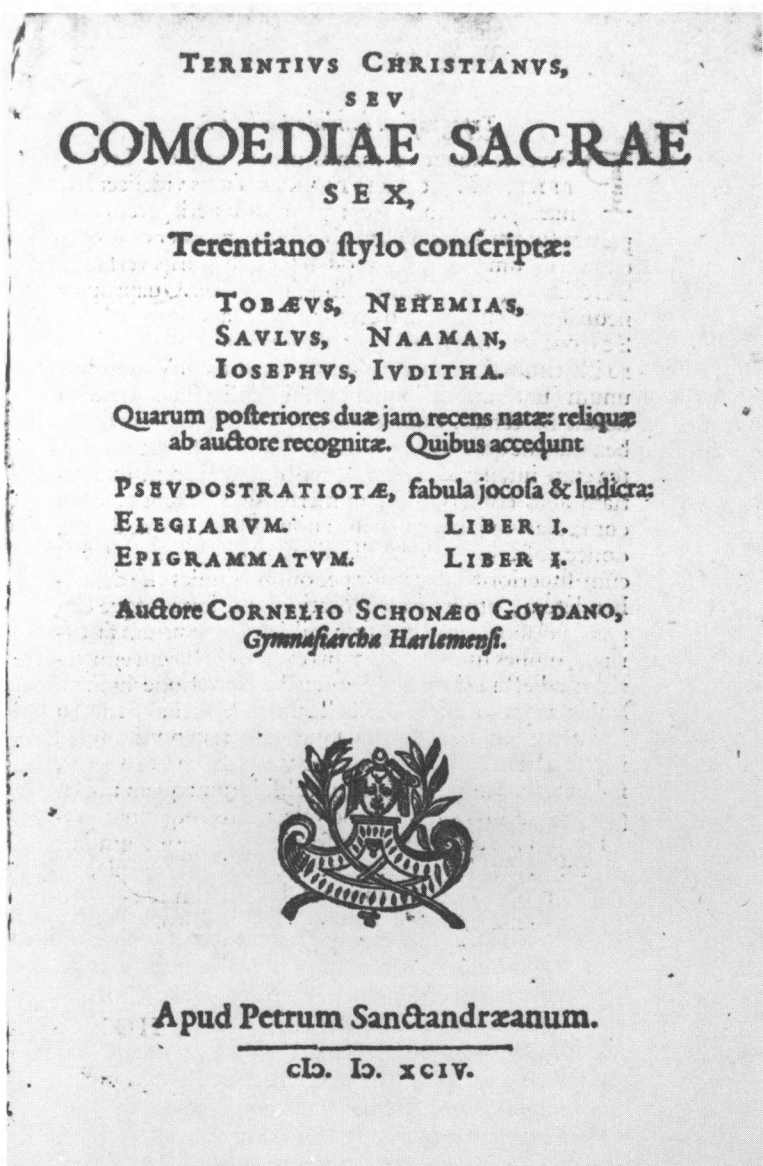
Cum gratia & privilegio S. Caf. Maiest.

Inscriptus Collegio Libr. Coll. Rom. Soc. an. 1880.









INSTRUMENTUM BIBLIOGRAPHICUM NEO-LATINUM

apparaverunt

J. IJsewijn, M. de Schepper, G. Tournoy, D. Sacré

Appellatio ad auctores:

Auctores librorum et commentationum de rebus neo-latinis enixe rogamus ut nuntium de novis opusculis nobis mittant (in Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae, Blijde-Inkomststraat 21, B-3000 LEUVEN, Belgium), quo citius in hoc instrumentum possint referri.

SIGLA:

- BHR** = *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* (Genève).
Conscience européenne = *La conscience européenne au XV^e et au XVI^e siècle. Actes du colloque international — 1980*, Collection de l'École normale supérieure de jeunes filles, 22 (Paris, C.N.R.S., 1982).
Forster = *From Wolfram and Petrarch to Goethe and Grass. Studies in Literature in Honour of L. Forster*. Edited by D.H. Green, L.P. Johnson, D. Wuttke (Baden-Baden, Valentin Koerner, 1982).
GSLI = *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana* (Torino).
HL = *Humanistica Lovaniensia* (Leuven).
JMRS = *The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*.
Ramsey P.A., Rome = *Rome and the Renaissance. The City and the Myth. Papers of the Thirteenth Annual Conference of the Center for Medieval & Early Renaissance Studies*. Edited by P.A. Ramsey. *Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies*, Vol. 18 (Binghamton U.P., N.Y., 1982 [1983]).
RIN = *Rinascimento* (Firenze).
Rinascimento = *Il Rinascimento: Aspetti e Problemi attuali*. A cura di V. Branca et al. (Firenze, Olschki, 1982).
RPL = *Respublica Litterarum* (Lawrence, Kansas).
RQ = *Renaissance Quarterly* (New York).
WBN = *Wolfenbütteler Barock-Nachrichten*.
WRM = *Wolfenbütteler Renaissance Mitteilungen* (Hamburg).

1. GENERALIA

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Cfr. 4.2.: Canz; Fliscus; Ioannes de Virgilio; Sanctius.

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3. SCAENICA

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7. INCEPTA

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NUNTII

1.

500th centenary Rudolph Agricola 1985

At the University of Groningen, Netherlands, preparations are underway to commemorate the quincentenary of the death of Rudolph Agricola (1444-1485). The commemoration will include an exhibition and an international conference dedicated to Agricola's life, work and influence. Main themes of the conference are:

1. Biography and History;
2. Literature and Humanism;
3. Rhetoric and Dialectic.

This three-day conference will take place following the 6th Congress of the I.A.N.L.S. in the late summer of 1985. The main themes will be introduced by Prof. Dr. A. Sottili (Turin), Prof. Dr. E. Kessler (Munich), Prof. Dr. J. IJsewijn (Louvain), Dr. L.A. Jardine (Cambridge). Those who want to attend or to participate may obtain further information from Dr. F. Akkerman, Klassiek Instituut, Pleiadenlaan 10-26, NL-9742 NG GRONINGEN, Netherlands.

2.

The *Nederlands Interuniversitair Kunsthistorisch Instituut* of Florence has announced the imminent publication of an inventory of manuscript sources involving the Low Countries which are presently housed in the Laurenziana, Marucelliana and Riccardiana Libraries. Edited by Henk Th. van Veen of the Nederlands Interuniversitair Kunsthistorisch Instituut and Andrew P. McCormick of the Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, the inventory will include all extant material having any connection with either Belgium or The Netherlands, regardless of period or discipline. The publication will constitute a significant expansion of the chapter on Florentine archives and libraries written in 1901 by the Dutch historian P.J. Blok in his *Verslag van onderzoekingen naar de archivalia in Italië belangrijk voor de geschiedenis van Nederland*. The work has been carried out in conjunction with the editors' study of relations between Tuscany and the Dutch Republic during the reign of Cosimo III de' Medici.

The inventory, in which the earliest entries date from the fourteenth century, is a good illustration of how the nature and intensity of interest between these two poles of continental Europe have evolved in the course of approximately five centuries. Of particular interest are the letter collections. From the seventeenth century, for instance, there are the correspondences of Francesco Redi with P. Francius, G. Henschenius, A. Morus and D. Papenbroek, and of Nicholas Heinsius with A. Cavalcanti, G.P. Marucelli and O. Falconieri. The seventeenth century is also represented by journals, which were kept by Florentines during their travels in the Low Countries, such as those of A. Bassetti, V. Capponi, A. Moniglia and F. Riccardi. From the eighteenth century there are the correspondences of A.M. Salvini and A.F. Gori with such prominent scholars as H. Brenkman, C. Bynkershoek, J. Clericus, G. Cuper, T. Hemsterhuis, J.P. d'Orville and D. Ruhnken. Especially worth mentioning from the nineteenth century is the correspondence of the classicist G. Vitelli with his Belgian and Dutch colleagues such as J. Bidez, U.P. Boissevain, H. Grégoire, J. van der Vliet and S.G. De Vries among others.

Aside from sources like these, the inventory will also include much material that has no direct bearing on relations between Tuscany and the Low Countries, but is nevertheless currently preserved in the same three libraries. This material ranges from a fifteenth century Flemish chronicle to the sixteenth century correspondences of Archduke Albert of Austria with Ernst of Mansfelt, and of Alexander Farnese with Comte de Hennin Oudart de Bournonville, Sire de Capres, a diary kept by Abraham Elzevier, various works by Joannes Heckius,

the correspondence of the eminent French scholar Pierre Daniel Huet with, for example, P. Burman, G. Cuper, J. Graevius, N. Heinsius and H. Reland, as well as that of G. Schoppius with P. Cluverus, L. Elzevier, C. Huygens and I. Vossius.

3.

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Auctor, qui huiusmodi auxilio frui vult, mittat oportet operis sui exemplar mundum et absolutum ad unum quemlibet editorum sequentium:

— *Gratia* (Prof. Dieter Wuttke, Ältere deutsche Literatur, Universität Bamberg, D-8600 BAMBERG, BRD);

— *Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies* (Prof. Mario Di Cesare, Center for Medieval & Early Renaissance Studies, State University of New York at Binghamton, Binghamton, N.Y. 13901, U.S.A.);

— *Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia* (Prof. J. IJsewijn, Fakulteit LW, Blijde Inkomststraat 21, B-3000 Leuven, Belgium).

Harum serierum collegium ecdoticum opus cum acceperit, critica lance iudicabit iudicandumve curabit et omni ratione iusta cognoscet dignumne sit paratumque typis quod tradatur necne. Simul quaeret ab auctore aut ab alio quovis homine rei perito praestone sint et alii fontes, ex quibus pars saltem sumptum faciendorum hauriri possit.

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INSTRUMENTUM LEXICOGRAPHICUM

Stabile G., "Per un *Thesaurus mediae et recentioris Latinitatis*. Un' iniziativa del Lessico Intellettuale Europeo", *Studi Medievali*, 3^a s., 23 (1982), 441-445. '[Ci] sono ... motivi per ritenere maturo il momento di offrire a filologi, linguisti, storici e filosofi un primo dizionario di macchina suscettibile di un' espansione teoricamente illimitata ...' (p. 445).

NOVA LEXICA

Glossarium Mediae Latinitatis Sueciae. Confecit E. Odelman. Vol. II 1 : IUSTITIA-METUENDUS (Stockholm, 1982).

Lexicon Latinitatis Nederlandicae Medii Aevi. Composuerunt J.W. Fuchst, Olga Weijers, Marijke Gumbert. Vol. III 17-18 : D-DESTITUO (Leiden, 1982).

Lexicon Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis Polonorum, ed. M. Plezia. V 6-8 : INTELLECTUALIS-LATRO (Warszawa, 1982).

+

Pace G., *Piccolo dizionario delle denominazioni internazionali dei funghi. Onomasticum mycologicum* (Ivrea, Priuli e Verlucca editori, 1982).

INDEX VERBORUM RECENTIORUM

Sequuntur verba, quae neque in *Thesauro Linguae Latinae* neque in *Lexico Totius Latinitatis* Forcelliniano reperi possunt. Ea autem, quae in lexicis et glossariis Mediae Latinitatis leguntur, stellula (*) notauimus.

*Appendiciarius, *additional* : p. 402

*architypographus, *archprinter* : p. 399, 400

*baronissa, *baroness* : p. 458

*Bombarda, *gun* : p. 222, v. 79; 223, v. 81

Bumulgus = βουμολγός : p. 222, v. 62

Cyriaceus dies, *sunday* : p. 57

Defascinare = *fascinare* : p. 168

Favitare = *fauere* : p. 67

Gothunnus, *Swedish* : p. 328

Hydropolis, *Dorchester* : p. 234

Immotim, *immobile* (adv.) : p. 223, v.

80

*impressor, *printer* : p. 184

*incidenter, *in passing* : p. 152, l. 1087

*individuatus, '*substantia individuata*' : p. 122, l. 176, 177

*Mediamnis (insula), *in the midst of a river* : p. 229

*minera, -rae, *ore-mine* : p. 100

(*)Obiectiuncula, *a small objection* : p. 138, l. 647

Haec vox apud Souter (inter uncos quadratos) et Blaise falso tribuitur Sancto Ambrosio, *De Fide*. Legitur enim in summario capitis V libri IV, quod ab editore quodam recentiore est additum.

- *Palatinatus Rheni, *Rheinfalz* : p. 407
- *Peramabilis, *very lovely* : p. 201, v. 23
 phusca = ἡ φούσκη : p. 282
- *plebanus, *parish priest* : p. 392
- *praeservativus, *prophylactic* : p. 285
- proniter (cadere), *headforemost* : p. 223, v. 81
- Quatricentenus = quadringentesimus
 (Cf. DuCange : quatricentum) : p. 64
- *quiditas, (scholastic philosophical term) : p. 122
- *Reductive, *opponitur* 'sua natura' : p. 136, l. 611
- Satrix, *begetter, mother* : p. 319
- *Topographicus, *geographical* : p. 405, n. 29
- *Typographia, *printing office* : p. 393
- Veternitas = vetustas? : p. 308

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plut. LII 22 : p. 172</p> <p>Firenze, <i>idem</i>, Ashburn. Libri 1174 : p. 159</p> <p>Firenze, <i>Biblioteca Riccardiana</i>, 2975 : p. 211</p> <p>London, <i>British Library</i>, Add. 27626 : p. 288</p> <p>London, <i>idem</i>, Add. 49370 (<i>olim</i> Holkham
Hall 416) : p. 162</p> <p>Lucca, <i>Biblioteca statale</i>, 858 : p. 217</p> <p>Milano, <i>Biblioteca Ambrosiana</i>, H 79 inf. :
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573, 549, 19757² : p. 309</p> <p>Oxford, <i>Bodleian Library</i>, Lat. Misc. d. 85 :
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p. 216</p> <p>Piacenza, <i>Biblioteca comunale</i>, cod. Palla-
strelli 116 : p. 162</p> <p>Roma, <i>Biblioteca Angelica</i>, ms. 64 : p. 267</p> <p>Siena, <i>Biblioteca municipale</i>, B.X.8 : p. 214-
15</p> <p>Vaticano, Vat. latinus 2836 et 2847 : p. 364</p> <p>Vaticano, Vat. latinus 2866 : p. 165</p> <p>Vaticano, Vat. latinus 2874 : p. 364</p> <p>Vaticano, Vat. latinus 4104 : p. 163</p> <p>Vaticano, Vat. latinus 6250 : p. 364-365</p> <p>Vaticano, Vat. latinus 7105, 7179 et 7192 :
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